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NOTICE.

THE high interest which attaches to the Discoveries of MAJOR RAWLINSON, and the length to which his Memoir extends, have induced the COUNCIL of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY to publish them in consecutive Parts, so as to form either two separate and distinct Volumes; or to range as the Tenth and Eleventh Volumes of the Journal. The Third Number now delivered completes the First Volume.

The Ninth Volume of the Journal will consist as usual of Miscellaneous Papers. Its publication has been retarded by the attention bestowed on Major Rawlinson's work, but the first two Parts have been printed, and the remainder is in course of preparation for early delivery.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

THE

PERSIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION AT BEHISTUN,

DECYPHERED AND TRANSLATED;

WITH A

MEMOIR ON PERSIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

IN GENERAL,

AND ON THAT OF BEHISTUN IN PARTICULAR.

BY

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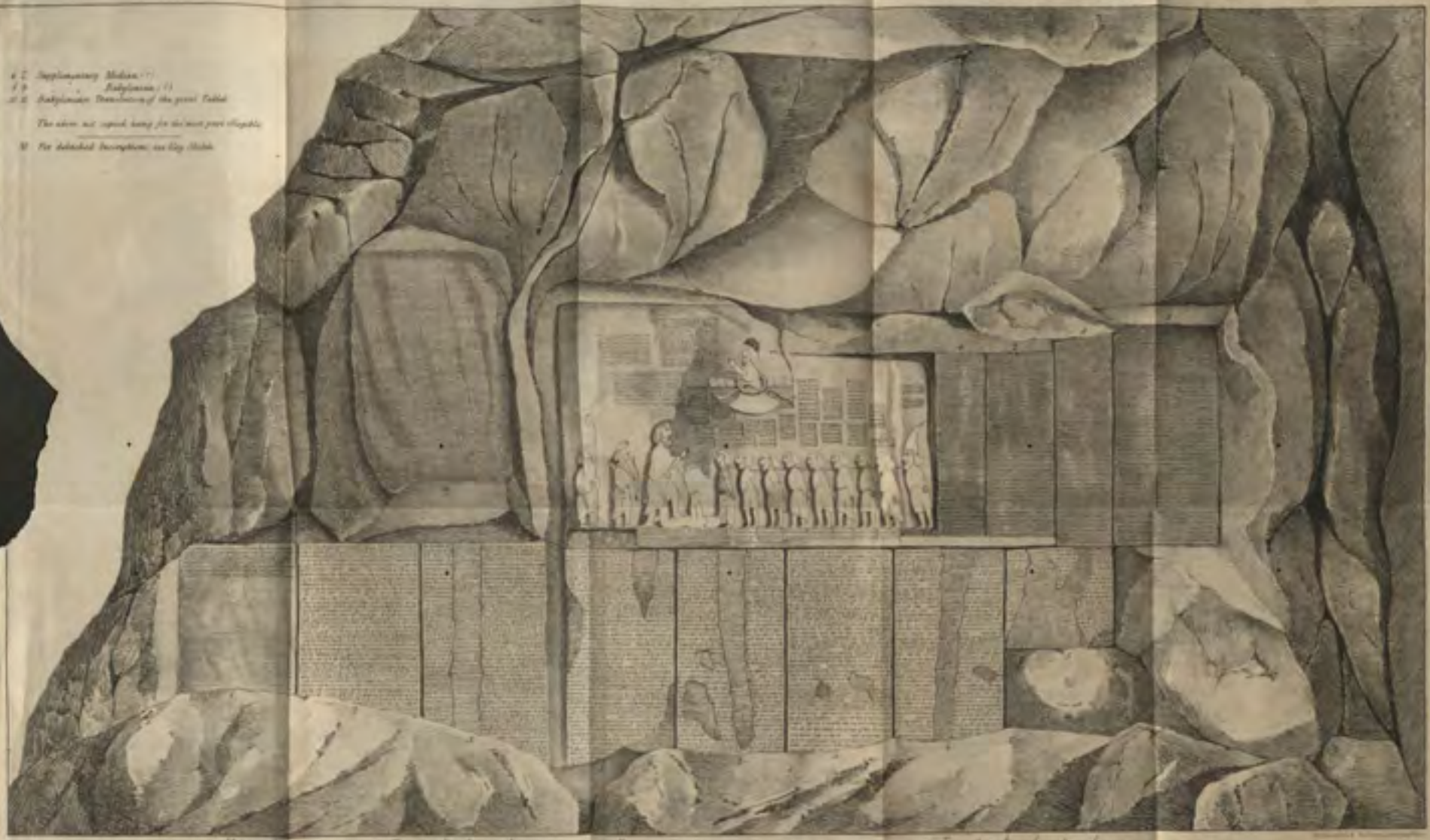
NOTICE.

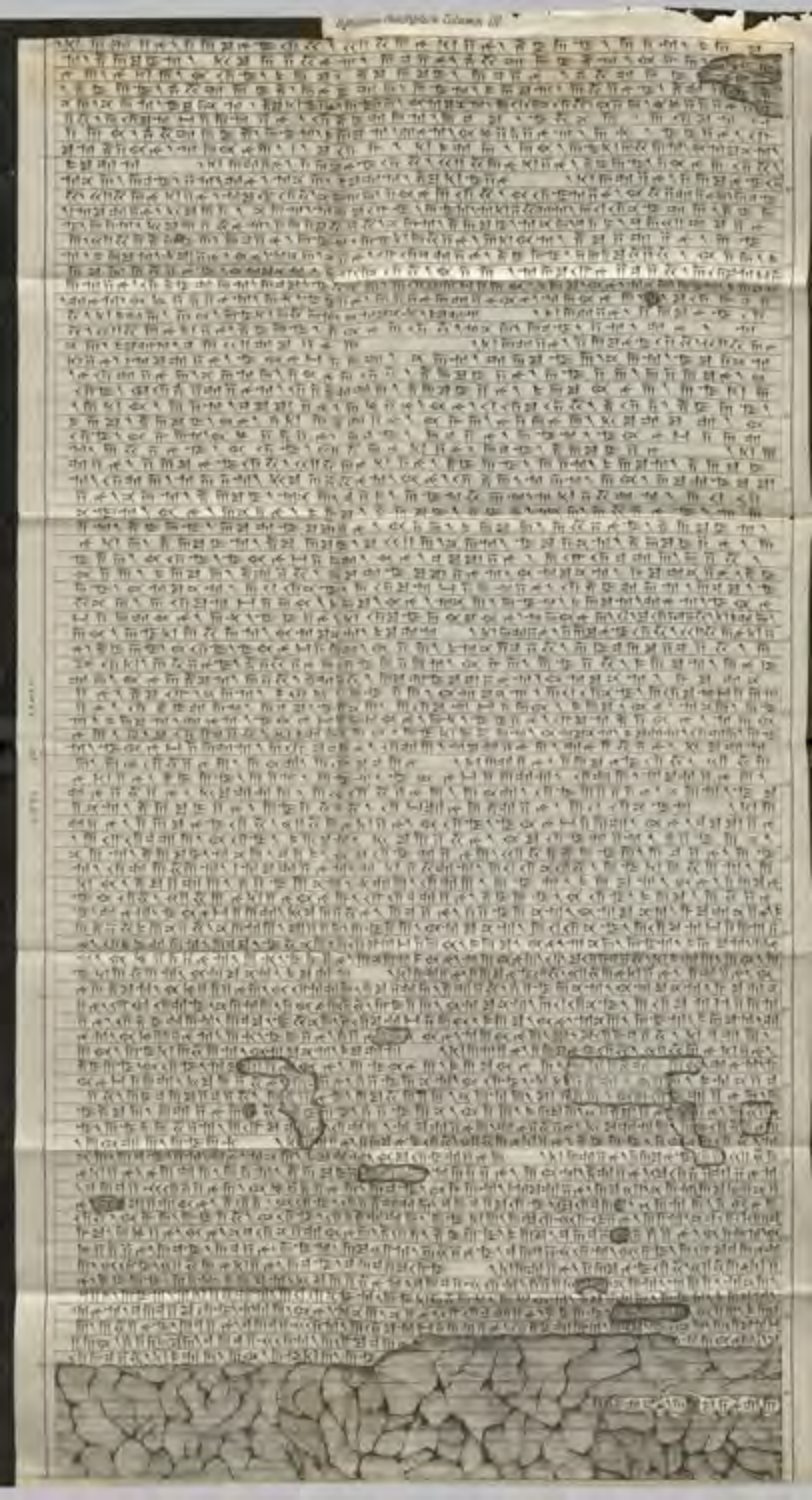
THE order in which the several communications from Major Rawlinson have been received by the Society, and the desire to expedite their publication have in some degree regulated the arrangement which has been adopted in the following pages. The Inscription itself, its transcript in Roman letters, the literal interlinear translation in Latin, the subsequent English version, and Notes upon the Text of the Inscription, have been printed as the preliminary matter which forms the subject of the following dissertations. The Memoir then follows, of which the first five chapters have been received, and the first two are herewith printed. The remaining chapters will be published with the least avoidable delay, and the whole will be printed consecutively, so as to form a complete work upon the Inscription of Behistun and Persian Cuneiform Writing.—ED.

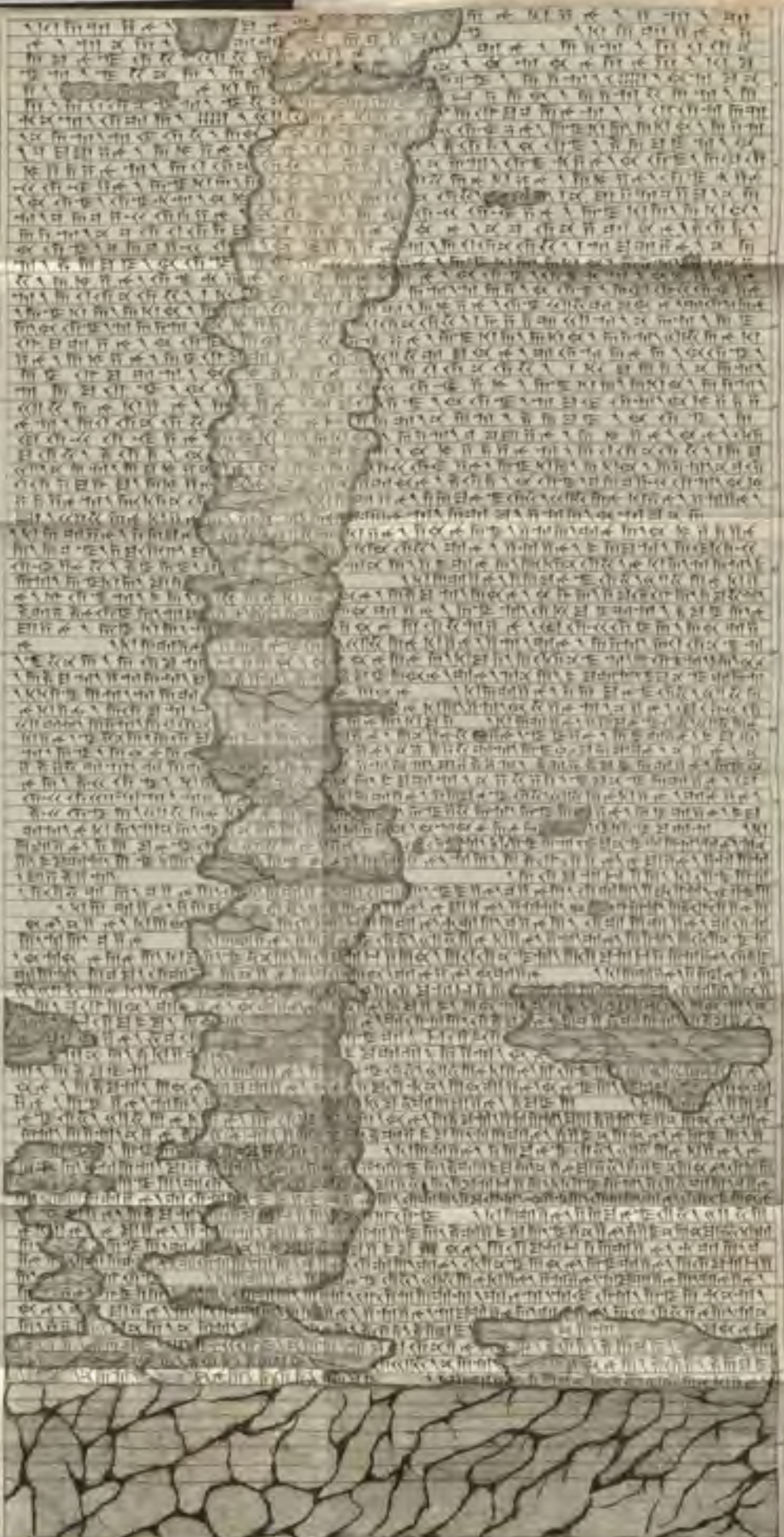
7th September, 1846.

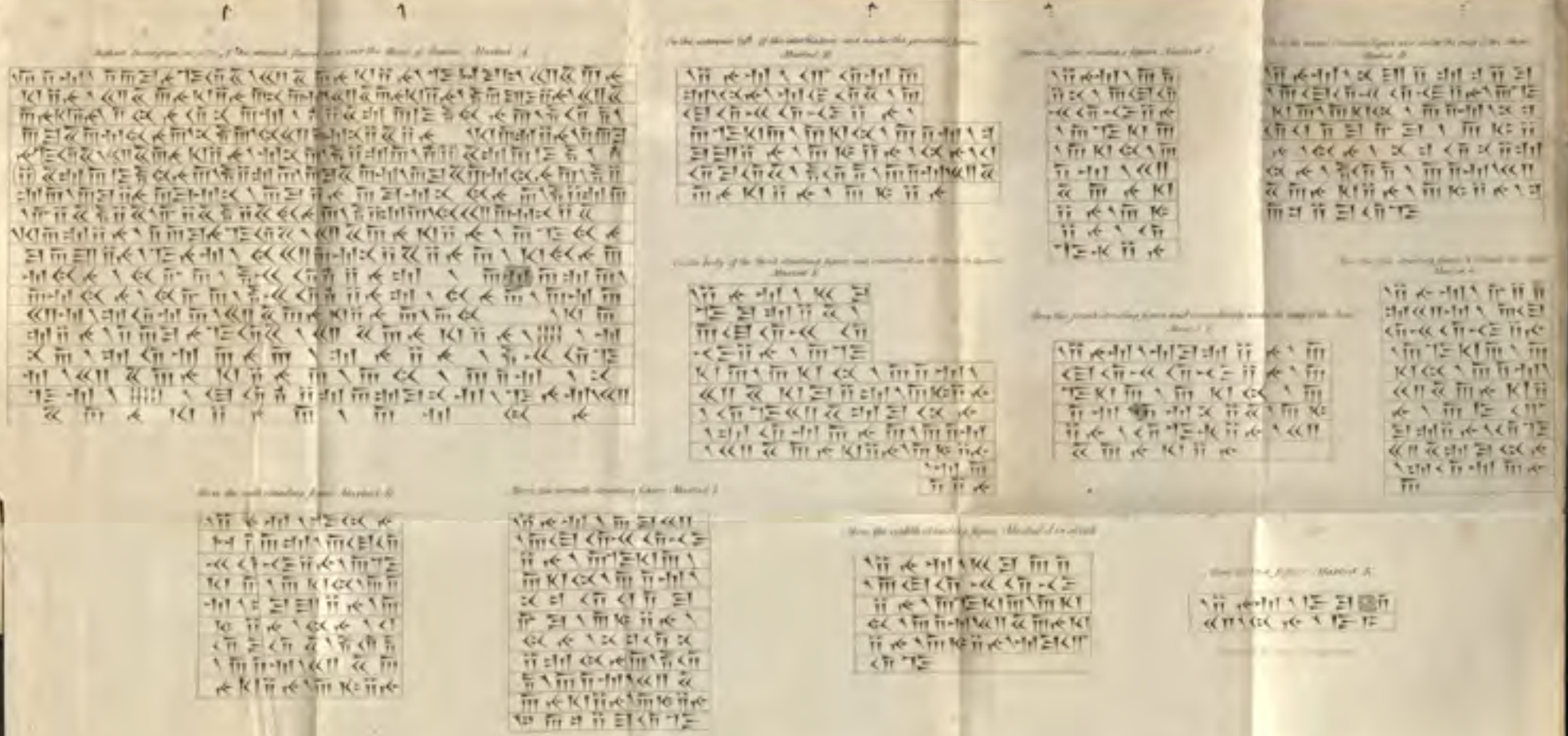

A C Supplementary Medean (?)
I D Babylonian (?)
H E Babylonian Translation of the great Tablet
The above not copied, being for the most part illegible
N No detached Inscriptions, nor Clay Models
Median Tablet
Persian Tablet

General View [illegible] of Behistun taken from the foot of the Rock

Key Sketch showing the dimensions and relative positions of the figures and detached Inscriptions on the face of the great sculptured Tablet of Behistun, together with the number of lines contained in each inscription.
Italic Capitals (A B C &c) denote the Persian Tablets
Old English (A. B. C. &c.) mark the Median Translations
Small Italic letters (a b c &c) are attached to the Babylonian Transcripts
Note. The Median Tablet of 80 lines marked K. is accompanied by a Transcript in the other languages and the Babylonian translations of A B E are also wanting







Detached Persian Inscriptions on the face of the Tablet of sculptured Figures at Behistun copied 1836

INSCRIPTION AT BEHISTUN.

TRANSCRIPT IN ROMAN CHARACTERS, AND VERBAL TRANSLATION.

1 I . Adam . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . wazarka . k'hsháyathiya . *k'hsháya*thiy
Ego Darius, rex magnus; rex reg-

2 ánám . k'hsháyathiya . Pársiya . k'hsháyathiya . dahy*unám* . Vǎsht
um; rex Persidis; rex provinciarum; Hyst-

3 áspahyá . putŕa . Arshámahyá . napá . Hak'hámani*shiya* II . *Thá*tiya .
aspis filius; Arsamis nepos; Achæmenensis. Dicit

4 Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . maná . pitá . Vǎshtáspa . Vǎshtáspahyá . *pitá* . Arsh
Darius rex: mihi pater Hystaspes; Hystaspis pater Ars-

5 áma . Arshámahyá . pitá . Ariyárám(a)na . Ariyárám(a)n*ahyá* . *pitá* . Chishp
ames; Arsamis pater Ariaramnes; Ariaramnis pater Teisp-

6 áish . pitá . Hak'hámanish III . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyath*iya* . *awah*yará
es; (cujus) pater Achæmenes. Dicit Darius rex: eâ ra-

7 t'iya . wayam . Hak'hámanishiyá . thahyámahya . hachá . par'u*viyat* . *amá?*tá . ama
tione nos Achæmenenses appella nur, ab antiquo oriundi su-
[invicti]

8 hya . hachá . par'uviyat . hyá . amák'ham . tu'má . k'hsh*áyathiyá* . *áha* IV . Th
mus; ab antiquo quæ nostrûm stirps reges fuere.

9 átiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . 𐏑𐏑𐏑 . maná . tu'*máyá* . *tyiya* . *par*'uwam
Dicit Darius rex: 8 mei generis qui prius

10 . k'hsháyathiyá . áha . adam . nawam . 𐏑𐏑𐏑𐏒 . dhuvitátar(a)nam . *wayam* . *k'hsh*áyathi
reges fuere; ego nonus 9; diutissime nos reg-

11 yá . ámahya V . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . *washná* . *A'ura*mazd
es sumus. Dicit Darius rex: gratiâ Oromasd-

12 áha . adam . k'hsháyathiya . am'iya . A'uramazdá . k'hshatram . ma*ná* . *frábara* VI . Th
is ego rex sum; Oromasdes imperium mihi protulit.

13 átiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . imá . dahyáwa . tyá . ma*ná* . *patiy*áisha . washn
Dicit Darius rex: hæ (sunt) provinciæ quæ mihi in potestatem venere; grati-

14 á . A'uramazdáha . adamshám . k'hsháyathiya . áham . Pársa . U*wajha* . *Bábir*'ush . A
á Oromasdis ego earum rex factus sum; Persis, Susiana, Babylonia, As-

15 thurá . Arabáya . M'udráya . tyiya . darayahyá . Sparda . Yu*na* . *Arm*'ina . Kata
syria, Arabia, Ægyptus; quæ maris, Sparta, Ionia; Armenia, Cap-
[quasi insulæ ad Spartam et Ioniam pertinentes]

16 pat'huka . Parthwa . Zaraka . Hariwa . Uwárazm'iya . Bák'tari*sh* . *Sugh*da . Sa
padocia, Parthia, Zarangia. Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Sa-

17 ka . Thataghush . Hara'uwatish . Maka . fraharwam . dahyáwa . 𐏑𐏑𐏑 VII . *Thá*tiya . Dár(a)
cia, Thatagydia, Arachotia, Mecia; in toto? provinciæ 23. Dicit Da-

18 yawush . k'hsháyathiya . imá . dahyáwa . tyá . maná . pati*áisha* . washná . A'u
rius rex: hæ (sunt) provinciæ quæ mihi in potestatem venere; gratiâ O-

19 ramazdáha . maná . badáká . áhatá . maná . bájim . abaratá . *yathá*?shám . hachámа
romasdis mihi subjectæ fuere; mihi tributum attulere; ut illis à me

20 . athahya . k'hshapawá . ruchapatiwá . awa . akhunaw(a)yatá VIII . *Thátiya* . Dár(a)yawush
dictum est, nocteque dieque id (ab illis) factum est. Dicit Darius

21 . k'hsháyathiya . atura . imá . dahyáwa . martiya . hya . agatá . *áha* . awam . 'u
rex: inter has provincias, homo qui pius? erat, eum bene

22 bartam . abaram . hya . arika . áha . awam . 'ufrastam . aparasam . *washná* . A'uramazdá
fotum fovi; qui irreligiosus erat, eum bene punitum punivi; gratiâ Oromasd-
[omnino perditum delevi]

23. ha . imá . dahyáwa . tyaná . maná . dátá . apriyáya . yathásh*ám* . *ha*chámа . athah
is hæ provinciæ igitur? mihi datæ, gavisæ sunt; ut illis à me dictum
[à quo tempore ?]

24. ya . awathá . akhunaw(a)yatá IX . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyath*iya* . *A*'uramazdá
est, ita (ab illis) factum est. Dicit Darius rex: Oromasdes

25 . maná . k'hshatŭram . frábara . A'uramazdámiya . upastám . abara . yátá . ima . k'hshatŭram
mihi imperium proferebat; Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat dum hoc imperio

26 *adáraya* . washná . A'uramazdáha . ima . k'hshatŭram dárayám'iya X . Thá-
potirer (?); gratiâ Oromasdis hoc imperio potior. Di-

27 *tiya* . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . ima . tya . maná . kartam . *pa*riwa . yáthá . k'hsh
cit Darius rex: hoc (est) quod à me factum, ante (?) quam

28 *áyathiya* . abawan . Kabujiya . náma . Khurush . putŭra . amákham . tumáy
rex fiebam; Cambyses nominatus, Cyri filius, nostrûm e stir-

29 *á* . *pr*'uwama . idá . k'hsháyathiya . áha . awahyá . Kabujiyahyá . brá
pe, prius hic (?) rex erat; istius Cambysis fra-

30 *tá* . Bart'iya . náma . áha . hamátá . hampitá . Kabujiyahyá . pasáwa . Ka
ter Bartius nominatus erat; *ὁμομήτριος* *ὁμοπάτριος* Cambysis; postea Cam-
[eandem matrem, eundem patrem habens (ac) Cambyses]

31 *bujiya* . awam . Bart'iyam . awájha . yathá . Kabujiya . Bart'iyam . awájha . kárahy
byses istum rtium occidebat; eum Cambyses Bartium occidisset, reg-

32 *á* . *az*(a)dá . abawa . tya . Bart'iya . awajhata . pasáwa . Kabujiya . M'udráyam .
no ? fuit quod Bartius civerat; postea Cambyses Ægyptum

33 *ashiya*wa . yathá . Kabujiya . M'udráyam . ashiyawa . pasáwa . kára . arika . abawa
proficisebatur; eum Cambyses Ægyptum profectus esset, postea regnum irreligiosum fiebat:

34 . *pasá*wa . darugha . dahyauwá . wasiya . abawa . utá . Pársiya . utá . Mádiya . ut
postea mendacium in regione abundans fiebat, et Perside, et Mediâ, et

35 *á* . *aniyá'uwá* . d[a]hyaushuwá XI . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . pa-
in aliis provinciis. Dicit Darius rex:

36 *sáwa* . martiya . M[a]ghush . áha . Gumáta . náma . huwa . udapatatá . hachá . Pishi
postea I homo M[a]gus erat, Gomatus nominatus, ille surrectus à Pissi-
[surrector]

37 *ya'uwádáyá* . Arak[a]drish . náma . kufa . hachá . awadasha . Viyak'hnahya . máh
achadiâ Arac[a]dres nominatus mons, ab eo loco; Vicanis men-

38 *yá* . . ruchabish . thakatá . áha . yat'iya . udapatatá . huwa . kárahyá . awathá
sis 14mo die, tunc erat quod surrectus, [surrector] ille regno ita

39 . *a*dhur'ujiya . adam . Bart'iya . am'iya . hya . Khurush . putŕa . Kabujiyahyá . br-
mentitus est: "Ego Bartius sum, qui Cyri filius, Cambysis fra-

40 (*á*)tá . pasáwa . kára . har'uwa . ham'itriya . abawa . hachá . Kabujiyá . abiya . awam .
ter;" postea regnum totum conspiratum fiebat; a Cambyse ad eum

41 *a*shiyawa . utá . Pársa . utá . Máda . utá . aniyá . dahyáwa . k'hshatŕam . huwa
transibat, et Persis et Media et aliæ provinciæ; imperium ille

42 . agarbáyatá . Garmapadahya . máhyá . . ruchabish . thakatá . áha . awathá . k'hsha
rapuit; Garmapadis mensis 9mo die, tunc erat, ita im-

43 tŕam . agarbáyatá . pasáwa . Kabujiya . 'uwámarshiyush . am(a)riyatá XII . Thátiya
perium rapuit; postea Cambyses se impatientem habens obiit. XII. Dicit

44 . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . aita . k'hshatŕam . tya . Gumáta . hya . Maghush . át'in
Darius rex: istud imperium, quo Gomatus qui Magus orba-

45 á Kabujiyam . aita . k'hshatŕam . hachá . pr'uviyata . amák'ham . tumáyá . á
bat Cambysem, istud imperium ab antiquo nostrûm stirpi fu-

46 ha . pasáwa . Gumáta . hya . Maghush . át'iná . Kabujiyam . utá . Pársam . utá
erat; postea Gomatus qui Magus orbabat Cambysem et Perside, et

47 . Mádam . utá . aniyá . dahyáwa . huwa . ayastá . 'uwáip(a)shiyam . akhutá . hu
Mediâ, et aliis provinciis; ille secundum vota (?) fecit; il-

48 wa . k'hsháyathiya . abawa XIII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . niya . áha . martiya
le rex fiebat. XIII. Dicit Darius rex: non erat homo

49 . niya . Pársa . niya . Máda . niya . amák'ham . tumáyá . kashchiya . hya . awam . Gu
non Persicus, non Medus, non nostrûm e stirpe aliquis, qui eum Go-

50 mátam . tyam . Maghum . k'hshatŕam . t'itam . chak'hriyá . kárashim . hachá . darshama . a
matum quem Magum imperio orbatum factor(esset); regnum eum ab oppositione?

51 tarsa . káram . wasiya . awájhaniyá . hya . paranam . Bart'iyam . adáná . awahyar
metuebat; regno sæpe declaravit(?) (ille Gomatus) quod antea(?) Bartium noverat, ea ratio-

52 át'iya . karam . awájhaniyá . mátyamám . k'hshanásátiya . tya . adam . niya . Bart'
ne regno declaravit (?) "ne me sic habeat, ut ego non Bart-

53 iya . am'iya . hya . Khurush . putŕa . kashchiya . niya . adarshanush . chishchiya . thastan
ius sim, qui Cyri filius;" Aliquis non (quicquid) ausus est; unusquisque sistens (?)

54 iya . pariya . Gumátam . tyam . Maghum . yátá . adam . arasam . pasáwa . adam . A'ura
(erat) circum Gomatum quem Magum, donec ego accedebam; postea ego Oro-

55 mazdám . patiyáwahiya . A'uramazdámiya . upastám . abara . Bágayádish .
masdem adorabam; Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat; Bagiadis

56 máhyá . . ruchabish . thakatá . áha . awathá . adam . hadá . kamanaibish . martiyaibi
mensis 10mo die, tunc erat, ita ego cum fidelibus hominibus

57 sh . awam . Gumátam . tyam . Maghum . awájhanam . utá . tyishiya . fratamá . mar
eum Gomatum quem Magum occidebam, et (illos) qui ei præcipui homi-

58 t'iyá . an'ushiyá . áhatá . Siktha'uwatish . námá . t'idá . Nisáya . ná
nes socii fuere; Sictachotes nominatum castellum, Nisæa no-

59 má . dahyáush . Mádiya . awadashim . awájhanam . khshatŕamshim . adam . át'inam . wa-
minata regio Mediæ, illic eum occidebam; imperio eum ego orbabam; gra-

60 shná . A'uramazdáha . adam . k'hsháyathiya . abawam . A'uramazdá . k'hshatŕam . maná . fr
tiâ Oromasdis ego rex fiebam; Oromasdes imperium mihi pro-

61 ábara XIV. Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . k'hshatŕam . tya . hachá . amák'ham . t
tulit. XIV. Dicit Darius rex: imperium quod à nostrûm

62 umáyá . parábartam . áha . awa . adam . patipadam . akhunawam . adamshim . gáth
stirpe ablatum erat, id ego recuperatum faciebam; ego id (imperium) firmi-

63 wá awástáyam . yathá . pr'uwamachiya . awathá . adam . akhunawam . ayad(a)n
ter(?) stabilivi; ut priscis temporibus ita ego faciebam; ritus(?)

64 á . tyá . Gumáta . hya . Maghush . viyaka . adam . niyatŕárayam . kárahyá . abi
quos Gomatus qui Magus induxerat(?) ego vetabam(?) regno assig-

65 charish . githámchá . mániyamchá . văthibishchá . tyát'ish . Gumáta . hya .
nator (eram)(?) cantumque cultumque, gentibusque quas illis (officiis) Gomatus qui
[assignabam] [?] [?]

66 Maghush . át'iná . adam . káram . gáthwá . awástáyam . Pársamchá . Mádamch
Magus orbaverat; Ego regnum firmiter(?) stabilivi, Persidemque, Mediamque

67 á . utá . aniyá . dahyáwa . yathá . pr'uwamachiya . awathá . adam . tya . parábarta
et alias provincias; ut priscis temporibus ita ego (id) quod ablatum

68 m . patiyábaram . washná . A'uramazdáha . ima . adam . akhunawam . adam . hamatak'hshiya .
(erat) retuli; gratiâ Oromasdis hoc ego feci; ego molitus sum

69 yátá . vătham . tyám . amákham . gáthwá . awástáyam . yathá . pr'uwamachiya
donec gentem quam nostrûm firmiter (?) stabilissem; ut priscis temporibus

70 awathá . adam . hamatak'hshiya . washná . A'uramazdáha . yathá . Gumáta . hya . Maghu
ita ego molitus sum, gratiâ Oromasdis, ut Gomatus qui Magus

71 sh . vătham . tyám . amákham . niya . parábara XV. Thátiya . Dar(a)yawush . k'hsháyath
gentem quam nostrûm non deleret. XV. Dicit Darius rex:

72 iya . ima . tya . adam . akhunawam . pasáwa . yathá . k'hsháyathiya . abawam XVI. Thátiya
hoc (est) quod ego faciebam, post quam rex fiebam. XVI. Dicit

73 . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . yathá . adam . Gumátam . tyam . Maghum . awájhanam . pa
Darius rex: Cum ego Gomatum quem Magum occidissem

74 sáwa . y . martiya . Atŕina . náma . 'Upadarmahyá . putŕa . huwa . udapatatá . 'Uwajhi
postea 1 homo Atrines nominatus Upadarmis filius, ille surrectus, Susia-
[surrector]

75 ya . kárahyá . awa . thá . athaha . adam . 'Uwajhiya . k'hsháyathiya . am'iya . pasáwa . 'Uwa
næ rei ita dicebat: "Ego Susianæ rex sum;" postea Su-

76 jiyá . ham'itŕiyá . abawa . abiya . awam . Atŕinam . ashiyawa . huwa . k'hsháyathiya
siani * conspirati fiebant; ad eum Atrinem transibant; ille rex

77 . abawa . 'Uwajhiya . utá . 𐏑 . martiya . Bábir'uviya . Nat'itabira . náma . Aina - - hy
fiebat Susianæ; et I homo Babylonicus, Natitabirus nominatus, Æna - - is

78 á . putŕa . huwa . udapatatá . Bábiruwa . káram . awathá . adhur'ujiya . adam . Nab
filius, ille surrectus, [surrector ?] Babylonis rei ita mentitus est: "Ego Nab-

79 ukhadrachara . am'iya . hya . Nabunitahyá . putŕa . pasáwa . kára . hya . Bábir'uviya .
ochodrossor sum, qui Nabonidi filius;" postea res quæ Babylonica

80 har'uwa . abiya . awam . Nat'itabiram . ashiyawa . Bábir'ush . ham'itŕiya . abawa . k'h
tota ad eum Natitabirum transibat; Babylon rebellis fiebat;

81 shatŕam . tya . Bábiruwa . huwa . agarbáyatá XVII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháya
imperium quod Babylonis ille rapuit. XVII. Dicit Darius rex:

82 thiya . pasáwa . adam . fráishayam . 'Uwajham . huwa . Atŕina . *basta* . ánayatá . *abiya* . *má*
postea ego mittebam (ad) Susianam; ille Atrines vinctus adducebatur ad me;

83 m . adamshim . awájhanam XVIII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . pasáwa . *adam* . *Bá-*
ego illum occidebam. XVIII. Dicit Darius rex: postea ego Ba-

84 bir'um . ashiyawam . abiya . awam . Nat'itabiram . hya . Nabukhadrachara . ag*ubatá*
bylonem progrediebar ad eum Natitabirum, qui Nabochodrossor appellabatur;

85 . kára . hya . Nat'itabirahyá . Tigrám . adár(a)ya . awadá . aishatatá . utá .
Copiæ quæ Natitabiri Tigridem tenebant illic *venerant, et

86 abish . náviyá . áha . pasáwa . adam . káram . ma - - ká'uwa . aw - kanam . aniyam . dash(a)
iis naves erant; postea ego agmen elephantibus (?) disponebam (?); hostem in-
[ratibus (?)]

87 bárim . akhunawam . aniyahyá . asm - - - ánayam . A'uramazdámiya . upas*tám*
angustias (?) adducebam; hostis positum (?) invadebam (?); Oromasdes mihi opem

88 . abara . washná . A'uramazdáha . Tigrám . viya - - baya . *pasáwa ?* . awam . káram .
ferebat; gratiâ Oromasdis Tigridem transibam (?); postea eum exercitum

89 tyam . Nat'itabirahyá . adam . ajhanam . wasiya . Atŕiyát'iya*hya* . máhyá . 𐏓 . ru
quem Natitabiri ego debellavi multum; Atriatis mensis 27mo

90 chabish . thakatá . áha . awathá . hamar(a)nam . akhumá XIX . Thátiya . Dár(a)*yawu*sh . k'h
die, tunc erat, ita prælium committebamus. XIX. Dicit Darius

91 sháyathiya . pasáwa . *adam* . Bábir'um . ashiyaw*am* . *athiya* . Bábir'um . ya*thá* . - - -
rex: postea ego Babylonem proficiscebar; juxta Babylonem cum ad-

92 áyam . Zázána . náma . wardanam . an'uwa . 'Ufrátuwá . awadá . *huwa* . *Nat'ita*
issem (?) Zazana nominatum oppidum, secundum Euphratem, illic ille Natita-

93 bira . hya . Nabukhadrachara . agubatá . aisha . hadá . kárá . patish . m*ám* . *hamar(a)nam* .
birus, qui Nabochodrossor appellabatur, veniebat cum copiis coram me aciem

94 chartaniya . pasáwa . hamar(a)nam . akhumá . A'uramazdámiya . upastám . *abara* . *washná* . *A'ura*ma
instruens; postea prælium committebamus; Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oro-

95 zdáha . káram . tyam . Nat'itabirahyá . adam . ajhanam . wasiya . aniya . ápiyá - - h - - á . a
masdis exercitum quem Natitabiri ego debellavi multum; hostis in aquâ depulsus erat(?) a-

96 pishim . parábara . Anámakahya . máhyá . 𐏑 . ruchabish . thakatá . áha . *awathá* . *hamar(a)nam* . *akhumá*
qua eum auferebat; Anamacis mensis 2° die, tunc erat, ita prælium committebamus.

COL. II.

1 I . Thátiya . Dárayawush . k'hsháya*thiya* . *paśáwa* . *Nat'i*tabira . ha
Dicit Darius rex: postea Natitabirus

2 dá . kamanaibish . asbáraibish . a*biya* . *Bábir*'um . ashiya
eum fidelibus equitibus ad Babylonem fugie-

3 wa . pasáwa . adam . Bábir'um . ash*iyawam* - - - áha . utá . Bá
bat; postea ego Babylonem progrediebar, et Ba-

4 bir'um . agarbáyam . utá . awam . Nat'itabi*ram* . *agarbáya*m . pasáwa . awa
bylonem capiebam, et eum Natitabirum capiebam, postea e-

5 m . Nat'itabiram . adam . Bábiruwa . awájha*nam* II . *Thátiya* . Dár(a)yawush k'h
um Natitabirum ego Babylone occidebam. Dicit Darius

6 sháyathiya . yátá . adam . Bábiruwa . áham . *imá* . *dahyáwa* . *tyá* . hacháma . ha
rex: dum ego Babylone eram, hæ (sunt) provinciæ quæ à me re-

7 m'itriyá . abawa . Pársa . Uwajha . Máda . Athurá . *Arm'ina* . *Parth*wa . Marghush . Tha
belles fiebant; Persis, Susiana, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Margiana, Sat-

8 taghush . Saka III . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháya*thiya* . V *martiya* . Martiya . ná
tagydia, Sacia.* Dicit Darius rex: 1 homo Martius no-

9 ma . Chichik'hráish . putŭa . Khuganaká . náma . war*danam* . *Pársiya* . awadá . adáraya
minatus, Sisicris filius, Kuganaca nominatum oppidum Persidis, eo loco habitavit;

10 . huwa . udapatatá . 'Uwajhiya . kárahyá . awathá . *athaha* . *adam* . 'Umanish . am'iya . 'U
ille surrectus, [surrector] Susianæ rei ita dicebat: "ego Omanes sum, Su-
?

11 wajhiya . k'hsháyathiya IV . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháya*thiya* - - - kiya . adam . ashan
sianæ rex." Dicit Darius rex: paulo post [tantum] ego pro- [nun-

12 iya . áham . abiya . 'Uwajham . pasáwa . hachá*ma* - - - *'Uwaj*iyá . awam . Marti
ficiscens (?) eram versus Susianæ; postea à me metuentes (?) Susiani eum Marti-
cians] [ad]

13 yam . agarbáya . hyashám . mathishta . áha - - - na V . Thátiya . D
um prehendebant, qui illorum dux erat, et eum occidebant. (?) Dicit D-

14 ár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . V martiya . Fra*wartish* . *náma* . *Máda* . huwa . udapatat
arius rex: 1 homo Phraortes nominatus, Medus, ille surrectus, [surrector]

15 á . Mádiya . kárahyá . awathá . athaha . *adam* . *K'hshathrita* . *am*'iya . 'Uwak'hshatarah
Mediæ re ita dicebat: "ego Xathrites sum, Cyaxar-

16 yá . tumáyá . pasáwa . kára . Máda . hya *văthápatiya* . *áha* . *ha*cháma . ham'itriya . a
is e stirpe;" postea copiæ Medicæ quæ domi (?) erant à me rebelles

17 bawa . abiya . awam . Frawartim . ashiyawa . *huwa* . *k'hsháyathiya* . *a*bawa . Mádiya
fiebant; ad eum Phraortem transibant; ille rex fiebat Mediæ.

18 VI . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . kára *Pársa* . *utá* . *Máda* . hya . upá . mám . á
Dicit Darius rex: exercitus Persicus et Medicus qui apud me e-

19 ha . huwa . kamanama . áha . pasáwa . adam . kárам . *fraishayam* . *Vidarn*
rat, hic fidelis erat; postea ego copias emittebam; Hydarne

20 á . badaka . awamshám . mathishtam . akhunawam . *awathashám* . *athaham*
hi subjectus, eum illarum ducem constituebam; ita illis dicebam

21 áram . tyam . Mádam . jhatá . hya . maná . ni*ya* . *gubatiya* . *pasáwa* .
rem quam Medicam debellate, quæ mea non appellatur:" postea
[quasi mihi non obedit:]

22 dá . kárá . ashiyawa . yathá . Mádam . parárasa . Ma - - - - . *ná*
copiis proficiscebatur; eum Mediam accedisset, Ma - - nomin

23 diya . awadá . hamar(a)nam . akhunush . *hadá* . *Mádayibish* . *hy*
diæ, eo loco prælium committebat cum Medis;

24 mathishta . áha . huwa . adakiya . niya . - - - - dá - - - - .
præcipuus erat, ille minime non resistere potuit; (?)

25 pastám . abara . washná . A'uramazdáha . kára . hya . *Vidarnahyá*
pem ferebat; gratiâ Oromasdis exercitus qui Hydarnis

26 yam . ham'itřiyam . ajha . wasiya . Anámakahya . *máhyá* . 𒐗𒐗𒐗
quas infensas debellabat multum; Anamacis mensis 6mo

27 á . áha . awathashám . hamar(a)nam . kartam . pasáwa . *huwa* . *kára* . hya
erat, ita illis prælium commissum; postea hic exercitus qui

28 á . dahyáush . Mádiya . awadá . mám . *káma* . *amánaya* . *yátá* . ad
nata, regio Mediæ, illic me volente manebat, donec e

29 m VII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . *pasáwa* . *Dádarshish* . *n*
am. Dicit Darius rex: postea Dadarses no

30 á . badaka . awam . adam . fráishayam . Arm'inam . *awathashiya* . *at*
hi subjectus, eum ego emittebam (ad) Armeniam; ita illi dic

31 ra . hya . ham'itřiya . maná . niya . gubatiya . awam . *jhat'iya*
quæ rebellis, mea non appellatur, eam debella;"

32 sh . ashiyawa . yathá . Arm'inam . parárasa . pasáwa . *hamitřiyá*
proficiscebatur; eum Armeniam accedisset, tum rebelles

33 tá . patish . Dádarshim . hamar(a)nam . chartaniya - - - *ná*
ere, coram Dadarsem aciem instruentes; nomi

34 rmaniyiya . awadá . hamar(a)nam . akhunawa . A'u*ramazdám*
meniæ, eo loco prælium committebant; Oromasdes mih

35 bara . washná . A'uramazdáha . kára . hya . ma*ná* . *awam* . *káram*
rebat; gratiâ Oramasdis exercitus qui meus eas copias

36 . ajha . wasiya . Thurawáharahya . máhyá . 𒐗𒐗𒐗 . *ruchabish* . *tha*
debellabat omnino; Suravaris mensis 6mo die, t

37 áshám . hamar(a)nam . kartam VIII . Thátiya . Dár(*a*)*yawush* . *k'hshá*
illis prælium commissum. Dicit Darius re

38 itiyam . ham'itřiyá . hagamatá . paraitá . pat*ish* . *Dádarshim* . *h*
do rebelles congregati rediere, coram Dadarsem

. náma . Pársa . man
nominatus Persicus mi-

. pritá . awam . k
"salvete, eam

huwa . Vidarna . ha
ille Hydarnes cum

ma . wardanam . Má
atum, oppidum Me-

(?) . Mádishuwá .
ui Medorum

A'uramazdámiya . u
Oromasdes mihi o-

. awam . káram . t
eas copias

. ruchabish . thakat
die, tunc

maná . Kapada . nám
meus, Capada nomi-

m . arasam . Máda
advenissem Medi-

áma . Arm'iniya . man
natus Armenius, mi-

haham . *prit'iya* . ká
ebam; "salve, res

pasáwa . Dádarshi
postea Dadarses

. hagamatá . parai
congregati redi-

ma . awahanam . A
natus, vicus Ar-

ya . upastám . a
opem fe-

. *tyam* . ham'itřiyam
quas rebelles

katá . áha . awath
me erat, ita

athiya . patiya . dhuv
: secun-

amar(a)nam . charta
aciem instruen-

39 niya . Tigra . ámá . t'idá Armaniyiya . *awadá* . *hamar(a)nam* . akhunawa . A
tes; Tigris no natum, castellum Armeniæ, eo loco prælium committebant; O-

40 'uramazdámiya upastám . abara . washná . *A'uramazdáha* . *kára* . hya . maná . a
romasdes mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oromasdis exercitus qui meus e-

41 wam . káram tyam . ham'itřiyam . ajha . wasiya . *Thurawáharahya* . *máhyá* . 𒐜 18mo
as copias quas infensas debellabat omnino; Suravaris mensis

42 . ruchabish . thak tá . áha . awatháshám . hamar(a)*nam* . *kartam* IX . *Thá*tiya . Dár(a)ya
die, tu erat, ita illis prælium commissum. Dicit Dari-

43 wush . k'hsháy thiya . patiya . třitiyam . ham*itřiyá* . *hagamatá* . paraitá . pat
us rex tertio rebelles congregati rediere co-

44 ish . Dádarshin . hamar(a)nam . chartaniya - - - *námá* . *t'idá* . Armaniyiya . a
ram Dadarsem, aciem intruentes; nominatum, castellum Armeniæ, eo

45 wadá . hamar(a) am . akhunawa . Auramazdámiya . *upastám* . *abara* . *wa*shná A'urama
loco prælium committebant; Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oroma-

46 zdáha . kára h a . maná . awam . káram . tyam . *ham'itřiyam* . *ajha* . *wasiya* . Thaigarch
sdis copiæ qu e meæ eum exercitum quem infensum profligabant multum; Thegars-

47 ish . máhyá . 𒐜 . ruchabish . thakatá . áha . *awatháshám* . *hamar(a)nam* . kartam . pasáwa .
is mensis 9mo die, tunc erat, ita illis prælium commissum; postea

48 Dádarshish . chi á . mám . amánaya . a - - - *yátá* . adam . arasam . Má
Dadarses scor m à me manebat, donec ego advenissem Me-

49 dam X . Thátiy . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyath*iya* . *pasáwa* . *Wum'isa* . náma . Pársa . maná . ba
diam. Dicit Darius rex: postea Vomises nominatus Persicus, mihi sub-

50 daka . awam . a am . fráishayam . Arm'inam . *awatháshiya* . *athaham* . prit'iya . kára .
jectus, eum e go emittebam Armeniam; ita illi dicebam: "Salve, res

51 hya . ham'itřiya . maná . niya . gubatiya . *awam* . *jhat'iya* . *pasáwa* . Wum'isa . a
quæ rebellis, mea non appellatur, eam debella;" postea Vomises iter

52 shiyawa . yathá Arm'inam parárasa . pas*áwa* . *ham'itriyá* . *ha*gamatá . paraitá . pa
faciebat; ut Armeniam accedebat, postea rebelles congregati rediere, co-

53 tish . Wum'isam . hamar(a)nam . chartaniya . - i - . *námá* . *dah*yáush . Athuráy
ram Vomisem aciem instruentes; nominata, regio Assyri-

54 á . awadá . hamar(a)nam . akhunawa . A'uram*azdámiya* . *upastám* . abara . washná . A'u
æ, eo loco prælium committebant; Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ O-

55 ramazdáha . kára . hya . maná . awam . *káram* . *tyam* . *ham'itřiyam* . ajha . wasiya
romasdis copiæ quæ meæ eum exercitum quem infensum debellabat multum;

5 . Anámakahya . m áhyá . 𒐜 (?) . ruchabish . *thakatá* . *áha* . *awatháshám* . hamar(a)nam .
Anamacis m ensis 10mo die, tunc erat, ita illis prælium

57 kartam XI . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . *k'hsháyathiya* . *patiya* . *dh*uvitiyam . ha
commissum. Dicit Darius rex: secundo re-

58 m'itřiyá . hagam tá . paraitá . pati*sh* . *Wum'isam* . *hamar(a)nam* . chartaniya . A'u
belles congreg ti rediere, coram Vomisem aciem instruentes; O-

59 tiyára . námá . dahyáush . Arm'ini*yiya* . *awadá* . *hamar(a)na*m . akhunawa .
tiara nominata, regio Armeniæ, eo loco prælium committebant;

60 A'uramazdámiya . upastám . abara . *washná* . *A'uramazdá*ha . kára . hya . ma
Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oromasdis exercitus qui me-

61 ná . awam . káram . tyam . ham'itřiya*m* . *ajha* . *wasiya* . *Thura*wáharahya . máh
us, eas copias quas rebelles profligabat multum; Suravaris men-

62 yá - - - iyamanam . patiya . awatháshám . *hamar(a)nam* . *kartam* . pasáwa . Wum'isa
sis ad initium, (?) ita illis prælium commissum; postea Vomises

63 . chitá . mám . amánaya . Arm'ini*ya* . *yátá* . *ada*m . arasam . Mádam
seorsum à me manebat Armeniâ, donec ego advenirem Mediam.

64 XII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . *pasáwa* . *adam* . *n*ijhá*ya*m . hachá .
Dicit Darius rex: postea ego demum (?) à

65 Bábir'ush . ashiyawam . Mádam . yathá . Má*dam* . *parárasam* . *Gh*udhr'ush . náma .
Babylone aggrediebar Mediam; cum Mediam accedissem, Gudrusia (?) nominatum

66 wardanam . Mádiya . awadá . huwa . Frawa*rtish* . *hya* . *M*ádiya . k'hsháyathiya . a
oppidum Mediæ, ad eum locum ille Phraortes, qui Mediæ rex ap-

67 gubatá . *aisha* . *hadá* . kárá . patish . mám . *hamar(a)nam* . *charta*niya . pasáwa . hamar(a)na
pellabatur, veniebat cum exercitu coram me, aciem instruens; postea præli-

68 m . akhumá . *A'uramaz*dámiya . upastám . *abara* . *washná* . *A*'uramazdáha . káram .
um committebamus; Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oromasdis copias

69 tyam . Frawart*ish* - - . adam . ajhanam . wasiya - - - *hya* . máhyá . 𐎠𐎠 . r
quas Phraortis ego profligabam multum; mensis 26mo

70 uchabish . thakatá . á*ha* . *a*wathá . hamar(a)nam . akh*umá* XIII . *Thá*tiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'h
die, tunc erat, ita prælium committebamus. Dicit Darius

71 sháyathiya . pasáwa . *huwa* . Frawartish.. hadá . ka*manaibish* . *asbár*aibish . am'utha . Ra
rex: postea ille Phraortes cum fidelibus equitibus, ab eo loco, Rha-

72 gá . námá . dahyáu*sh* . *M*ádiya . awad*á* . *ashiyawa* . *pasá*wa . adam . káram . f
ges nominata, regio Mediæ, illuc proficiscebatur; postea ego copias e-

73 rá*ishayam* . *tyi*patiya . Frawartish . agarb*áyatá* . *utá* . á*naya*tá . abiya . mám . ada
mittebam, à quibus (?) Phraortes capiebatur et afferebatur ad me; ego

74 m*shiya* . *utá* . náham . utá . gushá . u*tá* - - - m . frájhanam utásh
illius et nasum et aures et labia (?) abscindebam; et e-

75 i*ya* - - - m . awajha(na)m . dhuwarayámi*ya* . basta . adá*r*iya . har'uwashim . k
um (?) deducebam; in palatio meo vinctus retinebatur; omnis illum
[aut ad fores meas]

76 ára . *awina* . pasáwa . adam . Hagamatá*na* . *awadáshim* . *uz(a)tay*ápatiya . akhunawam
res videbat (?); postea ego Ecbatana eo loco illum crucifixum (?) faciebam;

77 . ut*á* . *martiyá* . tyishiya . fratam*á* . *an'ushiyá* . ahatá . a*w*iya . Ha
et homines, qui illi præcipui assectatores erant, ad Ec-

78 gamatá*niya* . *ata*ra . t'idám . fráha - - - XIV . *Thátiya* . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsh
batanam inter arcem incarcerabam. Dicit Darius r-
[trucidabam] (?)

79 áyathiya . Y *martiya* . Chitŕatak'hma . náma . *As(a)gartiya* . *h*uwamiya . ham'itŕiya
ex: I homo Sitratachmes nominatus, Sagarticus, ille mihi rebellis

80 abawa . kárah*yá* . *a*wathá . athaha . adam . *K'hsháyathi*ya . am'iya . *As(a)gart*
fiebat; rei ita dicebat: "ego rex sum Sagart-

81 iya . *'Uwak'hshatara*hyá . tumáyá . pasáwa . adam . káram . *Pársam* . ut
iæ, Cyaxaris e genere;" postea ego copias Persicas et

82 á . Mádam . *frá*ishayam . K'hamas*páda* . náma . Máda . maná . ba*daka* . *a*wam
Medicas emittebam; Camaspates nominatus, Medus, mihi subjectus, eum

83 shám . mathi*shtam* . akhunawam . *awathá*shám . athaham . pritá . k
earum ducem constituebam; ita illis dicebam: "Salvete, r-

84 áram . tya*m* . *ham*'itriyam . hya . maná . *n*iya . gubátiya . awam . jhatá . pas
em quam infensam, quæ mea non appellatur, eam debellate;" pos-

85 áwa . K'h*amas*páda . hadá . kárá . *ashi*yawa . hamar(a)nam . akhunush . had
tea Camaspates cum copiis proficiscebatur; prælium commisit cum

86 á . Chitŕatak'hmá . Auramaz*dámiya* . upastám . abara . washná . A'uramazd
Sitratachme; Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oromasd-

87 áha . kára . hya . maná . awam . kára*m* . *tyam* . ham'itŕiyam . ajha . utá . Ch
is copiæ quæ meæ eum exercitum quem infensum profligabant, et Si-

88 itŕatak'hmam . agarbáya . *utá* . ánaya . abiya . mám . *pasá*washiya . adam . utá . n
tratachmem capiebant, et apportabant ad me; postea illius ego et n-

89 áham . utá . gushá . frájhanam . utáshiya - - - m . awajha(na)m . dhuwarayá
asum et aures abscindebam; et eum (?) deducebam; in palatio [ad fores]

90 miya . basta . adáriya . har'uwashim . kára . *awina* . *pasá*washim . Arbiráyá .
meo [meas] vinctus retinebatur; omnis illum res videbat; postea illum Arbelæ

91 *uz(a)tayápati*ya . akhunawam XV . Thátiya . Dár(*a*)*yawus*h . k'hsháyathiya . ima . tya . ma
crucifixum (?) feci. Dicit Darius rex: hoc (est) quod à

92 ná . kartam . *Mádi*ya XVI . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'h*sháyathi*ya . Parthwa . utá . War
me factum Mediâ Dicit Darius rex: Parthia et Hyr-

93 *kána* - - - - - - - *Vāshtáspa* . hya . maná . pitá . h
cania Hystaspes qui mihi pater il-

94 *uwa* - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Vispá*wushtisa . *ná*
le Hyspaostisa nomi-

95 *ma* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
natum

96 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

COL. III.

1 I . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . pasáwa . adam . kára
Dicit Darius rex: postea ego copias

2 m . Pársam . fráishayam . abiya . Văshtáspam . hachá . *Ra*gá
Persicas mittebam ad Hystaspem a Rhage;

3 yá . yathá . huwa . kára . parárasa . abiya . Văshtáspam
cum hæ copiæ accedissent ad Hystaspem,

4 . pasáwa . Văshtáspa . ayastá . awam . káram . ashiyawa . Patigapa
tum Hystaspes cum istis copiis proficiscebatur; Patigapa-

5 ná . náma . wardanam . Parthwiya . awadá . hamar(a)nam . akhunush . hadá . ham'itr̆iyaib
na nominatum oppidum Parthiæ, eo loco prælium committebat cum hostib-

6 ish . A'uramazdámiya . upastám . abara . washná . A'uramaz
us; Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oromas-

7 dáha . Văshtáspa . awam . káram . tyam . ham'itr̆iyam . ajha . wasiya . Ga
dis Hystaspes eas copias quas infensas profligabat omnino; Gar-

8 rmapadahya . máhyá . ɣ . rucha . thakatá . áha . awatháshám . hamar(a)nam .
mapadis mensis 1m° die, tunc erat, ita prælium

9 kartam II . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . pasáwa . dahyáush .
commissum. Dicit Darius rex: postea provincia

10 maná . abawa . ima . tya . maná . kartam . Parthwiya III . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawu
mea fiebat; hoc (est) quod à me factum Parthiâ. Dicit Darius

11 sh . k'hsháyathiya . Marghush . námá . dahyáush . huwamiya . hashit'iyá . abawa
rex: Margiana nominata regio, hæc mihi contumax (?) fiebat;

12 . ɣ martiya . Fráda . náma . Márgawa . awam . mathishtam . akhunawatá . pasá
1 homo Phraates nominatus, Margenses eum ducem constituerunt; post-

13 wa . adam . fráishayam . Dádarshish . náma . Pársa . maná . badaka . Bák'htariy
ea ego emittebam Dadarses nominatus Persicus mihi subjectus, Bactriæ

14 á . k'hshatr̆apáwá . abiya . awam . awatháshiya . athaham . pritiya . awa
satrapas, ad illum; ita illi dicebam: "salve, e-

15 m . káram . jhat'iya . hya . maná . niya . gubatiya . pasáwa . Dádarshish . hadá . k
am rem debella, quæ mea non appellatur;" postea Dadarses cum

16 árá . ashiyawa . hamar(a)nam . akhunush . hadá . Márgayaibish . A'uramazd
copiis proficiscebatur; prælium committebat cum Margensibus; Oromasd-

17 ámiya . upastám . abara . washná . A'uramazdáha . kára . hya . maná . awam . káram
es mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oromasdis copiæ quæ meæ eam rem

18 . tyam . ham'itr̆iyam . ajha . wasiya . Atr̆iyátiyahya . máhyá . [illegible] . ruchabi
quam infensam expugnabant omnino; Atriatis mensis 23mo die,

19 sh . thakatá . áha . awatháshám . hamar(a)nam . kartam IV . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawu
tunc erat, ita illis prælium commissum. Dicit Darius

20 sh . k'hsháyathiya . pasáwa . dahyáush . maná . abawa . ima tya . ma
rex: postea regio mea fiebat; hoc (est) quod à

21 ná . kartam . Bák'htariyá V . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháya
me factum Bactriâ. Dicit Darius rex:

22 thiya . 𒁹 martiya . Wahyazdáta . náma . Tárwá . náma . wardanam
1 homo Veisdates nominatus, Tarba nominatum oppidum,

23 . Yutiyá . námá . dahyáush . Pársiya . awadá . adáraya . h
Iotia nominata regio Persidis, illo loco se habebat; il-
[quasi habitabat]

24 uwa . dhuvitiyam . udapatatá . Pársiya . kárahyá . awathá
le secundo surrectus, Persidis rei ita
[surrector]

25 . athaha . adam . Bart'iya . am'iya . hya . Khurush . putr̆a . pasáwa .
dicebat: "ego Bartius sum, qui Cyri filius;" postea

26 kára . Pársa . hya . văthápatiya . hachá . yadáyá . fratarta . h
copiæ Persicæ quæ domi (?) erant à societate (mecum) remotæ (?) il-

27 uwa . hacháma . ham'itr̆iya . abawa . abiya . awam . Wahyzdáta
læ a me rebelles fiebant; ad eum Veisdat-

28 m . ashiyawa . huwa . k'hsháyathiya . abawa . Pársiya . VI . Thá
em transibant; ille rex fiebat Persidis. Di-

29 tiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . pasáwa . adam . káram . Pársa
cit Darius rex: postea ego copias Persi-

30 m . utá . Mádam . fráishayam . hya . upá . mám . áha . Artawart'
cas et Medicas emittebam, quæ apud me erant; Artabard-

31 iya . náma . Pársa . maná . badaka . awamshám . mathishtam . akhu
es nominatus Persicus, mihi subjectus, eum illarum ducem constitu-

32 nawam . hya . aniya . kára . Pársa . pasá . maná . ashiyawa . Má
ebam; quæ alteræ copiæ Persicæ (erant) post me progrediebantur Me-

33 dam . pasáwa . Artawart'iya . hadá . kárá . ashiyawa . Pársam .
diam; postea Artabardes cum exercitu proficiscebatur Persidem;

34 yathá . Pársam . parárasa . Rak'há . náma . wardanam . Pársiya . a
cum Persidem advenisset, Racha nominatum oppidum Persidis, eo

35 wadá . huwa . Wahyazdáta . hya . Bart'iya . agubatá . aisha .
loco ille Veisdates, qui Bartius appellabatur, accedebat

36 hadá . kárá . patish . Artawart'iyam . hamar(a)nam . chartaniya . pas
cum copiis, coram Artabardem aciem instruens; post-

37 áwa . hamar(a)nam . akhunawa . A'uramazdámiya . upastám . abara . wa
ea prælium committebant; Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat; gra-

38 shná . A'uramazdáha . kára . hya . maná . awam . káram . tyam . Wahya
tiâ Oromasdis copiæ quæ meæ eum exercitum quem Veis-

39 zdátahya . ajha . wasiya . Thurawáharahya . máhyá . 𒌋𒁹 . ruchabish . thakatá .
datis debellabant multum; Suravaris mensis 12mo die, tunc

40 áha . awatháshám . hamar(a)nam . kartam VII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathi
erat ita illis prælium commissum. Dicit Darius rex:

41 ya . pasáwa . huwa . Wahyazdáta . hadá . kamanaibish . asbáraibish . a
postea ille Veisdates cum fidelibus equitibus il-

42 m'utha . ashiyawa . Pishiyá'uwádám . hachá . awadasha . káram . ayas
linc fugiebat ad Pissiachadiam; ab eo loco exercitu cum

43 tá . hyáparam . aisha . patish . Artawart'iyam . hamar(a)nam . chartan
iterum veniebat coram Artabardem, aciem instru-

44 iya . Parga . náma . kufa . awadá . hamar(a)nam . akhunawa . A'uramazdám
ens; Parga nominatus mons, eo loco prælium committebant; Oromasdes

45 iya . upastám . abara . washná . Auramazdáha . kára . hya . maná . awa
mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oromasdis copiæ quæ meæ e-

46 m . káram . tyam . Wahyazdátahya . ajha . wasiya . Garmapadahya . máh
um exercitum quem Veisdatis profligabant omnino; Garmapadis men-

47 yá . 𐎠𐎠𐎠 . ruchabish . thakatá . áha . awatháshám . hamar(a)nam . kartam . utá . awa
sis 60 die, tunc erat, ita illis prælium commissum; et e-

48 m . Wahyazdátam . agarbáya . utá . martiyá . tyishiya . fratam
um Veisdatem capiebant, et homines qui illi præci-

49 á . an'ushiyá . áhata . agarbáya VIII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hshá
pui assectatores fuere capiebant. Dicit Darius rex:

50 yathiya . pasáwa . adam . awam . Wahyazdátam . utá . martiyá .
postea ego eum Veisdatem et homines

51 tyishiya . fratamá . an'ushiyá . áhata . Uwádidaya . náma . war
qui illi præcipui assectatores fuere, Chadidia nominatum op-

52 danam . Pársiya . awadashish . uz(a)tayápatiya . akhunawam IX . Thá
pidum Persidis, illic eos crucifixos (?) feci. Di-

53 tiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . huwa . Wahyazdáta . hya . Bart'iya
cit Darius rex: ille Veisdates qui Bartius

54 . agubatá . huwa . káram . fraishaya . Hara'uwatim . Viwána .
appellabatur, ille copias emittebat Arachotiam, Vibanus

55 náma . Pársa . maná . badaka . Hara'uwatiyá . k'hshatrapáwá . abiya . awa
nominatus Persicus mihi subjectus, Arachotiæ satrapas, adversus e-

56 m . utásham . 𐏁 martiyam . mathishtam . akhunush . awatháshám . a
um; et illarum unum hominem ducem constituebat; ita illis di-

57 thaha . pritá . Viwánam . jhatá . utá . awam . káram . hya . Dár(a)ya
cebat: "salvete, Vibanum debellate, et eam rem quæ Dar-

58 wahush . k'hsháyathiyahyá . gubatiya . pasáwa . huwa . kára . ashiya
ii regis appellatur;" postea illæ copiæ exi-

59 wa . tyam . Wahyazdáta . fráishaya . abiya . Viwánam . hamar(a)nam . chartaniya . K
bant quas Vendates emiserat adversus Vibanum, ad pugnam (se) accingentes;

60 ápishkánish . námá . t'idá . awadá . hamar(a)nam . akhunawa . A'uramazdámi
Capiscania nominatum castellum, eo loco prælium committebant; Oromasdes mi-

61 ya . upastám . abara . washná . A'uramazdáha . kára . hya . maná . awam . káram . tya
hi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oromasdis copiæ quæ meæ eum exercitum que-

62 m . ham'itriyam . ajha . wasiya . Anámakahya . máhyá . . ruchabish . thakatá . áha . a
m infensum debellabant multum; Anamacis mensis 13mo die, tunc erat,

63 wathá shám . hamar(a)nam . kartam X . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . patiya . h
ita illis prælium commissum. Dicit Darius rex: iter-

64 yáparam . ham'itriyá . hagamatá . paraitá . patish . Viwánam . hamar(a)nam . chartan
um rebelles congregati rediere, coram Vibanum aciem instruen-

65 iya . Gadhutawa . námá . dahyáush . awadá . hamar(a)nam . akhunawa . A'uramazdám
tes; Gadytia nominata regio, illic prælium committebant; Oromasdes

66 iya . upastám . abara . washná . A'uramazdáha . kára . hya . maná . awam . káram . t
mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oromasdis copiæ quæ meæ eum exercitum

67 yam . ham'itriyam . ajha . wasiya . Viya*k'h*nahya . máhyá . . ruchabish . thakatá .
quem infensum profligabant omnino; Vicanis mensis 7mo die, tunc

68 áha . awathá shám . hamar(a)nam . kartam XI . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya .
erat, ita illis prælium commissum. Dicit Darius rex:

69 pasáwa . huwa . mar*tiya* . hya . awahyá . kárahyá . *mathishta* . *áha* . tyam . Wa
postea iste homo qui istius exercitus dux erat, quem Ve-

70 hyazdáta . fráishaya . *abi*ya . Viwánam . huwa . math*ishta* . *hadá* . kamanaib
isdates emisera adversus Vibanum, ille dux cum fidelib-

71 ish . asbáraibish . a*shi*yawa . Arshádá . námá . t'i*da* . *Hara'u*watiyá . a
us equitibus fugiebat; Arsada nominatum castellum Arachotiæ, ultra

72 wapará . atiyáisha . *pasáwa* . Viwána . hadá . kárá . nipat'iyam - - iya . a*shiya*
eum locum transgrediebatur; postea Vibanus cum agmine insequens (?) [Niphatem?] proficisceba-

73 wa . awad*á*shim . agarb*áya* . utá . martiyá . tyishiya . fratamá . an'ush*iyá*
tur, eo loco illum capiebat, et homines qui illius præcipui sectatores

74 . áhatá . awájha XII . Th*á*tiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . pasáwa . dah*yáush* . ma
fuere occidebat. Dicit Darius rex: postea regio mea

75 ná . abawa . ima . tya . maná . kartam . Hara'uwatiyá XIII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yaw*ush* . k'hshá
fiebat, hoc (est) quod à me factum Arachotiâ. Dicit Darius

76 yathiya . yátá . adam . Pársi*ya* . *utá* . Mádiya . áham . patiya . dhuvitiyam
rex: donec ego Perside et Mediâ eram, secundo

77 . Bábir'uviyá . ham'itr̆iyá . abawa . hacháma . 𒁹 martiya . Arak'ha . náma . Arm'ini
Babylonii rebelles fiebant a me; I homo Aracus nominatus Armeni-

78 ya . Nañt'itahya . putr̆a . huwa . udapatatá . Bábiruwa . Dhubáña . námá . dahyá
cus, Nanditi filius, ille surrectus, [surrector] Babylonis Dobana nominata regio,

79 ush . hachá . awadasha . huwa . udapatatá . awathá . adhur'ujiya . adam . Nabukhudra
ab eo loco ille surrectus, [surrector] ita mentitus est: "ego Nabochodros-

80 chara . am'iya . hya . Nabunitahyá . putr̆a . pasáwa . kára . Bábir'uviya . hacháma . ha
sor sum, qui Nabonidi filius;" postea res Babylonica a me re-

81 m'itr̆iya . abawa . abiya . awam . Arak'ham . ashiyawa . Bábir'um . huwa . agarbáyat
bellis fiebat; ad eum Aracum transibat; Babylonem ille cepit,

82 á . huwa . k'hsháyathiya . abawa . Bábiruwa XIV . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathi
ille rex fiebat Babylonis. Dicit Darius rex:

83 ya . pasáwa . adam . káram . fráishayam . Bábir'um . Vidafrá . náma . Máda . maná .
postea ego copias emittebam Babylonem; Hydaphres nominatus Medus mihi

84 badaka . awam . mathishtam . akhunawam . awatháshám . athaham . pritá . awam . káram .
subjectus, eum ducem constituebam; ita illis dicebam: "salvete, eam rem

85 tyam . Bábir'uwa . jhatá . hya . maná . niya . gubatiya . pasáwa . *Vidafrá* . hadá . kár
quam Babylonis debellate, quæ mea non appellatur;" postea Hydaphres cum copi-

86 á . ashiyawa . abiya . Bábir'um . A'uramazdámiya . upastám . abara . washná . A'uramaz
is proficiscebatur ad Babylonem; Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat; gratiâ Oromas-

87 dáha . Vida*fr*á . Bábir'um . agarbáya . - - - - . máhyá . 𒁹 𒁹 . r
dis Hydaphres Babylonem capiebat, mensis 2m

88 uchabish . thakatá . áha . awathá . awa
die, tunc erat, ita

89 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

90 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

91 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *á*patiya . asariyatá
? occidebatur.

COL. IV.

1 I . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . ima . t
Dicit Darius rex: hoc (est)

2 ya . maná . *kar*tam . *Bábiru*wa II . Thátiya . D
quod à me factum Babylone. Dicit D-

3 ár(a)yawush . k'hshá*yathiya* . *i*ma . tya . adam . akhuna
arius rex: hoc (est) quod ego fe-

4 wam . washná . A'*uramazdáha* . *á*ha . hamahyáyá . thra
ci; gratiâ Oromasdis erat totius perfec-

5 da . *dahyáwa* . yathá*miya* . *ham'itriyá* . abawa . adam . 𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋 . hamar(a)n
tio; provinciæ ut mihi rebelles erant, ego 19 preli-

6 á . . akhunawam . washn*á* . *A'uramaz*dáha . adamshám . a
a commisi; gratiâ Oromasdis ego eas

7 jhanam . utá . 𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋 . k'hsh*áyathiyá* . agarbáyam . 𒁹 Gumáta
debellavi, et 9 reges captivos duxi: 1 Gomatus

8 . náma Maghush . áha . *huwa* . *adhu*r'ujiya . awathá . athaha . adam
nominatus, Magus erat, ille mentitus est; ita dixit: "ego

9 . Bart'iya . am'iya . *hya* . *Khuru*sh . putřa . huwa . Pársam ha
Bartius sum, qui Cyri filius;" ille Persidem re-

10 mitřiyam . akhun*ush* . 𒁹 *Atřina* . náma . 'Uwajhiya . huwa . adhu
bellem fecit: 1 Atrines nominatus, Susicus, ille men-

11 r'ujiya . awathá . *athahá* . *adam* . *k'h*sháyathiya . am'iya . 'Uwajhiya
titus est; ita dixit: "ego rex sum Susianæ;"

12 . huwa . 'Uwajham . ham'*itřiyam* . *akhu*nush . (mana?) . 𒁹 Nat'itabira . ná
ille Susianam rebellem fecit mihi: 1 Natitabirus nomi-

13 ma . Bábir'uviya . *huwa* . *adh*ur'ujiya . awathá . athaha .
natus, Babylonicus, ille mentitus est; ita dixit:

14 adam . Nabukhudra*chara* . *am'iya* . hya . Nabunitahya . putřa .
"Ego Nabochodrossor sum, qui Nabonidi filius;"

15 huwa . Bábir'*um* . *ham'itřiya*m . akhunush . 𒁹 Martiya . ná
ille Babylonem rebellem fecit: 1 Martius nomi-

16 ma . Pársa . huwa . *adhur'uj*iya . awathá . athaha . adam . 'Umani
natus, Persicus, ille mentitus est; ita dixit: "ego Oman-

17 sh . am'iya . 'Uwajhi*ya* . *k'hsháyath*iya . huwa . 'Uwajham . ham'itřiya
es sum Susianæ rex;" ille Susianam rebell-

18 m . akhunush . 𒁹 Fra*wartish* . náma . Máda . huwa . adhur'ujiya
em fecit: 1 Phraortes nominatus, Medus, ille mentitus est;

19 . awathá . athaha . a*dam* . *K'hshathr*ita . am'iya . 'Uwak'hshatarahya . tumáy
ita dixit: "ego Xathrites sum, Cyaxaris e stir-

20 á . huwa . Mádam . *ham'itřiyam* . akhunush . 𒁹 Chitřatak'hma . náma . As(a)
pe;" ille Mediam rebellem fecit: 1 Sitratachmes nominatus, Sa-

21 gartiya . huwa . *adhur'*ujiya . awathá . athaha . adam . k'hsháyath
garticus, ille mentitus est; ita dixit: "ego rex

22 iya . am'iya . As(a)gar*tiya* . *'Uwa*k'hshatarahya . tumáyá . huwa .
sum Sagartiæ, Cyaxaris e stemmate;" ille

23 As(a)gartam . ha*m'itřiyam* . akhunush . 𒁹 Fráda . náma .
Sagartiam rebellem fecit: 1 Phraates nominatus,

24 Márgawa . hu*wa* . *adhu*r'ujiya . awathá . athaha . adam .
Margensis, ille mentitus est; ita dixit: "ego

25 k'hsháyathiya . a*m'iya* . *Mar*guwa . huwa . Marghum . ham'itři
rex sum Margianæ;" ille Margianam rebel-

26 yam . akhunush . 𒁹 *Wahyaz*dáta . náma . Pársa . huwa . a
lem fecit: 1 Veisdates nominatus, Persicus, ille

27 dhur'ujiya . *awathá* . *athaha* . adam . Bart'iya . am'iya . hya . Khu
mentitus est; ita dixit: "ego Bartius sum, qui Cy-

28 rush . putřa . h*uwa* . *Pársa*m . ham'itřiyam . akhunush . 𒁹 Ara
ri filius;" ille Persidem rebellem fecit: 1 Ara-

29 k'ha . náma . Arm'in*iya* . *huwa* . *adh*ur'ujiya . awathá . athaha . adam . Nabu
cus nominatus, Armenicus, ille mentitus est; ita dixit: "ego Nabo-

30 khudrachara . am'iya . *hya* . *Nabun*itahya . putřa . huwa . Bábir'um . ham'
chodrossor sum, qui Nabonidi filius;" ille Babylonem re-

31 itřiyam . akhunu*sh* III . *Thá*tiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . imiya .
bellem fecit. Dicit Darius rex: hos

32 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 . k'hsháyathiy*á* . *adam* . *ag*arbáyam . atara . imá . hamaraná
9 reges ego captivos duxi, inter has pugnas.

33 IV . Thátiya . Dár(a)ya*wush* . *k'hsháya*thiya . dahyáwa . imá . tyá . ham'itřiy
Dicit Darius rex: regiones hæ (sunt) quæ rebell-

34 á . abawa . daruga . t'*i* - - - - - - . *a*khunush . tya . imiya . káram . adhur'
es fiebant; mendacia (?) creavit quod hæc regnum falle-

35 ujiyasha . pasáwa . t'*i* - - - - - *daruga* . maná dast(a)yá . akhunush . yathá . mám . k
rent; postea mendacia (?) à me redacta fecit; ut mihi a-

36 áma . awathá . t'i - - - - - - *akhunush* V . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathi
nimo (erat), ita fecit. Dicit Darius rex:

37 ya . t'huwam . ká . k'*hsháyathiya* . hya . aparam . ahya . hachá . darugá . darshama .
tu quisquis rex, qui posthac sis, à mendaciis malis

38 patipayuwá . Mar*tiya* . *hyá* . *arika* . ahatiya . awam . ufrastam . parasá . ya
te expeditum habe; homo qui irreligiosus sit, eum bene punitum puni; si
[omnino perditum dele]

39 t'iya . awathá . *maniyáhya* . dahyáushmiya . dhur'usá . ahati
hoc modo curabitur (?) regnum meum integrum er-

40 ya VI . Thátiya . *Dár(a)yawush* . k'hsháyathiya . ima . tya . adam . akhunawam
it. Dicit Darius rex: hoc (est) quod ego feci;

41 . washná . A'ura*mazdáha* . *ham*ahyáyá . thrada . akhunawam . t'huwam . ká . hya
gratiâ Oromasdis totius perfectionem feci; tu quisquis qui

42 . aparam . imám . t'*ipim* . *pati*parasáhya . tya . maná . kartam . warnawatám
posthac hanc tabulam perquiras, quod à me factum, notum sit

43 . thuwám . mát*yá* . - - - - - . iyáhya VII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hshá
tibi non falso dictum. (?) Dicit Darius

44 yathiya . A'uramaz*dá* . - - - - - . yathá . ima . hashiyam . niya . dhur'u
rex: Oromasdes mihi testis sit (?) ut hoc (?) non fal-

45 k'htam . adam . akhunaw*am* . *hamah*yáyá . thrada VIII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháya
so ego fecissem omnis perfectionem. Dicit Darius rex:

46 thiya . washná . A'ura*mazdáha* . *tya*miya . aniyashch*i*ya . wasiya . astiya . karta
gratiâ Oromasdis quod à me aliud multum est fact-

47 m . awa . ahyáyá . *tipiyá* . niya . nipishtam . awahyarát'iya . niya . n
um, id in hac tabulâ non scriptum (est); eâ ratione non

48 ipishtam . mát*ya* . *hya* . *apar*am . imám . t'ipim . patiparasátiya . awah
scriptum(est), ne qui posthac hanc tabulam perquirat, ei

49 yá . par'uwa . thá - - . *tya* . maná . kartam . nishida . warnawátiya . dh
multum opus (?) quod à me factum non hic, videatur(?) fal-
[i. e. alicubi]

50 ur'uk'htam . mani*yáhya* (?) IX . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . tyiya .
so in memoriâ proditum. (?) Dicit Darius rex: (illi) qui

51 pr'uwá . k'hsháyath*iyá* - - - - - á . *áha* . awishám . awá - iya . astiya . kar
prisci reges (?) erant, illorum deorsum (?) est fac-

52 tam . yathá . maná . wa*shná* . *A'ura*mazdáha . hamahyáyá . *thrada* . dhuwartam . X . Th
tum, ut à me gratiâ Oromasdis totius perfectio, (sic) refertum.(?)

53 átiya . Dár(a)yaw*ush* . *k'hsháya*thiya - - - - n'u - - am . thuwám . warnawatám . tya . man
Dicit Darius rex: me sequenti (?) tibi notum sit quod à me

54 á . kartam . awathá - - - - - *awah*yarát'iya . má . apagudaya . yat'iya . imám
factum ita aperte, (?) eâ ratione ne celes; si hanc

55 . t'ipim - - - - - - - - - - - - . A'uramazdá . thuwám
tabulam manifestam habeas (?) Oromasdis tibi

56 . dushtá . biyá . ut*átiya* . *tum*á . wasiya . biyá . utá . daragam . jiwá
amicus fiat, et tibi proles quam plurima fiat, et longam ætatem degas.

57 XI . Thátiya . Dár(a)*yawush* . *k'hsháya*thiya . yat'iya . imam . ha - - gám . apagudayá
Dicit Darius rex: si hanc tabulam cel-

58 liya . niya . tháh - - - - A'*uramaz*dátaya . jhatá . biyá . utátiya . tum
es, non diceris (?) Oromasdes tibi infensus fiat, et tibi prol-

59 á . má . biya XII . *Thátiya* . *Dár*(*a*)*ya*wush . khsháyathiya . ima . tya . adam . akhunawam
es ne fiat. Dicit Darius rex: hoc (est) quod ego feci;

60 . hamahyáyá . thra*da* . *washná* . *A'ura*mazdáha . akhunawam . A'uramazdámiya . upas
omnis perfectionem gratiâ Oromasdis feci; Oromasdes mihi op-

61 tám abara . utá . *aniyá* . *bag*áha . tyiya . hatiya XIII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawu
em ferebat, et alii Dei qui existunt. Dicit Darius

62 sh . k'hsháyathiya . *awahyarát'iya* . A'uramazdá . upastám . abara . utá . ani
rex: eâ ratione Oromasdes opem ferebat, et al-

63 yá . bagáha . ty*iya* . *hatiya* . *ya*thá . niya . arika . áham . niya . darujhana . áham . n
ii Dei qui existunt, ut non irreligiosus fuerim, non mentitor fuerim, non

64 iya . zurakara . á*ham* - - - i - - iya . tumá . upariya . abishtám . upariya .
tyrannus fuerim; proles supra (?) supra

65 *ya* - - - *tah*iya . shabu - - - - - - - - uwata . zuku - - - - - - - -

66 - . maná . vathaib*ish* - - - kartam . adam . hya - - - - - - - - - -
me gentibus factum; ego qui impius erat, (?)

67 m . aparasam XIV . *Thátiya* . *Dár*(*a*)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . t'huwam . *ká* . *k'hsháyath*iya .
eum delevi. Dicit Darius rex: tu quisquis rex,

68 hya . aparam . ahya . *martiya* . *hya* . darujhana . ahatiya . hyawá . - tar - - - - . ahat
qui posthac sis, homo qui mentitor sit, qui etiam impius (?) sit,

69 iya . awiya . má . i - - - - - - . atifrashtát'iya . parasá XV . Thá*tiya* . Dár(a)
eos ne protege, (?) eos (velut) severus punitor puni. Dicit Dar-
[summâ vastatione extingue.]

70 yawush . k'hsháyath*iya* . t'huwam . ká . hya . aparam . imám . t'ipim . wináhya . ty
ius rex: tu quisquis qui posthac hanc tabulam spectas qu-

71 ám . adam . niyapi*sha*(*ya*)*m* . imiw*á* . patikará . mátya . visanáhya . yáwá . i
am ego inscripsi, hasque effigies, (cave) ne (iis) injuriam facias; quamdiu (eas)

72 - - áhya . áwá . *parikariyáhya* (?) XVI . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . y
conserves, (?) tamdiu tu ipse conservaberis. (?) Dicit Darius rex: quam-

73 *áwá* . imám . *t'ipim* . *wináhya* . imiwá . patikará . niyat'ish . visanáhya . utá
diu hanc tabulam spectes, hasque effigies, non illis injuriam facias, et

74 . *yat'iya* . áwá . tu - - - *parikaráhat'ish* . A'uramazdá . thuwám . dushtá . biy
si eas damno(?) conserves,(?) Oromasdes tibi amicus fi-

75 á . *utátiya* . tumá . *wasiya* . *biyá* . utá . daragam . jiwá . utá . tya . khunawáhya
at, et tibi proles numerosa fiat, et longam ætatem agas, et quod facis

76 . *awa*tiya . aparam . *A'uramazdá* . dan'ut'huwa XVII . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hshá
id tibi posthac Oromasdes prosperet. Dicit Darius rex:

77 yathiya . yat'iya . imám . *t'ipim* . imiwá . patikará . winiya . visanáhat'ish . ut
si hanc tabulam, hasque effigies (tu) spectans lædas, et

78 á - . *yáwá* . tu - - - *niyat'ish* . parikaráhya . A'uramazdátiya . jhatá . b
si in uriâ non illas conserves, Oromasdes tibi infensus

79 iyá . utátiya . *tumá* . *má* . *biya* . utá . tya . khunawáhya . awatiya . A'uramazd
fiat, et tibi proles ne fiat, et quod facias id tibi Oromasd-

80 á . ha - - - - t'huwa XVIII . *Thátiya* . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . imiya . martiyá . tyiya .
es frustretur. Dicit Darius rex: hi (sunt) homines qui

81 *ada*kiya (?) . awadá . *áhata* . yátá . adam . Gumátam . tyam . Maghum . awájhanam .
solum (?) illic erant cum ego Gomatum quem Magum occidissem,
[quasi soli (?)]

82 hya . Bart'iya . agubatá . ada*k*iya (?) . imiya . martiyá . tyiya . an'ushiyá . man
qui Bartius appellabatur; solum (?) hi (erant) homines qui socii (fuere) mihi;
[i.e. soli (?)]

83 á . Vida*f*raná . náma . *Vis* - - - *ahyá* . putŭa . Pársa . *náma* - - - rahyá
Intaphernes nominatus, Hys filius, Persicus; Otanes(?) nominatus

84 . *putŭa* . *Pársa* . Gu*baf*'uwa . *náma* . *Mar*dhuniyahyá . *putŭa* . *Pársa* . - - - - - - ná
filius, Persicus; Gobryas nominatus, Mardonii filius, Persicus; Hydarnes

85 *ma* - - - - *ahyá* . *putŭa* . *Pársa* . - - - ukhsha . náma . - - - - *hyá* . *putŭa* . *Pársa*
nominatus filius, Persicus; Megabyzus nominatus, Zopyri filius, Persicus;

86 . - - - - . *náma* - - - - *hyá* . *putŭa* . Pársa XIX . Thátiya . *Dár(a)yawush* . *k'hsháyathiya* .
Aspathines nominatus filius, Persicus. Dicit Darius rex:

COL. V.

1 . I . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . . k'hsháyathiya
Dicit Darius rex:

2 ima . tya . adam . akhunawam . - - - - - - -
hoc (est) quod ego feci,

3 má . r - - - - . thradam . - - thá . k'hsháya
perfectionem rex

4 thiya . - - - - - wajhanam . - - - . dahyáush . hu
Susiana regio hæc

5 wa . hachámam . ham'itřiyá . abawa . y martiya . imim(a) . náma . 'U
mihi rebellis fiebat; 1 homo - - imima nominatus, Su-

6 wajiyá . awam . mathishtam . akhunawa . pasáwa . ada
siani illum ducem constituere; postea ego

7 m . káram . fráishayam . 'Uwajham . y martiya . Gubar'uwa
copias emisi ad Susianam; 1 homo Gobryas

8 . náma . Pársa . maná . badaka . awamsham . mathishtam . akhu
nominatus, Persicus, mihi subjectus, cum illarum ducem con-

9 nawam . pasáwa . huwa . Gubar'uwa . hadá . kárá . ashiyawa .
stitui; postea ille Gobryas cum copiis proficiscebatur

10 'Uwajham . hamar(a)nam . akhunush . hadá . ham'itřiyaibish . pas
Susianam, prælium commisit cum infensis; pos-

11 áwa . - - - - - - - - - - . utáshiya - marada .
tea et illi - - (?)

12 utá . - - - - - - . agarbáya . utá . ániya . abi
et captivum fecit, et adduxit apud

13 ya . mám . - - - - - - - - - - - - - . dahyá
me; re-

14 ush . - - - - - - - - - - - - jhanam . awadashi
gio eo loco il-

15 m . - - - - - II . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathi
lum occidi. (?) Dicit Darius rex;

16 ya . a - - - - - - . utá . dah - - - - - . A'urama
et Oromas-

17 zdá . - - - - - - - - - - - áya - . washná . A
des gratiâ O-

18 'uramazdáha - - - - - - - - - thát'ish . akhunawam
romasdis feci.

19 III . Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . hya . aparam . ima
Dicit Darius rex: (ille) qui posthac hoc

20 m . ya - - - - - - - - - - hatiya . utá . jiwah(a)
et vitæ

21 yá . - - - - - - - IV . *Thátiya* . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsh
Dicit Darius rex

22 áyath*iya* . - - - - - - - - . *ash*iyawam . abiya . Sak
ego profectus sum versus Sa-

23 ám . - - - - - - - - - - - - - . Tigrám . barat
ciam Tigridem; servus (?)

24 ya - - - - - - - - - - - iya . abiya . darayam . a
versus [ad] mare

25 wam . - - - - - - - - - - - - á . pisá . viyatara
partim (?) transivi (?)

26 - - - - - - - - - - - - ájhanam . aniyam . aga
occidi (?) hostem captivum feci (?)

27 *rbáyam* - - - - - - - - - - - - . abiya . mám . ut
ad me, et

28 *á* - - - - - - - - *Saru*k'ha . náma . awam . aga
Sarucus nominatus eum captivam feci (?)

29 *rbayan* - - - - - - - - - *a*wadá . aniyam . math
eo loco alium ducem (?)

30 *ishtam* - - - - - - - - - ám . áha . pasáwá . da
erat; postea

31 - - - - - - - - V . *Thátiya* . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháya
Dicit Darius rex;

32 *thiya* . - - - - - - - - - - má . niya . A'uramazd
non Oromasdes

33 *á* . - - - - - - - - - - . yadiya . washná . A'urama
gratiâ Oromas-

34 *zdáha* - - - - - - - - - - . akhunawam VI . Thát
dis feci. Di-

35 *iya* . *Dár(a)yawush* . *k'hsháyathiya* . - - - - . A'uramazdám . yadáta
cit Darius rex; Oromasdem

36 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - . utá . jiwahyá . utá
et vitæ et

37 . - - - - - - - - - - - - -

DETACHED INSCRIPTIONS.

Marked *A*.

. Adam . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . wazarka . k'hsháya
Ego Darius, rex magnus; rex

thiya . k'hsháyathiyánám . k'hsháyathiya . Pársiya . k'hsh
regum; rex Persidis; rex

áyathiya . dahyunám . Vishtáspahyá . putŭa .
provinciarum; Hystaspis filius;

Arshámahyá . napá . Hak'hámanishiya . Thátiya . Dár(a)
Arsamis nepos; Achæmenensis. Dicit Da-

yawush . k'hsháyathiya . maná . pitá . Vishtáspa . V
rius rex: mihi pater Hystaspes;

ishtáspahyá . pitá . Arsháma . Arshámahyá . pi
Hystaspis pater Arsames; Arsamis pa-

tá . Ariyáram(a)na . Ariyáram(a)nahyá . pitá
ter Ariaramnes; Ariaramnis pater

. Chishpish . Chishpishahyá . pitá . Hak'hámanish
Teispes; Teispis pater Achæmenes.

. Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . awahya
Dicit Darius rex: eâ

rát'iya . wayam . Hak'hámanishyá . thahyá
ratione nos Achæmenenses ap-

mahya . hachá . par'uviyat . amátá .
pellamur; ab antiquo invicti(?) [oriundi(?)]

amahya . hachá . par'uviyat . hyá . amá
sumus; ab antiquo quæ nos-

k'ham . tumá . k'hsháyathiyá . áha . Tha
trum stirps (erat,) reges fuere. Di-

tiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya . 𐏑𐏑𐏑𐏑 . ma
cit Darius rex: 8 mei

ná . tu'máyá . tyiya . par'uwa
generis (sunt) qui prius

m . k'hsháyathiyá . áha . adam . na
reges fuere; ego no-

wam . 𐏑𐏑𐏑𐏑𐏑 . dhuvitátaranam . wayam . k'h
nus (sum) 9; diutissime nos re-

sháyathiyá . amahya
ges sumus.

MARKED *B.*

. Iyam . Gumá
Hic Goma-

ta . hya . Maghush . a
tus, qui Magus,

dhur'ujiya .
mendacium dixit;

awathá . athaha . adam . Ba
ita dicebat: "ego Bar-

rt'iya . am'iya . hya . Kh
tius sum, qui Cy-

urush . putr̆a . adam . k'hsh
ri filius; ego

áyathiya . am'iya
rex sum."

MARKED *C.*

. Iyam . Atr̆
Hic Atri-

ina . adhu
nes men-

r'ujiya
dacium dixit;

. awathá
ita

. athaha . a
dicebat: "e-

dam . k'h
go

sháyath
rex

iya . am'
sum

iya . 'U
Su-

wajhiya
sianæ."

MARKED *D.*

. Iyam . Nat'itabira
Hic Natitabires

. adhur'ujiya . awa
mendacium dixit ita

thá . athaha . adam . Nab
dicebat, "ego Nabo

ukhadarachara . am'i
chodrossor sum,

ya . hya . Nabunita
qui Naboni-

hya . putr̆a . adam . k'h
di filius, ego

sháyathiya . am'iya . B
rex sum Ba-

ábiruwa
bylonis."

MARKED *E.*

. Iyam . Fra-
Hic Phra-
wartish .
ortes
adhur'u
mendacium
jiya . awa
dixit; ita
thá . athaha . adam .
dicebat: "ego
K'hshathrita . am'iya
Xathrites sum,
. Uwak'hshatarahya
Cyaxaris,
. tu'máyá . adam .
e genere; ego
k'hsháyathiya . am'iya
rex sum
. . Má-
Me-
diya
diæ."

MARKED *F.*

. Iyam . Martiya . a
Hic Martius men-
dhur'ujiya . a
dacium dixit;
wathá . athaha . a
ita dicebat: "e-
dam . 'Umanish . am'-
go Omanes
iya . 'Uwajhiya . k'h
sum, Susianæ
sháyathiya
rex."

MARKED *G.*

. Iyam . Chitra
Hic Sitra-
tak'hma . adh
tachmes men-
ur'ujiya
dacium dixit;
. awathá . a
ita di-
thaha . adam .
cebat: "ego
k'hsháyathi
rex
ya . Asaga
Sagar-
rtiya . 'Uwa
tiæ, Cya-
k'hshatarahya
xaris
. tu'máy
e gene-
á
re."

MARKED *H.*

. Iyam Wahya
Hic Veis-
zdáta . adhu
dates men-
r'ujiya . awa
dacium dixit; ita
thá . athaha . ada
dicebat: "ego
m . Bart'iya . a
Bartius
m'iya . hya . Kh
sum, qui Cy-
urush . putŭa
ri filius;
. adam . k'hshá
ego rex
yathiya . am'iya
sum."

MARKED *I.*

. Iyam . Arak'ha
Hic Aracus

. adhur'uj
mendacium

iya . awathá .
dixit; ita

athaha . adam .
dicebat: "ego

Nabukhadara
Nabochodros-

chara . am iya .
sor sum,

hya . Nabun
qui Nabon-

itahyá(?) . pu
idi fili-

tŭra . adam . k'hsh
us; ego

áyathiya . am'iya
rex sum

. Bábiruwa
Babylonis."

MARKED *J.*

. Iyam . Fráda
Hic Phraates

. adhur'uj
mendacium dix-

iya . awathá . atha
it; ita dice-

ha . adam . k'hsháyath
bat: "ego rex

iya . am'iya . Marg
sum Mar-

uwa
gianæ."

K.

. Iyam . Saru(?)
Hic Saru-

k'ha . hya . Saka
cus, qui Scythicus.

English Translation of the Inscription at Behistun.

[The following English translation was received from Major Rawlinson at an early period of his correspondence with the Society, and its insertion has been rendered in some degree superfluous, as a translation of each passage, with the grounds on which it rests, is given with great care and minuteness in the fourth chapter of Major Rawlinson's remarks on the Inscription. It has been thought, however, that it might be conveniently introduced in this place, as furnishing a connected view of the purport of the inscription generally, without entering upon any justification of the rendering, which will be given in the place which the Translator has assigned to it. As the later translation had the benefit of Major Rawlinson's more deliberate revisal, it received his final corrections. These have been applied also to the translation here inserted, except in two instances inadvertently omitted, as will be subsequently noticed. The paragraphs refer to the passages of the transcript commencing with Roman numerals.—Ed.]

Column I.

Par. 1. I am Darius, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of Persia, the King of (the dependent) provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian.

Par. 2. Says Darius the King:—My father was Hystaspes; of Hystaspes the father was Arsames; of Arsames the father was Ariyaramnes; of Ariyaramnes the father was Teispes; of Teispes the father was Achæmenes.

Par. 3. Says Darius the King:—On that account we have been called Achæmenians; from antiquity we have been unsubdued (or we have descended); from antiquity those of our race have been kings.

Par. 4. Says Darius the King:—There are eight of my race who have been kings before me, I am the ninth; for a very long time we have been kings.

Par. 5. Says Darius the King:—By the grace of Ormazd I am (I have become) king; Ormazd has granted me the empire.

Par. 6. Says Darius the King:—These are the countries which have fallen into my hands—by the grace of Ormazd I have become king of them—Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt; those which are of the sea, Sparta and Ionia; Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, the Sacæ, the Sattagydes, Arachosia, and the Mecians, the total amount being twenty-one (twenty-three ?) countries.

Par 7. Says Darius the King:—These are the countries which have come to me; by the grace of Ormazd they have become subject to me—they have brought tribute to me. That which has been said unto them by me, both by night and by day it has been performed by them.

Par. 8. Says Darius the King:—Within these countries whoever was of the true faith, him have I cherished and protected; whoever was a heretic, him I have rooted out entirely. By the grace of Ormazd these countries, therefore, being given to me, have rejoiced. As to them it has been said by me, thus has it been done by them.

Par. 9. Says Darius the King:—Ormazd has granted me the empire. Ormazd has brought help to me until I have gained this empire. By the grace of Ormazd I hold this empire.

Par. 10. Says Darius the King:—This (or the following) (is) what was done by me, before I became king. He who was named Cambyses (Kabujiya), the son of Cyrus of our race, he was here king before me. There was of that Cambyses a brother named Bartius; he was of the same father and mother as Cambyses. Cambyses slew this Bartius. When Cambyses slew that Bartius the troubles of the state ceased which Bartius had excited. (?) Then Cambyses proceeded to Egypt. When Cambyses had gone to Egypt, the state became heretical; then the lie became abounding in the land, both in Persia and in Media, and in the other provinces.

Par. 11. Says Darius the King:—Afterwards there was a certain man, a Magian, named Gomátes. He arose from Pissiachádá, the mountains named Arakadres, from thence, on the 14th day of the month Viyakhna, then it was, as he arose, to the state he thus falsely declared: "I am Bartius, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses." Then the whole state became rebellious; from Cambyses it went over to that (Bartius), both Persia and Media, and the other provinces. He seized the empire; on the 9th day of the month Garmapada, then it was he thus seized the empire. Afterwards Cambyses, unable to endure his (misfortunes) died.

Par. 12. Says Darius the King:—That crown, or empire, of which Gomátes, the Magian, dispossessed Cambyses, that crown had been in our family from the olden time. After Gomátes the Magian had dispossessed Cambyses of Persia and Media and the dependent provinces, he did according to his desire, he became king.

Par. 13. Says Darius the King:—There was not a man, neither Persian, nor Median, nor any one of our family, who would dispossess of the empire that Gomátes, the Magian. The state feared to resist him. He would frequently address the state, which knew

the old Bartius, for that reason he would address the state, saying, "Beware lest it regard me as if I were not Bartius the son of Cyrus." There was not any one bold enough to oppose him; every one was standing obediently around Gomátes the Magian until I arrived. Then I abode in the worship of Ormazd; Ormazd brought help to me. On the 10th day of the month Bágayádish, then it was, with the men who were my well-wishers, I slew that Gomátes, the Magian, and the chief men who were his followers. The fort named Siktakhotes, in the district of Media, named Nisæa, there I slew him; I dispossessed him of the empire. By the grace of Ormazd I became king; Ormazd granted me the sceptre.

Par. 14. Says Darius the King:—The crown that had been wrested from our race, that I recovered, I established it firmly; as in the days of old; thus I did. The rites which Gomátes the Magian had introduced, I prohibited. I reinstituted for the state the sacred chaunts and (sacrificial) worship, and confided them to the families which Gomátes the Magian had deprived of those offices. I firmly established the kingdom, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces; as in the days of old; thus I restored that which had been taken away. By the grace of Ormazd I did this. I laboured until I had firmly established our family as in the days of old. I laboured, by the grace of Ormazd, (in order) that Gomátes the Magian might not supersede our family.

Par. 15. Says Darius the King:—This is that which I did after that I became king.

Par. 16. Says Darius the King:—When I had slain Gomátes the Magian, then a certain man, named Atrines, the son of Opadarmes, he arose; to the state of Susiana he thus said: "I am King of Susiana." Then the people of Susiana became rebellious; they went over to that Atrines; he became King of Susiana. And a certain man, a Babylonian, named Natitabirus, the son of Æna . . . . . he arose. The state of Babylonia he thus falsely addressed: "I am Nabokhodrossor, the son of Nabonidus." Then the entire Babylonian state went over to that Natitabirus. Babylon became rebellious. He (Natitabirus) seized the government of Babylonia.

Par. 17. Says Darius the King:—Then I sent to Susiana; that Atrines was brought to me a prisoner. I slew him.

Par. 18. Says Darius the King:—Then I proceeded to Babylon (marching) against that Natitabirus, who was called Nabokhodrossor. The forces of Natitabirus held the Tigris; there they had come, and they had boats. Then I placed a detachment on rafts; I brought the enemy into difficulty; I assaulted the enemy's position. Ormazd

brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd I succeeded in passing the Tigris. Then I entirely defeated the army of that Natitabirus. On the 27th day of the month of Atriyáta, then it was that we thus fought.

Par. 19. Says Darius the King:—Then I marched against Babylon. When I arrived near Babylon, the city named Zázána, upon the Euphrates, there that Natitabirus, who was called Nabokhodrossor, came with a force before me offering battle. Then we fought a battle. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, I entirely defeated the force of Natitabirus. The enemy was driven into the water; the water destroyed them. On the 2nd day of the month Anámaka, then it was that we thus fought the battle.

[End of Column No. I, which extends to ninety-six lines, and the writing of which is generally in good preservation.]

Column II.

Par. 1. Says Darius the King:—Then Natitabirus, with the horsemen who were faithful to him, fled to Babylon. Then I proceeded to Babylon; I both took Babylon and seized that Natitabirus. Afterwards I slew that Natitabirus at Babylon.

Par. 2. Says Darius the King:—Whilst I was at Babylon these are the countries which revolted against me: Persis, Susiana, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, and Sacia.

Par. 3. Says Darius the King:—A certain man named Martius, the son of Sisicres; a city of Persia, named Cyganaca, there he dwelt; he rose up; to the state of Susiana he thus said: "I am Omanes, the King of Susiana."

Par. 4. Says Darius the King:—Upon this (?) I was moving a little way in the direction of Susiana; then the Susians, fearing (?) from me, seized that Martius who was their chief, and they slew him. (?)

Par. 5. Says Darius the King:—A certain man named Phraortes, a Median, he rose up; to the state of Media he thus said: "I am Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares." Then the Median forces, which were at home, (?) revolted against me. They went over to that Phraortes; he became King of Media.

Par. 6. Says Darius the King:—The army of Persians and Medes that was with me (on service) that remained faithful to me. Then I sent forth these troops. Hydarnes by name, a Persian, one of my subjects, him I appointed their leader. I thus addressed them: "Happiness attend ye; smite that Median State which does not acknowledge me." Then that Hydarnes marched with his army. When he reached Media, a city of Media named Ma . . . . . , there he engaged the

Medes. He who was leader of the Medes could not at all resist him. (?) Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, the troops of Hydarnes entirely defeated the rebel army. On the 6th day of the month Anámaka, then it was that the battle was thus fought by them. Afterwards my forces remained at Kapada, a district of Media, according to my order, (?) until I myself arrived in Media.

Par. 7. Says Darius the King:—Then Dadarses by name, an Armenian, one of my servants, him I sent to Armenia. I thus said to him: "Greeting to thee, the rebel state that does not obey me, smite it." Then Dadarses marched. When he reached Armenia, then the rebels, having collected, came before Dadarses arraying their battle. . . . . by name a village of Armenia, there they engaged. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated that rebel army. On the 8th day of the month Thurawáhara, then it was a battle was thus fought by them.

Par. 8. Says Darius the King:—For the second time the rebels, having collected, returned before Dadarses arraying battle. The fort of Armenia named Tigra, there they engaged. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated that rebel army. On the 18th day of the month of Thurawáhara, then it was that the battle was thus fought by them.

Par. 9. Says Darius the King:—For the third time the rebels having assembled, returned before Dadarses arraying battle. A fort of Armenia named . . . . . there they engaged. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated the rebel troops. On the 9th day of the month Thaigarchish, then it was a battle was thus fought by them. Afterwards Dadarses remained away from me . . . . . until I reached Media.

Par. 10. Says Darius the King:—Then he who was named Vomises, a Persian, one of my servants, him I sent to Armenia. Thus I said to him: "Hail to thee, the rebel state which does not acknowledge my authority, bring it under submission." Then Vomises marched forth. When he had reached Armenia, then the rebels, having assembled, came again before Vomises in order of battle. A district of Assyria named . . . . . there they engaged. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated that rebel army. On the 15th day of the month Anámaka, then it was a battle was thus fought by them.

Par. 11. Says Darius the King:—For the second time the rebels having assembled, came before Vomises in battle-array. The district of Armenia, named Otiára, there they engaged. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated that

rebel army. In the month Thurawáhara, upon the festival, (?) thus was a battle fought by them. Afterwards Vomises remained in Armenia, apart from me, until I reached Media.

Par. 12. Says Darius the King:—Then I departed[1]: from Babylon I proceeded to Media. When I reached Media, a city of Media, named Gudrusia, there that Phraortes, who was called King of Media, came with an army before me in battle-array. Then we joined battle. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, I entirely defeated the forces of Phraortes. On the 26th day of the month of Askhana, (?) then it was we thus fought the battle.

Par. 13. Says Darius the King:—Then that Phraortes, with the horsemen who were faithful to him, fled from thence to the district of Media, named Rhages. Subsequently I despatched forces in pursuit, by whom Phraortes was taken and brought before me. I cut off both his nose and ears and his lips, (?) and I brought him to . . . . . He was held chained at my door; all the kingdom beheld him. Afterwards at Ecbatana, there I had him crucified; (?) and the men who were his chief followers at Ecbatana, in the citadel I imprisoned (?) them.

Par. 14. Says Darius the King:—A certain man, named Sitratachmes, a Sagartian, he rebelled against me. To the State he thus said: "I am the King of Sagartia. I am of the race of Cyaxares." Then I sent forth an army composed of Persians and Medians. A man named Camaspates, a Median, one of my subjects, him I appointed their leader. Thus I addressed them: "Hail to ye, the State which is in revolt, which does not acknowledge me, smite it." Then Camaspates marched with his army. He fought a battle with Sitratachmes. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated the rebel army, and took Sitratachmes, and brought him before me. Then I cut off his nose and his ears, and I brought him to . . . . . He was kept chained at my door. (?) All the kingdom beheld him. Afterwards I had him crucified (?) at Arbela.

Par. 15. Says Darius the King:—This is that (which) was done by me in Media.

Par. 16. Says Darius the King:—[The rest of this paragraph is illegible in the Persian inscription, except in a few detached words. A connected translation is given from the Median transcript which is perfect]. Parthia and Hyrcania (*Warkán* in the Persian, *Vehkániya* in the Median) revolted against me; they declared for Phraortes. Hystaspes, who was my father, the Parthian forces rose in rebellion

[1] The Latin should have been corrected from *demum* to *abii*

against him. Then Hystaspes with the troops who remained faithful to him marched forth. Hyspaostisa, a town of Parthia, there he engaged the rebels. Ormazd brought help . . . . . by the grace of Ormazd, Hystaspes entirely defeated the rebel army; on the 22nd day of the month of Viyakhna, (Viyahnas in the Median) then it was the battle was thus fought by them.

[End of Column II., which extends like the preceding to ninety-six lines. The writing is a good deal injured by a fissure in the rock which extends the whole length of the tablet.]

Column III.

Par. 1. Says Darius the King:—Then I sent from Rhages a Persian army to Hystaspes. When that army reached Hystaspes, he marched forth with those troops. The city of Parthia named Patigapana, there he fought with the rebels. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, Hystaspes entirely defeated that rebel army. On the 1st day of the month of Garmapada, then it was the battle was thus fought by them.

Par. 2. Says Darius the King:—Then the province submitted to me. This is what was done by me in Parthia.

Par. 3. Says Darius the King:—The province named Margiana, that revolted (?) against me. A certain man named Phraates, the Margians made him their leader[1]. Then I sent to him one who was named Dadarses, a Persian, one of my subjects, and the Satrap of Bactria. Thus said I to him: "Hail to thee; attack that province which does not acknowledge me." Then Dadarses marched with his forces; he joined battle with the Margians. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd my troops entirely defeated the rebel army. On the 23rd day of the month Atriyátiya, then it was the battle was thus fought by them.

Par. 4. Says Darius the King:—Then the province submitted to me. This is what was done by me in Bactria.

Par. 5. Says Darius the King:—A certain man named Veisdátes; a city named Tárba, in the district of Persia, named Yutiya, there he dwelt. He rose up a second time; to the state of Persia he thus said: "I am Bartius, the son of Cyrus." Then the Persian forces, which were at home being removed (?) from connexion with me, they revolted against me. They went over to that Veisdátes; he became king of Persia.

Par. 6. Says Darius the King:—Then I sent forth the Persian and

[1] Major Rawlinson subsequently reads this, "a certain man named Phraates, a Margian, they made him their leader."

Median forces which were with me. Artabardes by name, one of my servants, him I appointed their chief. Another Persian force proceeded after me to Media. Then Artabardes, with his troops, marched to Persia. When he reached Persia, a city of Persia named Racha, there that Veisdátes, who was called Bartius, came with a force before Artabardes in battle-array. Then they joined battle. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated the army of Veisdátes. On the 12th day of the month Thurawáhara, then it was the battle was thus fought by them.

Par. 7. Says Darius the King:—Then that Veisdátes, with the horsemen who remained staunch to him, fled from thence to Pissiachádá. From that place, with an army, he came back arraying battle before Artabardes. The mountains named Parga, there they fought. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated the army of Veisdátes. On the 6th day of the month of Garmapada, then it was that the battle was thus fought by them. Both that Veisdátes they took, and also they took the men who were his principal adherents.

Par. 8. Says Darius the King:—Then that Veisdátes, and the men who were his chief followers, the town of Persia named Chadidia, there I impaled (?) them.

Par. 9. Says Darius the King:—That Veisdátes, who was called Bartius, he sent troops to Arachotia, against one named Vibánus, a Persian, one of my servants and Satrap of Arachotia, and he appointed a certain man to be their leader. He thus addressed them: "Hail to ye; smite Vibánus, and that State which obeys the rule of King Darius." Then those forces marched which Veisdátes had sent against Vibánus, preparing for battle. A fort named Capiscania, there they fought an action. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated that rebel army. On the 13th day of the month Anámaka, then it was the battle was thus fought by them.

Par. 10. Says Darius the King:—Another time, the rebels having assembled, came before Vibánus, offering battle. The district named Gadytia, there they fought an action. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated the rebel army. On the 7th day of the month Viyakhna, then it was the battle was thus fought by them.

Par. 11. Says Darius the King:—Then that man who was the leader of those troops which Veisdátes had sent against Vibánus, that leader with the horsemen who were faithful to him fled away. A fort of Arachotia, named Arshádá, he went beyond that place. Then

Vibánus with his troops marched in pursuit, [or to Nipatiya.] There he took him, and slew the men who were his chief followers.

Par. 12. Says Darius the King:—Then the province submitted to me. This is what was done by me in Arachotia.

Par. 13. Says Darius the King:—Whilst I was in Persia and Media, for the second time the Babylonians revolted against me. A certain man named Aracus, an Armenian, the son of Nañditus, he rose up; a district of Babylon named Dobáña, from thence he arose; he thus falsely proclaimed: "I am Nabókhodrossor, the son of Nabonidus." Then the Babylonian state revolted against me; it went over to that Aracus; he seized on Babylon; he became King of Babylonia.

Par. 14. Says Darius the King:—Then I sent troops to Babylon. A Median of the name of Intaphres, one of my servants, him I appointed their leader. Thus I addressed them: "Hail to ye, smite that Babylonian state, which does not acknowledge me." Then Intaphres with his force marched to Babylon. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd Intaphres took Babylon . . . . . On the 2nd day of the month . . . . . then it was he thus . . . . . [The three last lines are entirely lost in the Persian, with the exception of the concluding words, "then he was killed;" and I have not the Median translation of this part of the inscription.]

[End of Column III., containing ninety-two lines.]

Column IV.

Par. 1. Says Darius the King:—This is what was done by me in Babylonia.

Par. 2. Says Darius the King:—[This column is throughout greatly defaced; in many parts the writing is wholly obliterated, and can only be conjecturally restored; the translation, therefore, is given with much less confidence than that of the preceding columns]. This is what I have done. By the grace of Ormazd, have I done every thing. As the provinces revolted against me, I fought nineteen battles. By the grace of Ormazd, I smote them, and I made nine kings captive. One was named Gomátes, the Magian; he was an impostor: he said, "I am Bartius, the son of Cyrus;" he threw Persia into revolt. One, an impostor, was named Atrines, the Susian: he thus said, "I am the king of Susiana;" he caused Susiana to revolt against me. One was named Natitabirus, a native of Babylon; he was an impostor: he thus said, "I am Nabokhodrossor, the son of Nabonidus;" he caused Babylonia to revolt. One was an impostor named Martius, the Persian: he thus said, "I am Omanes, the King of Susiana;" he threw Susiana into

rebellion. One was named Phraortes, the Median; he assumed a false character: he thus said, "I am Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares;" he persuaded Media to revolt. One was an impostor named Sitratachmes, a native of Sagartia: he thus said, "I am the King of Sagartia, of the race of Cyaxares;" he headed a rebellion in Sagartia. One was an impostor named Phraates, a Margian: he thus said, "I am the King of Margiana;" he threw Margiana into revolt. One was an impostor named Veisdátes, a Persian: he thus said, "I am Bartius, the son of Cyrus;" he headed a rebellion in Persia. One was an impostor named Aracus, a native of Armenia; he thus said, "I am Nabokhodrossor, the son of Nabonidus;" he threw Babylon into revolt.

Par. 3. Says Darius the King:—These nine kings I have taken in these battles.

Par. 4. Says Darius the King:—These are the provinces which became rebellious; the Evil one (?) created lies, that they should deceive the state; afterwards . . . . . caused . . . . . to be subdued by me. (?) As it was desired by me, thus . . . . . did. (?)

Par. 5. Says Darius the King:—Thou, whoever may be king hereafter, exert thyself to put down lying; the man who may be heretical, him entirely destroy. If it shall be thus kept up, (?) my country shall remain entire (or prosperous).

Par. 6. Says Darius the King:—This is what I have done. By the grace of Ormazd, have I achieved the performance of the whole. Thou whoever hereafter mayest peruse this tablet, let it be known to thee, that which has been done by me, that it has not been falsely related. (?)

Par. 7. Says Darius the King:—Ormazd is my witness, (?) that this record (?) I have faithfully made of the performance of the whole.

Par. 8. Says Darius the King:—By the grace of Ormazd, there is much else that has been done by me that upon this tablet has not been inscribed; on that account it has not been inscribed, lest he who may hereafter peruse this tablet, to him the many deeds (?) that have been done by me elsewhere, it should seem that they are falsely recorded. (?)

Par. 9. Says Darius the King:—Those who have been former kings in Persia in succession, (?) to them is it done, as by me, by the grace of Ormazd has been the performance of the whole, so it has been recorded. (?)

Par. 10. Says Darius the King:—Be it known to thee, my successor, (?) that which has been done by me, thus publicly, (?) on that account that thou conceal not. If thou publish this tablet to the

world, (?) Ormazd shall be a friend to thee, and may thy offspring be numerous, and mayest thou be long lived.

Par. 11. Says Darius the King:—If thou shalt conceal this record, thou shalt not be thyself recorded; (?) may Ormazd be thy enemy, and mayest thou be childless.

Par. 12. Says Darius the King:—This is what I have done; the performance of the whole, by the grace of Ormazd, I have achieved it. Ormazd has brought help to me, and the other gods which are (brought help to me).

Par. 13. Says Darius the King:—On that account Ormazd brought help to me, and the other gods which are, (because) that I was not a heretic, nor was I a liar, nor was I a tyrant . . . . . My offspring above their place (?), above . . . . . by me with the tribes. . . . . was done. Whoever was an evil doer, (?) him I entirely destroyed. [These lines are much defaced.]

Par. 14. Says Darius the King:—Thou whatsoever king who mayest be hereafter, the man who may be a liar, or who may be an evil doer (?), do not cherish them; (?) cast them out into utter perdition.

Par. 15. Says Darius the King:—Thou whosoever hereafter mayest behold this tablet which I have inscribed, and these figures, beware lest thou dishonour them; as long as thou preservest them, so long shalt thou be preserved. (?)

Par. 16. Says Darius the King:—As long as thou mayest behold this tablet and these figures, thou mayest not dishonour them; and if from injury thou shalt preserve them, (?) may Ormazd be a friend to thee, and may thy offspring be numerous, and mayest thou be long lived; and that which thou mayest do may Ormazd bless for thee in aftertimes.

Par. 17. Says Darius the King:—If seeing this tablet and these figures, thou shalt dishonour them, and if from injury thou mayest not preserve them, may Ormazd be thy enemy, and mayest thou be childless; and that which thou mayest do, may Ormazd spoil for thee.

Par. 18. Says Darius the King:—These are the men who alone (?) were there when I slew Gomátes, the Magian, who was called Bartius. These alone (?) are the men who were my assistants. [The names are almost obliterated in the Persian, and several of them are imperfect in the Median. I have been able, however, to recover the following[1].] Intaphernes by name, the son of Hys . . . . . , a Persian; Otanes by name, the son of . . . . . , a Persian; Gobryás by name, the son of Mardonius, a Persian; Hydarnes by name, the son of . . . . . , a

[1] See Notes to the Cuneiform Text.

Persian; Megabyzus by name, the son of Zopyrus, a Persian; Aspathines by name, the son of . . . . . a Persian.

[There is one more Paragraph in Column IV., consisting of six lines, which is entirely obliterated in the Persian, and appears to be without any Median translation.]

[End of Column IV., which contains ninety-two lines, the greater part lamentably injured.]

Column V.

Of the thirty-five lines which compose a supplementary half column, it is impossible to give a complete translation, one side of the tablet being entirely destroyed. From such portions as are decypherable it appears to contain an account of two other revolts; one in Susiana, conducted by a man named . . . . . imim; and the other by Saruk'ha, the chief of the Sacæ, who dwelt upon the Tigris.

Darius employed Gubar'uwa (Gobryas), the Persian, against the former rebel, and he marched in person against the latter, having previously returned from Media to Babylon. The details of the campaigns cannot be recovered, but they both terminated successfully.

The inscription then concludes with further thanksgivings to Ormazd, and injunctions to the posterity of Darius to preserve uninjured the memorial of his deeds.

The events described in the supplemental column must have taken place during the process of engraving the preceding record, and after the tablet containing the sculptured figures was finished. By a further smoothening of the face of the rock, Darius was enabled to add the Sacan Saruk'ha, whom he had defeated in person, to his exhibition of captive figures, but there was no room in the tablet for the figure of the Susian rebel, who was discomfited by his lieutenant Gobryas.

Translation of the detached Inscriptions which are appended to each of the Figures exhibited on the Upper Triumphal Tablet.

Above the head of Darius is an inscription of eighteen lines, marked A. in the Engraving, containing an exact copy of the four first paragraphs of Column I., which have been already given. The writing is perfect, and the portions, therefore, of the lower tablet which have been effaced, can be determinately restored. It is needless, I conceive, to repeat the translation.

A Median translation, also quite perfect, adjoins the Persian original; but the Babylonian transcript is wanting.

B. Tablet attached to the prostrate figure on which the victor king tramples:—

"This Gomátes, the Magian, was an impostor; he thus declared, 'I am Bartius, the son of Cyrus. I am the King.'"

C. Adjoining the first standing figure:—

"This Atrines was an impostor; he thus declared, 'I am King of Susiana.'"

D. Adjoining the second standing figure:—

"This Natitabirus was an impostor; he thus declared, 'I am Nabokhodrossor, the son of Nabonidus; I am King of Babylon[1].'"

E. Adjoining the third standing figure (the Persian legend is engraved on the body of the figure):—

"This Phraortes was an impostor; he thus declared, 'I am Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares; I am King of Media.'"

F. Above the fourth standing figure:—

"This Martius was an impostor; he thus declared, 'I am Omanes, the King of Susiana.'"

G. Adjoining the fifth standing figure:—

"This Sitratachmes was an impostor; he thus declared, 'I am King of Sagartia, of the race of Cyaxares.'"

H. Adjoining the sixth standing figure:—

"This Veisdates was an impostor; he thus declared, 'I am Bartius, the son of Cyrus. I am the King.'"

I. Adjoining the seventh standing figure:—

"This Aracus was an impostor; he thus declared, 'I am Nabokhodrossor, the son of Nabonidus. I am the King of Babylon.'"

J. Adjoining the eighth standing figure:—

"This Phraates was an impostor; he thus declared, 'I am the King of Margiana.'"

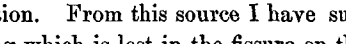
K. Above the ninth or supplemental figure with the high cap:—

"This is Saruk'ha, the Sacan."

[1] The name of Nebuchadrezzar is written indifferently Nabu*khad*rachar and Nabu*khu*drachar.

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

Column I.

The detached inscription marked A. in the key sketch, being a copy of the first ten lines of the great tablet, furnishes a very valuable means of restoration. From this source I have supplied all that portion of the writing which is lost in the fissure on the right hand of the 1st column as far as the 11th line; the letter in the word *amátá* (see line 7 of the column and line 11 of the detached inscription) being alone subject to doubt. As the second paragraph of the detached inscription closes with the phrase *Chishpishahyá pitá Hak'hámanish*, we must, I believe, attribute it to an oversight on the part of the artist that the word *Chishpishahyá*[1] is not found in the 6th line of the great tablet. In my copy of the detached inscription I have in every instance inserted the letter in the first syllable of the name *Vishtáspa*, but I am not certain whether I may not have been led into error in this respect from a mere habit of using the Persepolitan and Zend orthography. That the name in the great tablet is everywhere written  is positive, and I think, if a different orthography had been employed in the detached inscription, I should have particularly remarked it. Having neglected, however, to pay any special attention to this point when I was on the spot, I have been obliged in preparing a fair copy of the detached inscription to place the letter in a parenthesis. It will be observed that where the vowel *a* is irregularly substituted for *i*, as in *Văshtaspa* and *Vătha*, I mark the peculiar orthography by a circumflex accent.

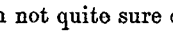
Lines 11 and 12.—The restorations in the 5th paragraph are hardly, I think, open to exception, the phrases *washná A'uramazdáha*, and *maná frábara*, which are of the most common occurrence, alone suiting the context.

Line 13.—The letters in *maná* are partially distinguishable, and a recurrence of the same expression in line 18 enables me to restore in *patiyáisha*.

[1] It must also be observed that the name which answers to the Greek Τεΐσπης is written in lines 5 and 6 of the 1st column, *Chishpáish*, while in the detached inscription my rough copy has the orthography of *Chishpish*, without the . Of the former reading I am certain, but of the correctness of the latter I entertain doubts.

Line 14.—The blank in this line caused by the fissure will alone admit of the names 'U-----.----r'ush being completed to '*Uwajha. Bábir'ush;* there is no space for the name of Media, but whether the title of that province was excluded from the geographical list by design or accident, I can hardly conjecture.

Line 15.—The blank space in this line is sufficient for 5½ letters, and I give the orthography therefore of *Yuná*, or Ionia, as at Persepolis, in preference to *Yuna*, which is found in the inscription on the sepulchre of Darius, without the final elongation[1].

Line 16.—I am not quite sure of the orthography of *Sughdá*. It is possible that the name may be written  , as Westergaard appears to have found it at Nakhsh-i-Rustam (see line 23 of that inscription[2]); but I certainly think that the last letter of the name in this passage is and that the preceding character also is complete. Párthwa has been put by inadvertence instead of Parthwa.

Line 17.—The numerals at the end of the 6th paragraph are on the immediate edge of the fissure, and are liable, in consequence, to some doubt. This doubt is also increased by our finding that the number 23, which appears to represent, does not accord with the catalogue of names. I took great pains at the same time to discriminate the figures, and think that I have given them correctly. Remark also *Saka* instead of *Saká*, at the commencement of the line.

Line 18.—Lines 13 and 18 supply a mutual restoration.

Line 19.—The restoration of *yathásháṁ* is supported by the recurrence of the same expression in line 23; but at the same time I do not give it with entire confidence, for *yathá* usually requires to be followed by its co-relative *awathá*. The inscription of Nakhsh-i-Rustam appears to have the word *hamayasháṁ* (line 20) in a sentence of nearly similar construction[3]; and if that reading be correct[4], *hamaya* may perhaps be the term which is used in the present passage. The letters although within the fissure, are partially visible.

Lines 20 to 25 inclusive.—In all this space I was able by scraping

[1] See Lassen's Zeitschrift, 1844, p. 178. Inscript. N. R., line 28. For the inscription of Nakhsh-i-Rustam, however, I uniformly consult the MS. of Mr. Westergaard, collated with an independent copy taken by Mons. Dittel at the same time.

[2] See Lassen's Zeitschrift, loc. cit.

[3] See Lassen's Zeitschrift, page 178.

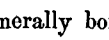
[4] Westergaard and Dittel agree in the orthography.

the surface of the rock to trace the writing continuously through the fissure; the only letter to which any doubt attaches is the final in *agatá*, in line 21. The character in *tyaná*, in line 23, is suspicious, but its existence was verified by me by repeated examination.

Line 26.—The restoration of in *adáraya*, is given with some confidence, as the space is only sufficient for two letters, and the term, which is of very common employment, is the only word in the inscriptions ending in *áraya*. In the last word of the 9th paragraph the letter is very doubtful; the form of the character cannot be at all traced on the rock, and I have nothing to guide me in the restoration, but grammatical propriety.

Line 27.—The restorations on the left hand of the tablet as far as line 41 are generally borne out by the context; but some of them require especial explanation: on the right hand of the present line, in *pariwa*, the letters are hardly distinguishable, but I find the same reading given by me conjecturally, in three copies of the paragraph taken by me at different periods.

Line 29. The letter on the edge of the fracture can be identified, but are conjectural restorations.

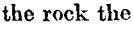
Line 30.—In line 40 we have the termination of the word *brátá*, which enables me to supply the two letters  lost in the fracture on the left hand.

Line 32.—I take the third letter from the inscription of Nakhsh-i-Rustam[1], where, in line 45, we have the word *az(a)dá* in a perfect form, and where, in line 43, the same reading may be restored with tolerable certainty. There is no other word of four characters ending in *zadá*. The open space in *awajhata* is incorrect. Remark also the want of a final in this word, which may be either a dialectic irregularity, or want of accuracy on the part of the artist.

Line 37. The restoration of is given on the authority of line 42, column 3, where the name of *Pishiyá'uwádá* again occurs. It is just possible that the sign of disjunction may intervene between *viya* and *k'hanahya;* indeed, in one copy I have thus separated the words; but as we have the entire name *Viyak'hnahya* in line 67 of the 3rd column (doubtful in the Persian, but perfect in another

[1] See Lassen's Zeitschrift, page 179.

passage of the Median transcript), I believe I am justified in employing the same orthography in this passage. If *viya*, moreover, were a verb, and *K'hana* the name of a month, the former term would require the temporal augment.

Line 40.—On the rock the word *abiya* is written  ; I have not been able to show this in my copy, but it is of less consequence, as the blank spaces were evidently never lettered, owing to unevenness in the surface of the rock.

Line 46.—There is some doubt whether there may not have been a letter before the at the commencement of the line. In the first copy which I took I left a vacant space for one character, but on re-examination the broken part appeared never to have been lettered.

From line 47 to line 62, the writing is beautifully perfect; in all this space, the only letter which is subject to doubt is the in *darshama*, in line 50: this character on the rock has the appearance of , but as the word *darshama* occurs in connexion with *darugá* in line 37 of the 4th column, and as it is also found in lines 19 and 20 of the mutilated inscription of Nakhsh-i-Rustam[1], I have no doubt that *r* is the correct reading.

Line 63.—The two last letters may be depended on, notwithstanding the surface of the rock is a good deal abraded.

Line 64.—I believe that the imperfect letter in *niyatŕárayam* is and not , but the rock is too much broken to admit of a certain identification. The two last letters in the line are almost entirely lost; I examined them repeatedly under different lights and thought I could trace the form of in the first, but the restoration of the other to is entirely conjectural.

Line 65.—In *vāthibishchá* the letter is extremely doubtful upon the rock, and the restoration is rendered still more uncertain, by the obscurity of the sense.

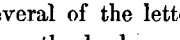
Line 66.—The context fully supports the restoration of the letter both in *Mádamchá* and *Pársamchá*.

Line 67.—The word *pr'uwamachiya* occurring in two other passages in this paragraph (lines 63 and 69), the doubtful letter may certainly be given as . The two last letters are restored

[1] I quote from Westergaard's MS. Lassen has the commencement of the inscription in his Zeitschrift, page 120.

on the authority of line 62, where the word *parábartam* is found in a perfect state.

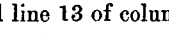
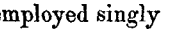
Line 68.—As *hamatak'hshiya* occurs again in line 70, I have no hesitation in restoring at the end of this line.

Line 69.—Several of the letters in *pr'uwamachiya* may be indistinctly traced upon the broken surface of the rock. The letters on the extreme right of the column  alone require to be entirely restored.

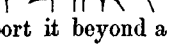
From line 69 to line 76, the restorations, consisting of four or five letters in each line, are given with entire confidence; the construction being simple, and the context clearly indicating the words that are required to complete the sense.

Line 77.—The blank space in the name of the father of *Nat'itabira* is sufficient for two letters, but I have no clue to their identification.

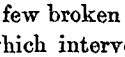
In the four following lines the forms of all the letters may be traced with sufficient clearness to establish their identity. The orthography of *Bábir'uviya* in line 79, which is alone much defaced, is supported by a reference to line 77 of this column, to lines 77 and 80 of column 3, and line 13 of column 4.

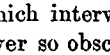
Line 82 is much mutilated. The characters  are partially visible on the broken surface of the rock, but it is impossible to ascertain from the writing in its present state, whether the sign intervenes between *basta* and *ánayatá*, or whether *bastánayatá* is to be read as a single word. I have adopted the reading of *basta ánayatá* on the authority of paragraphs 13 and 14 of the 2nd column, where the terms are employed singly in passages of similar import. The restoration of  at the end of the line has nothing to support it beyond a corresponding form of expression in those paragraphs; and as I observe that in my rough copy I have particularly noted the broken space to be alone sufficient for five letters, it is, I think, subject to doubt.

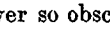
Line 84.—For the restoration of in *agubatá*, see a similar form of expression in line 54 of column 3, and line 82 of column 4.

Line 85.—The letters in *adár(a)ya* are partially visible. The double  in *aishatatá*, is suspicious, but certainly exists upon the rock, and the at the end of the line is clearly enough defined.

Line 86.—I have no means of restoring the imperfect words *ma--ká'uwá* or *aw-kanam*. There would appear to be sufficient space

for two letters between and , and for one letter between and , but the rock is too much broken to admit even of any certainty that these vacant spaces were ever lettered. The characters on the extreme right of the line  are sufficiently legible.

Line 87.—A few broken traces are all that remain on the rock of the characters which intervened between *asma* and *ánayam*, and the passage is moreover so obscure, that I am unwilling to hazard a restoration. The three letters on the right  which are required to complete the word *upastám* are given with entire confidence.

Line 88. After the name of *Tigrám*, the characters  are tolerably distinct; then follow two letters which are very doubtful; if the second letter be an *m* or a *t*, the character which precedes it cannot be , for *j* appears to be one of the consonants requiring for its articulation a combination with the vowel *i; bayá* may be doubtfully read in continuation, and the detached letters and can be distinguished near the edge of the broken surface; but I am quite at a loss to identify the words which these broken fragments indicate[1].

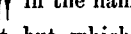
Line 89. The portions which are still visible of the name of the month *Atriyáťiya* fully support, I think, the restoration of in the body of the word; and the genitival inflexion in cannot be questioned. It is remarkable, at the same time, that in column 3, line 18, the orthography should be used of *Atřiyátiya*, as though the two characters and might be employed indifferently. We have another example of this confusion in the spelling of the word *p(a)ritiya*. I am not quite sure of the numerals in line 89, but I believe I have given them correctly as .

Line 91.—The letter in *adam*, and in *ashiyawam*, may be restored with certainty; but the in *athiya* is doubtful. The initial letter also in *yathá* is extremely indistinct, and the remaining seven characters to the end of the line are entirely gone. I have no

[1] In a copy of this paragraph, taken in 1835, I have the conjectural reading of for the commencement of the word which follows *Tigrám*, and I am inclined to regard that reading as more correct than the orthography of the present text. Perhaps the entire word may be *viyatarayam* or *viyatarayám*, which would give the signification of "transivi." See line 25 of the 5th column, where the letters *viyatara* are quite distinct.—See more in the notes on this passage in the fourth chapter.

means of restoring the verb of which we see the termination *áyam* in the succeeding line, but there cannot be much doubt as to its signification.

Line 92.—Here is a blank space on the rock between the characters and in the name of *'Ufrátuwá*, which I have neglected to shew in the text, but which appears never to have been lettered. From the letter to the end of the line is entirely lost, but the context furnishes a certain restoration.

Line 93.—The seven characters which intervene between and  on the right hand of the line, are altogether lost; but I have no hesitation in restoring *mam . hamar(a)nam.*

Line 95.—In the imperfect word succeeding *apiyá*, there appears to have been one letter before , and two between that character and ; I have no clue however to their restoration.

Line 96.—The restorations to this line require no remark except in reference to the final word of the column, which is given on the authority of line 94; *Akhumá* also occurs twice in the 12th paragraph of the 2nd column; and in line 17 of the inscription of Persepolis, completed by Westergaard[1].

The lower part of the 1st column is throughout more or less injured, and in the right hand corner the writing is in many part entirely obliterated by the abrasion of the surface of the rock.

Column II.

A fissure varying in breadth, which has been caused by the percolation of water from above, bisects the second column, and destroys the continuity of the writing throughout its whole extent. Fortunately, however, the construction is so extremely simple and uniform, that the lost portions of the inscriptions may be restored with a very high degree of probability; and from line 29, we have also the Median transcript which is perfect, to verify and assist in the recovery.

In lines 1 and 2, the restorations appear to me to be unexceptionable.

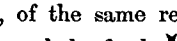
In line 3, there is a difficulty. The termination in *áha* which is perfect, as well as the context, would suggest the restoration of *washná. A'uramazdáha;* but after the completion of the word *ashiyawam*, the broken space is alone sufficient for the intervention of 5 or 6 letters,

[1] See Lassen's *Zeitschrift*, page 172. I have also been obligingly favoured by Mr. Westergaard with a MS. copy of this inscription.

and the usual phrase therefore cannot have been introduced at length. Either the word *washná* must have been accidentally omitted by the artist, or the construction must be different from that which is usually employed. I have thought it best accordingly to leave the space entirely blank.

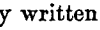
Line 4.—The restoration of *agarbáyam* may be questioned, the repetition of the verb appearing to be unnecessary. We have an instance, however, of the same redundant expression in paragraph 7 of the 3rd column, and the final is partially visible.

Line 7.—I restore the name of *Arm'ina*, between *Athurá* and *Parthwa*, as the Armenians appear to have been conjoined with the Assyrians in their revolt. The expeditions indeed of *Dadarshish* and *Wum'isa*, which occupy five paragraphs of this column, are especially referred to Armenia, while Assyria is merely mentioned incidentally, as the country in which *Wum'isa* fought his first battle. The restoration of in *Parthwa* is hardly, I think, open to objection.

Line 8.—Remark the orthography of *Saka* instead of *Saká*, as the name is uniformly written at Persepolis[1]. Perhaps I have been too bold in restoring  , for the double employment of *martiya* both as a generic term and a proper name in immediate contiguity has an unpleasing effect; but on the other hand, the final which is quite distinct, would appear to indicate that this circumstance had produced no change in the construction which is observed in all the other paragraphs.

Line 9.—*Pársiya* is restored on the authority of line 16, column 4th; where in the recapitulation of the victories of Darius, *Martiya* is expressly mentioned as a Persian.

Line 10.—The name which I read *'Umanish* occurs in three passages, but unfortunately in every instance, the initial character is doubtful. In this line, and line 16, column 4th, the letter has the appearance of or , but in line 4 of the detached inscription F, the sign may, I think, be traced at the commencement of the name, and I consider therefore the doubtful character to be *'u*, . I must add at the same time, that the Median transcript appears to give the orthography of *Amanish* as if the initial letter were .

Line 11.—The word of which the termination in  is visible

[1] See Lassen's Zeitschrift, page 176, Inscrip I., line 18; and page 178, Ins. N. R., lines 25 and 28.

on the right of the fissure is probably *adakiya,* (See line 24 and also paragraph 18 of column 4th,) but the letters are entirely lost, and the sense is so obscure, that I have hesitated to give the restoration in the text. There is also sufficient space for two or three letters on the rock, between the word *k'hsháyathiya* and the conjectural restoration of *adakiya,* which I am quite unable to fill up.

Line 12.—I cannot venture to restore the word that follows *hachámа;* there is space for about seven letters which are entirely lost. I give the orthography of *'Uwajiyá* instead of *'Uwajhiyá,* on the authority of line 76, column 1st, where the character is found to replace the usual in the nominative plural of this ethnic title[1]; in line 10, column 4, the singular of the ethnic title retains .

Line 13.—The vacant space in this line may perhaps contain the words *utáshim.awájhana,* but it would be too bold to introduce them in the text. The broken space beyond the character , which is quite distinct, appears to have been never lettered.

Line 14 and 15.—The context in these lines, I think, fully supports the restorations.

Line 16.—In my rough copy I have added to the genitival inflexion of *'Uwak'hshatara,* and I have omitted the character at the end of *tu'máya.* The omission I am persuaded is an error, for the orthography of *tu'máyá* is constant and uniform, but the addition is subject to doubt. In column 4, lines 19 and 22, and in the detached inscriptions E, line 7, and G, line 9, the inflexion is in *hya* without the final ; but in line 81 of the present column, I observe the name to be again written *'Uwak'hshatarahyá* in the rough copy. Having neglected to pay particular attention to this orthographical irregularity on the spot, I have placed the character in a parenthesis. There is perhaps hardly sufficient authority for the restoration of the words *vithápatiya . áha;* I have been guided by the apparent similarity of construction in paragraphs 5 and 6 of the 3rd column, where the word occurs at length in line 26; but I admit at the same time that the parallel is not altogether satisfactory. I may here remark that the orthography of is always employed at Behistun, for the word which is written *vitha,* at Persepolis.

Line 18.—The interval in this line being sufficient for fifteen letters, I am justified, I think, in restoring *Pársa . utá . Máda.,* as in

[1] *See also line 6 of the 5th column.*

paragraph 6th of the 3rd column, in preference to introducing a single name.

Line 19.—For the name of *Vidarna* see line 21.

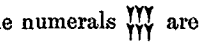
Line 22.—The name of the Median city where the action took place is entirely lost, with the exception of the initial . It appears to have contained eight letters.

Line 23.—I have conjecturally restored *hadá* before *Má*, and *dayibish . hya* after it.

Line 24.—I was unable to trace a single letter in the broken spaces which disfigure this line; and as the matter contained in it is out of the usual routine of description, I cannot restore the writing even conjecturally. The first interval contains five letters, and the latter eight.

Line 26.—The numerals are a good deal mutilated, but I believe I have given them correctly.

Lines 27 and 28.—The restorations are given on the authority of the concluding phrases in paragraphs 9 and 11 of this column, where the construction is nearly similar. For the restoration of *mám . káma*, as an equivalent to the *chitá . mám* of the other paragraphs, see lines 35 and 36 of column 4th, and lines 37 and 38 of the long inscription of Nakhsh-i-Rustam[1].

Line 30.—Remark another instance of the indifferent employment of and ; in this line and in line 50 of the present column, the word *pritiya* is written , the letter being perfectly distinct, while in line 14 of column 3rd, the orthography is employed of  .

Line 33.—The name of the place where Dadarshish fought his first action is entirely lost, and I hesitate to restore the orthography on the mere faith of the Median copy. The space appears to be sufficient for six letters.

Line 34.—Remark the orthography of *Armaniyiya*: In the present passage and in line 39 and 44 I have particularly noticed, in my rough copy, the substitution of for ; but in line 59 I have preserved the old spelling without comment, probably, as I think, through an oversight. In line 41, the name of *Thurawáharahya* is restored from the Median. As far as line 43, I observe nothing else requiring particular notice in the restorations, or other parts of the text.

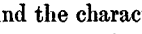
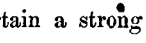
Line 44.—The name of the fort near which Dadarshish fought his

[1] See Lassen's Zeitschrift, page 178.

third action is altogether obliterated, and the pronunciation of the word is doubtful even in the Median.

Line 48.—I cannot venture to restore the name which is lost in this line, for the Median copy gives a very doubtful orthography. The word *yátá* is partially visible, and may be given with certainty, on the authority of the Median. For the construction, see the concluding phrases in paragraphs 6 and 11 of this column.

Line 53.—The letter is doubtful; the name appears to have consisted of five characters, but it is quite illegible, and I am not sure of the Median orthography.

Line 59.—I find the characters  in my rough copy, but I entertain a strong suspicion that they are incorrect, and that the true orthography of the word is  , as it appears in lines 34, 39, and 44.

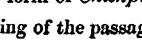
Line 62.—The 4th character in this line is entirely lost, and the word to which it belongs occurring in no other passage of the inscriptions, I am unable to restore it.

Line 63.—For the restorations, see the preceding lines of this column, 28 and 48.

Line 64.—The characters and , are both doubtful in the word *nijháyam*, and I have no means of verification.

Line 65.—The letter on the right hand of the fissure is doubtful; according to the Median copy, the name should commence with *Kh* or *Gh*, and it is very probable therefore that the true form is .

Line 69.—The letter in *Frawartish* is partially visible, but the succeeding character is entirely lost. I have restored , on the authority of the names of the months *Bágayádish* and *Thátgarchish*, which as masculines in *i*, appear to form the genitive in *ish*. At the same time I must remark, that the space on the rock between the of *Frawartish* and the of *adam*, is sufficient for four letters[1]. The great blank on the right contains the name of a month, which, however, as it occurs in no other passage of the inscriptions, I am unwilling to restore, on the mere faith of the Median orthography. The restoration even of the genitival inflexion in may be questioned.

[1] Remark also the form of *Chishpishhyá* in line 8 of the detached Inscription A. Perhaps the true reading of the passage is  .

Line 70.—For the restoration of *akhumá* see line 68, and lines 90 and 94 of column 1st.

Line 73.—The letters in *tyipatiya* are exceedingly doubtful. I was unable indeed to ascertain positively whether the broken space succeeding *fráishayam* contained two or three letters. In *agarbáyatá*, all the characters, with the exception of , may be indistinctly traced within the fissure; farther on also the letters are sufficiently clear, but the characters in *utá*, and in *ánayatá*, are restorations supported by the context, and by a comparison with line 88 of the present column.

Line 74.—For the restoration of the enclitical pronoun *shiya*, see line 88 where the construction is nearly similar. I have noted in my rough copy that nine letters intervene between the of *utá*, and the final , on the right of the fissure; but they are wholly lost, and the particular word, which probably signifies "lips," is omitted in the succeeding paragraph.

Line 75.—The second letter, almost effaced from the rock, appears to resemble , but I have preferred the restoration of , on the authority of line 89. The next word appears to contain four letters, but neither in this line, nor in line 89, where the term again occurs, can the forms of any of the characters be traced, with the exception of the final , in the latter passage. In the following word I have introduced an *n*, , in my rough copy; but I believe erroneously; for in line 89, I have the orthography of , and on etymological grounds, I am inclined to regard that as the true orthography. I have placed accordingly the character in a parenthesis. The forms of all the characters in this line, can be traced through the right hand fissure, with the exception of the final , in *dhuwarayámiya*, and the in *adáriya*, which are restored on the authority of lines 89, 90, of the present column.

Line 76.—In the second word of this line there would appear to be sufficient space for two letters, to the right and left of the character ; but in line 90, where the word again occurs it cannot consist of more than four letters; in the latter passage also the initial character is , and I may perhaps therefore be justified in giving that restoration, supposing the verb in both cases to commence with *awa*. The

Median transcript is decisive of the identity of the word in the two passages. The final character in the name of Ecbatana, is blank both in this passage and in line 78, but I think may be restored with tolerable certainty. I have been guided in the restoration of *awadashim . uz(a)tayápatiya,* by line 52 of column 3rd, where the construction only differs in the substitution of the plural for the singular enclitical pronoun. The letters *ápatiya* are perfectly clear, and the initial can be indistinctly traced; but the three intermediate characters are entirely lost. I must add that in line 52, column 3rd, where the word occurs at length, it is doubtful whether the 3rd letter be an *m,* or a *t;* in one copy I have , in another ; I have therefore inserted a note of interrogation in the text.

Line 77.—Remark the final in *ahatá;* the employment or suppression of this character appears to have been at the option of the artist. The restoration of in *awiya,* is undoubted; the character is sufficiently visible on the rock.

Line 78.—Nothing is to be seen of the characters in the fracture on the left hand, but the in *atara* is partially visible, and the entire restoration is, I think, to be depended on. The last word in the paragraph may be *frájhanam,* but the letter is extremely indistinct, and the acceptation in which that word is generally used, hardly applies to the present passage.

Line 79.—The restoration of is given on the authority of the Median transcript, which applies the ethnic title of Sagartian to *Chitŕatak'hma.*

Line 81.—For remarks on the final in *'Uwak'hshatarahyá,* see note to line 16 of this column.

Line 82.—For the restoration of in the name of *K'hamaspáda,* see line 85 where that character is perfectly distinct.

Line 84.—I am not quite satisfied of the correctness of *tyam. ham'itŕiyam,* for the construction with a double relative is peculiar, and the space appears to be hardly sufficient for the restored letters. The termination in is however given in my rough copy as undoubted, and I know of no other way of filling up the interval. Remark also the in *gubátiya,* which I find in the rough copy to be marked as an irregular orthography, and which I have no doubt, therefore, really exists upon the rock.

Line 88.—In this line the final letter of *Chitřatak'hmam* is a good deal defaced; but as the noun is in the accusative case, it can be no other than 𐎠𐎹𐎹. The word *utá* is exceedingly doubtful; in my rough copy I have left a short blank space, as if the broken surface had been never lettered; but the sense appears to require the intervention between the two verbs of the copulative conjunction; I may observe at the same time, that in the Median the conjunction is wanting.

Line 89.—There have been three characters apparently in the blank space preceding the letter, 𐎠𐎹𐎹, but they are totally effaced. The following word in my rough copy is written 𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎠𐎹𐎹, and that I believe to be the true orthography; I have introduced however the letter 𐎼 in a parenthesis, for the reason explained in the note to line 75.

Line 90.—There appears to be barely sufficient space upon the rock for three letters after the initial 𐎢 in the word which intervenes between *kára* and *pasáwashim*. See the note to line 76.

Line 91.—The restoration on the left hand is given on the authority of the Median transcript, which employs the same word in this passage, that answers to *uz(a)tayápatiya*, in line 76; the termination also in 𐎢𐎶𐎠, which is sufficiently distinct, is a further proof of the identity of the terms.

Line 92.—*Mádiya* is restored from the Median transcript, the final 𐎶𐎠, being alone visible on the rock.

Line 93.—The final 𐎼 in *Warkána*, is only partially distinguishable, but the Median orthography is undoubted; *Văshtáspa* is also restored on the authority of the Median transcript, and it would not be difficult to complete the line from the same source.

Line 94.—The name of *Vispáwushtisa*, which is only partially legible, is completed after the Median orthography.

I could not distinguish a single letter in lines 95 and 96, the abrasion of the rock extending over the entire lower surface of the column; the loss however is of less consequence as we have the Median transcript complete and perfectly intelligible.

Column III.

The greater part of this column is in a very perfect state of preservation, and the text accordingly is almost independent of restoration or remark. As far as line 65, at any rate, a few brief notes will afford all the necessary information.

Line 2.—The third letter from the right hand is doubtful on the rock, but I have no hesitation whatever in restoring , to complete the name of *Ragá*, which is found in the Median copy, and also in line 71 of the 2nd column.

Line 4.—The last letter is very indistinct; it rather resembles , upon the rock, but I have given on the faith of the Median transcript, and read the name *Patigapaná*.

Line 11.—Remark the substitution of *hashitiyá*, for the usual *ham'itřiya;* the variety of expression is particularly noted in my rough copy, and cannot therefore be an error of orthography.

Line 14.—In the word *k'hshatřapáwá*, I have , instead of in the rough copy; but the latter character is quite distinct, in line 55 of this column, and I have therefore restored it in the present passage. Remark also the in *pritiya*, instead of the , which is employed in lines 30 and 50, of the 2nd column.

Line 18.—The letter , is again used for the of line 89 of the first column, in the name of the month *Atriyátiya*. The numeral character in this line is doubtful, but one of my copies reads , and the Median equivalent has , obviously an error for .

Line 32.—Remark *pasá*, the orthography of which, is I believe undoubted.

Line 42.—The final in *káram* is doubtful; I find the letter given , in two copies of the paragraph taken by me at different times.

Lines 49 and 51.—*Ahata* is given in these passages without the final .

Line 52.—Remark the final in *awadashish;* both of my copies agree in this orthography, and there is no reason therefore to question it. In the following word the third character is doubtful; one copy has and the other ; unfortunately, also, the etymology is so obscure as to furnish no means of deciding which may be the true reading.

Line 67.—In the name of the month *Viyak'hana*, the character is entirely gone, and the following letter , is partially defaced; the restoration is given on the authority of line 37 of the 1st column, the note to which may be consulted. The Median orthography of this name occurs in the transcript of paragraph 16 of the

2nd column, the Persian original of which is almost wholly obliterated.

In lines 69 and 70, it was perhaps hardly necessary to place the restorations in outline, for the surface of the rock is only slightly injured, and the forms of all the characters may be traced with more or less distinctness.

Line 71.—In the name which I have written *Arshâda*, it is impossible to distinguish whether the fourth character may be or ; and I have not the Median copy of this part of the inscription.

Line 72.—The same difficulty occurs with regard to the sixth character of the word *atiyâisha;* I have given the restoration of , instead of , on the mere ground of etymological propriety. The character also, in the name *Nipat'iyam--iya* is doubtful, and there is sufficient space upon the rock for another letter between that character and the termination in *iya,* which I have no means of restoring.

Line 73.—I find *awadâshim* written in my rough copy with a long *a,* , before the enclitical pronoun, but I am doubtful if the orthography be correct; for in line 59, column 1st, and line 52 of the present column, the final elongation of the adverb lapses before a suffix. I have placed the character therefore in a parenthesis.

Line 74.—The final in *âhatâ,* may be depended on.

Line 76.—The broken letters in this line may be all partially traced.

Line 77.—The characters in *Arm'iniya* are a good deal defaced, but they can hardly be called restorations.

Line 78.—The initial character of the name of the father of *Arak'ha,* may be pronounced with certainty to be ; but regarding the second letter I entertain some doubt. I examined the rock with the utmost care, and found that the signs, as far as I could trace them, would admit of arrangement into no other character but ; an identification at the same time which I should have supposed impossible, (for the letter belongs to the Median, and not to the Persian alphabet,) had I not met with apparently the same character, in a name immediately following. Certainty is not to be obtained, for in both cases the surface of the rock is slightly injured; but the repetition tends, I think, to a mutual verification. In the second name also, which I read *Dhubâña,* the initial sign is somewhat disfigured.

Line 79.—Remark the orthography of *Nabukhudrachara.* In column 1, lines 79 and 84, and in the detached inscriptions, D., line 4, and I., line 5, the name is written without any vowel between the and ; but in this passage and in column 4, lines 14 and 30, there is certainly an intermediate .

Line 80.—In the rough copy I find the ethnic title *Bábir'uviya* written with a common *r* , instead of the aspirated letter , but I believe incorrectly; the letter is somewhat defaced, and I probably neglected to examine it minutely; in the text accordingly, I have given the usual orthography. See note to line 79 of the 1st column.

Line 83.—The two last letters of the name *Vidafrá,* are a good deal injured, but I believe that I have given them correctly. The final is distinctly visible in line 87 of this column, and a portion of the may also be traced in the same passage.

Line 85.—The name of *Vidafrá* is entirely lost, and the restoration depends on the orthography of lines 83 and 87.

Line 87.—The last sign of the letter *r*, in *Vidafrá*, is sufficiently distinct, but I could not trace the preceding portion of the letter. The great interval may probably contain *utá . awam . Arak'ham,* and then the name of the month. I have thought it hazardous however to give the restoration, for on the rock the writing is entirely obliterated.

Line 88.—After the letters in this line, the writing to the end of the column is irrecoverably gone, with the exception of the detached words *patiya . asariyatá,* at the end of line 91. There appears to have been only 92 lines in this column, instead of the 96 which we find in the two preceding tablets; but so lamentably defaced is the lower portion of the rock, that this point even cannot be positively ascertained. I must observe also, that the number of lines in columns 3 and 4, whether ninety-two or ninety-three, occupy the same space as the ninety-six lines of columns 1 and 2, and that the blank surfaces therefore below the lines, which appear in my copy of the text, are incorrect.

Column IV.

The fourth is at once the most mutilated and the least intelligible of all the columns. A fissure, similar to that in the 2nd column, transects the tablet longitudinally, and throughout the lower half of the column, the surface of the rock is more or less broken by the trickling

of water from above. At the same time, the construction of the paragraphs, and the matter contained in them, is new, and will hardly admit of comparison with preceding passages, so that I apprehend in many cases, my restorations will be considered to be rather bold than felicitous. The following notes will explain the grounds on which such restorations depend. I lay no claim to an intuitive resolution of difficulties, but expect the readings to be rejected or received, according to the nature of the evidence which I can produce in their support.

Line 2.—As the concluding paragraphs of the 3rd column describe the suppression of a revolt in Babylonia; the restoration of *Bábiruwa* is I believe unexceptionable. The final also, which is visible to the right of the fissure, is of importance to the verification.

Line 5.—The restorations in this line are very doubtful; my rough copy gives the letters at the end of *dahyáwa*.

From this point to the termination of the paragraph in line 31, the text is taken up with a recapitulation of the victories of Darius; the construction is uniform and simple, and as we are also able to verify the mutilated names by a comparison with those contained in the preceding columns and in the detached inscriptions, the restorations throughout are, I consider, unimpeachable. A few remarks on the irregularities of structure and orthography, at the same time, may be deserving of attention.

Line 8.—The introduction of *áha*, to the left of the fissure is suspicious, but I find the word given in the rough copy, as if it were perfectly distinct upon the rock.

Line 10.—Remark the orthography of *'Uwajhiya;* where the term occurs as an ethnic title, in lines 75 and 76 of the 1st column, the common *j* si substituted for the aspirate , and I have adopted the same orthography in the restoration of the word in line 12 of the 2nd column. There is no doubt, however, but that in this passage the ethnic title is written in the same way as the proper name.

Line 12.—The word *maná* is given in my rough copy, with a remark that the letters are hardly distinguishable. The employment of such a term is certainly quite superfluous and at variance with the construction of the other clauses of the paragraph; and I almost think therefore that the interval was never lettered, and that I mistook for characters the natural indentations of the broken surface.

Line 14.—The second in *Nabukhudrachara*, is perfectly distinct. See the note to line 79 of the 3rd column; remark also the irregular suppression of the final , in the genitival inflexion of

Nabunitahya. In column 1st, line 79; column 3rd, line 80, and the detached inscription I., line 8, the 𐎍 is preserved; but in this passage, in line 30 of the present column, and in line 6 of the detached inscription D., it is suppressed.

Line 16.—The initial letter of *'Umanish,* is very doubtful. See note to line 10 of the 2nd column.

Lines 19 and 22.—Remark the suppression of the final 𐎍 in *'Uwak'hshatarahya;* and see note to line 16, column 2nd.

Line 24.—The introduction of a long *a* 𐎍, in the ethnic title of *Márgawa,* corresponds with the orthography employed in lines 12 and 16, column 3rd; while for the suppression of that letter in the restored proper name in line 25, I have the authority of *Marghum* in the same line, as well as the orthography employed in line 7, column 2nd; line 11, column 3rd; and line 5 of the detached inscription J.

Lines 32 and 33.—The restorations in these lines require no comment.

Line 34.—The characters 𐎍 on the left hand of the fissure, are a good deal disfigured, but I was still able to satisfy myself of their identity. I restore the letter 𐎍 also within the fissure, as that vowel is necessary to the articulation of *t'*, and we have moreover the commencement of the same word 𐎍 sufficiently legible in line 36; I have noted in the rough copy that nine letters are lost in the fissure, but I have no clue whatever to their restoration.

Line 35.—The fissure in this line appears to have contained eight letters, which are lost; I have conjecturally inserted *daruga;* the first imperfect word commencing with 𐎍, (the second character being restored for the reasons stated in the preceding note,) is probably the same as the term immediately above it, in line 34; but the construction would appear to show that the right-hand portion of the fissure must have been differently lettered in the two consecutive passages.

Line 36.—The same word probably occurs in this, as in the two preceding lines; the initial characters 𐎍, are perfectly distinct, but within the fissure there is nothing legible; I find it noted however, in the rough copy, that eight letters are alone wanting to the completion of the paragraph; and if therefore the final word be *akhunush,* as the sense would seem to require, there can be but one, or at most two, characters obliterated in the name.

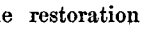
Line 37.—The restoration of *k'hsháyathiya* is given on the

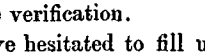
authority of line 67, of this column, where the construction is precisely similar; lines 41 and 70, may also be compared.

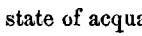
Line 38.—Perhaps the restoration of *martiya . hya . arika* may be considered too bold. I have been guided solely by the context, and by the apparent similarity of the passage, to that which occurs in lines 21 and 22 of the 1st column. It may be questioned also if the interval on the rock, will admit of the introduction of fifteen characters between *patipayuwá* and *ahatiya*.

Line 39.—I have restored *maniyáhya* on the authority of line 20, of the Geographical Inscription of Persepolis[1], where, as it appears to me, the construction is obviously the same; I cannot expect, however, a conjectural reading of this nature to be received with implicit confidence.

Line 41.—The recurrence of the phrase *hamahyáyá . thrada* in four other passages of this column, (see lines 4, 45, 52, and 60) fully supports the restoration in this line of the initial .

Line 42.—The restoration of  , at the left hand of the fissure is, I think, unexceptionable; but for , on the right hand, I have only the authority of the term *patiparasátiya* in line 48; my own judgment is satisfied, but the restoration may be considered by others to require verification.

Line 43.—I should not have hesitated to fill up the interval after *mátya*, with the characters  , had I found such a word as *dhur'ujiyáhya*, in any other part of the inscriptions. I am unwilling however to introduce a new verbal formative, in our present imperfect state of acquaintance with the language, on the mere faith of the context.

Line 44.—The construction would appear to require, after the usual introductory formula, *A'uramazdámiya . upastám . abara;* but I find it noted in my rough copy, that the broken characters immediately preceding *yathá*, bear a resemblance to  , and although, therefore, I place no great reliance on that reading, I have not ventured to substitute the other.

Line 45.—For the restoration of *hamahyáyá*, see the references in note to line 41.

Line 46.—The enclitical pronoun *miya*, on the right hand of the fissure, cannot stand alone, and I have restored *tya* from observing the correlative *awa* in the second clause of the sentence. I also find in my

[1] See Lassen's Zeitschrift, p. 176, inscription I., line 20.

rough copy, that the character on the immediate edge of the fissure and adjoining the of *miya*, might be conjectured to contain the sign . The character, also, in *aniyashchiya* is somewhat defaced, but I give it with confidence on the authority of line 13 of the inscription of Xerxes at Persepolis, completed by Westergaard[1].

Line 47.—The employment of the feminine pronoun *ahyáyá*, is, I think, sufficient to authorize the restoration of *t'ipiyá*, particularly as the phrase is followed by *niyá . nipishtam;* the construction may be compared with the concluding part of the inscription of Xerxes at Van[2].

Line 48.—In completing the words *mátya . hya . aparam .*, I partly follow the construction of lines 41 and 42, and depend also in a great measure on the context, which appears to me sufficiently obvious.

Line 49.—The construction here becomes a good deal involved, and I doubt if the word commencing with , which follows *par'uwa*, occurs in any other passage of the inscriptions; it appears to contain five letters, but I cannot venture to restore it. The restoration even of *tya* on the right hand of the fissure, may be questioned, as it is wholly dependent on the context. There is a blank space also between the characters and in the word *nishida*, but I believe it never to have been lettered.

Line 50.—There appear to be two or three characters wanting in succession to *maniya*, to complete the paragraph; they are entirely lost. I conjecturally restore *áhya*.

Line 51.—The interval in this line contains about nine letters, a detached character , can be traced in two places, and the letter on the extreme edge of the fissure, immediately preceding *awishám* appears to resemble . It is impossible to distinguish the broken letter which occurs in *awá - iya*.

Line 52.—I find a query entered in my rough copy, as to whether the broken space following *hamahyáyá* had been ever lettered; at present certainly no trace of a character is to be distinguished, but the uniform occurrence of the phrase *hamahyáyá . thruda* leads me to suppose that the interval must have originally contained the word .

[1] See Lassen's Zeitschrift, p. 172, inscription D., line 13.

[2] See Lassen's Zeitschrift, p. 177, inscription K.; I have a far more perfect manuscript copy of this inscription taken by M. Boré, in 1838.

Line 53.—Three letters probably intervene between the termination of the word *k'hsháyathiya*, and the character 𐎠 in the following word, but they are wholly undistinguishable. The character also which precedes the final 𐎡, is very doubtful; in the rough copy I find it conjecturally given as an *r* 𐎢, but I am hardly justified in inserting such a letter in the text.

Line 54.—As the word *awahyarát'iya* occurs in four other passages, (see column 1st, lines 6, 7, and 51, 52, and lines 47 and 62 of the present column) I have no hesitation in restoring 𐎢 𐎡 𐎠, in the centre of the fissure; the remaining letters which compose the word are perfectly legible. On the left hand of the fissure, however, the writing is entirely destroyed, and I cannot restore, even conjecturally, the word of three or four letters which intervenes between *awathá* and *awahyarát'iya*.

Line 55.—In taking a copy of the inscription, I unfortunately omitted this line, and did not discover the oversight until it was too late to remedy it. I have been guided in the restoration of *t'ipim* at the commencement, and *A'uramazdá . thuwám* at the end of the line, by a comparison of the construction of this, and of the following paragraph, with the expressions contained in paragraphs 16 and 17 of the present column; but it would be too bold, I think, to attempt from the same sources, to fill up the entire line. The interruption in the writing, caused by the fissure, is no doubt of the same extent as in the preceding line.

Line 56.—The construction is precisely the same in line 75 of this column, and the two passages thus afford a mutual restoration. The only doubt is in regard to the orthography of *utátiya*, the enclitical pronoun of the second person being sometimes contracted to 𐎡 𐎠.

Line 57.—There appear to be two letters wanting in the word *ha - - - gám*, but I have no clue to their restoration, the expression occurring in no other passage of the inscriptions.

Line 58.—There is nothing wanting at the commencement; I have noted in the rough copy that six letters intervene between *tháha - -* and *A'uramazdátaya*, but it would be hazardous to attempt their restoration. Remark also the orthography of 𐎡 𐎠, for the enclitical pronoun of the second person attached to *A'uramazdá*.

Line 59.—From the 12th paragraph we have the Median transscript, to assist in the recovery of the Persian writing. In some cases it affords a valuable means of restoration, but it cannot be generally

employed, owing to its mutilated state and the difficulties of construction in this part of the inscription.

Line 61.—I restore *aniyá . bagáha* after the form of expression in lines 62 and 63, notwithstanding that the Median copy throws some doubt on the identity of the passages. The letter on the right hand of the fissure, may also be indistinctly traced.

Line 62.—The restoration in the great fissure is given on the authority of the Median copy, which employs the same word in this passage that answers to *awahyarátiya* at the commencement of the 3rd paragraph of the detached inscription A. The only letters that are distinctly visible in *upastám . abara*, are the termination in the first word, and the final of the second. The Median translation is also lost, but I have no doubt of the correctness of the restoration.

Line 63.—*Tyiya . hatiya* is restored after line 61, and the signs , which are distinguishable on the right edge of the fissure, seem to indicate that *yathá* must intervene between *hatiya* and *niya*. On the right hand of the line *niya . darujhana*, is somewhat defaced, but the Median copy supports the reading; and we have also another example of the orthography of *darujhana*, in line 68 of the present column.

Lines 64, 65, and 66.—Throughout these lines the writing is so much injured, that I am not only unable to suggest a restoration of the text, but I hesitate even to connect the fragments in a conjectural translation. In line 64, about eight letters are lost in the central fissure, the character , toward the right edge, being alone partially visible. Farther on the word *abishtám* is a good deal disfigured, but may, I think, be depended on. In line 65, the characters at the commencement are exceedingly doubtful, and within the fissure nothing whatever is to be traced; , beyond the fissure, is sufficiently legible, but the characters which follow, are again subject to doubt; and after the second in this word, the writing to the end of the line is entirely effaced.—Line 66 is equally mutilated; two or three characters are lost at the commencement; eight letters appear to have intervened between *văthaibish* and *kartam*, and the broken space on the right hand of the line must have contained at least fourteen characters, which are altogether obliterated. The Median copy is also throughout this paragraph, in so mutilated

a state, that up to the present time, I have not been able to elicit from it any connected meaning.

Line 67.—It was perhaps hardly necessary to place *ká . k'hsháya-thiya* in outline on the right hand of this line; for although the surface of the rock is broken, the general forms of the letters can be traced throughout with sufficient certainty to determine the identity of the words. The construction may be compared with that in line 37 of this column.

Line 68.—The restoration of *martiya . hya .* depends upon the Median copy, and may be received with confidence. The word on the right hand which follows *hyawá*, appears to have contained five letters; and my rough copy gives a conjectural reading of for the initial, but I have not ventured to introduce that character in the text. The letters are perfectly legible.

Line 69.—About six letters are lost in the fissure in succession to , and the second character in the word *atifrashtát'iya*, is also a good deal disfigured. Perhaps the verb commencing with , may be the same as that which occurs in lines 71, 72, with the same initial; but I have no means of restoring either the one term or the other.

Line 70.—The restoration of in *t'huwam* needs no comment. The construction is precisely similar to that which occurs in lines 41, 42.

Line 71.—The termination of the word *niyapishayam*, cannot be determinately restored, as there is no authority to shew what conjugation the verb follows: in other passages we have only the participle and infinitive[1]; I have therefore placed the character , in a parenthesis. In restoring the first letter of *imiwá*, I have followed the orthography employed in lines 73 and 77 of this column.

Line 72.—The beginning of this line is extremely doubtful; the second character is entirely lost, and the remainder of the word, even , is not altogether satisfactory. The final in the next word *awá* is sufficiently legible, but the restoration of *parikariyáhya* is, I confess, somewhat adventurous. Upon the rock the only distinguishable characters are ; and I am guided solely in my attempt to identify and complete the word, by observing that the Median copy employs the same root in this passage

[1] See line 47 of this column, and the inscription of Vân in Lassen's Zeitschrift, page 177.

which answers to *parikaráhaťish* in line 74, and to *parikaráhya* in line 78. The real difficulty is in regard to the verbal desinence. I have noted in my rough copy, that the last letter of the paragraph appears to resemble 𐎡, and the verb in the Median copy also is, I think, in the third person and the active voice, which can hardly be the grammatical condition of *parikariyáhya*. Under these circumstances, it would perhaps have been more judicious to leave the word entirely blank; but at the same time, as I have stated the difficulties which attend it, the restoration is hardly calculated to mislead.

Line 73.—I should have preferred the restoration of *yaťiya*, instead of *yáwá* at the commencement of this line, for the Median word is that which answers to *yaťiya* in line 77; but I find in the rough copy, that the third letter of the line is distinctly given as 𐎡, and I am obliged therefore to suppose that the two adverbs were used indifferently. The restoration of *wináhya* is given on the authority of the Median, which employs the same term in this passage that stands for *wináhya* in line 70. Upon the rock the characters 𐎡 𐎺 are also distinguishable.

Line 74.—The commencement of this line is very much disfigured. In the rough copy, I have given the last letter of the first word conjecturally as 𐎺, but I have not ventured to insert this character in the text. The letter 𐎼 is perhaps visible, but it is doubtful if it belongs to the first word or to the second. The Median copy has the same term in this place that answers to *yáwá* in line 71. The word commencing with *tu*, I believe to have contained four letters, but neither in this passage nor in line 78, can I venture to restore it. I have no doubt of the correctness of the restoration of *parikaráhaťish*. The only imperfect letters are 𐎹 𐎹, at the commencement, and the 4th character 𐎹; while the Median copy proves the relation of the term to the *parikaráhya* of line 78.

Line 75.—For the restoration of *wasiya . biyá* . see line 56, where the construction is precisely similar.

Line 76.—The letters 𐎡 𐎼𐎹 are restored at the commencement, and the great blank is filled up with the name of *A'uramazdá* on the authority of line 79 in the following paragraph.

Line 77:—The context and the Median copy amply support the restoration of *imám . ťipim.*

Line 78.—The word which occurs between *utá* and *yáwá*, appears

in this passage to contain only three characters. It is however entirely lost; and as the Median transcript of the phrase, both in this place and in the preceding paragraph, is either modified or abridged, I am unable to restore it. I am not quite sure that I am justified in restoring 𐎹𐎼 at the commencement of *yáwá*. It would be rash to attempt the completion of the word commencing with *tu*, for I have hitherto failed to ascertain its meaning. The restoration of 𐎼𐎽𐎹𐎼, at the commencement of *niyat'ish*, is tolerably certain (see the same word in line 73); and *parikaráhya* may, I think, also be received.

Line 79.—In the rough copy I have given the second word of the line as *utátaya*; but as there is only one other instance, I believe, in the whole extent of the inscriptions (see above, line 58,) where the enclitical pronoun of the second person is written in this manner, I am inclined to think that I may have omitted the letter 𐎹𐎼 through an oversight. In the text accordingly I have introduced the character in a parenthesis. (For the restoration of *tu'má . má . biya*, see above, lines 58 and 59.)

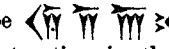
Line 80.—In the last word of the paragraph the initial 𐎼𐎽𐎼, and the imperative inflexion in *t'huwa*, are alone visible; two characters are probably required to complete the word, but I cannot venture to restore them, as the Median copy shews that the expression is one which has not been met with before.

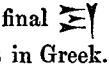
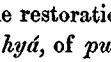
Line 81.—I have given the conjectural restoration of *adakiya* for the word at the commencement of this line. The word also of three letters which intervenes between *awadá* and *yátá*, is entirely lost; it is probably 𐎠𐎼𐎽𐎼𐎹𐎼𐎹𐎼, *áhata*, "they were."

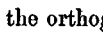
Line 82.—I have again completed the word *adakiya* in this line. The broken letter cannot be traced upon the rock, and the restoration is doubtful. I may observe at the same time, that the only other word of five letters in the inscriptions commencing with 𐎠𐎼 and ending 𐎹𐎼𐎹𐎼, is *adatiya*[1], and that the blank space which here occurs, does not appear sufficient for the character 𐎼𐎹𐎼. Farther on there is some difficulty in tracing the letters *tyiya*, but fortunately the word is too well known to admit of any doubt as to its orthography.

Line 83.—The letter 𐎼𐎼𐎼 in the name *Vidafraná*, is partially visible, and for its verification, we have the orthography of the Median

[1] See Lassen's Zeitschrift, page 179, lines 43 and 45.

Viddapana, and the Greek Ἰνταφέρνης. In the following title the initial is alone visible. I might, on the authority of the Median, give the restoration of *Vispa - - -* for the commencement of the name; but the entire word could not be completed, as the Median orthography is imperfect, and we have not the Greek correspondent. The name of the second conspirator is perfect in the Median; it reads *Huddána,* and is perhaps the Ὀτάνης of the Greeks. The Persian orthography would probably be  , but I hardly think I am justified in giving this restoration in the text. The title of the father of *Huddana* appears in the Median as *D'hugghara,* but in the Persian orthography the final is alone distinguishable, and I know not the correspondent in Greek.

Line 84.—The restorations throughout this paragraph of the genitival inflexion in *hyá,* of *putŕa,* "son," and of the ethnic title *Pársa,* are self-evident, and are verified moreover by the construction of the Median copy. In the title of the third conspirator, the initial characters  , are sufficiently distinct, and I am enabled to restore the entire name after the orthography employed in line 7 of the fifth supplementary half column. In the Median we have *Gupawa,* and in Greek Γωβρύης. I insert the letters  also before *dhuniya,* in the name of the father of Gobryas, with entire confidence, for we have *Mahd'huniya* in the Median, and Μαρδόνιος in the Greek. The name of the fourth conspirator is entirely obliterated, and in the Median we have only the terminal *na* to assist in the identification. It answers perhaps to the Hydarnes of the Greeks.

Line 85.—The Median orthography of the name which occurs at the commencement of this line is so much mutilated, that I cannot attempt a restoration of the Persian text. An initial *Pá* is the only certain character of the Median, while in the Persian there is not even one letter distinguishable. I might, I think, without any great hazard, restore the letters  before the termination *ukhsha* in the name of the fifth conspirator; for we have the Median orthography of *Pagavuk'hsha,* and the Greek corruption of Μεγάβυζος. As the name does not, however, occur in any other passage, I content myself with suggesting its completion. For the name of the father of Megabyzus answering to the Greek Ζώπυρος, we have *Dadd'hupiya* in the Median; but it would be hazardous on this authority to attempt a restoration of the Persian text.

Line 86.—Nothing is to be discovered in the Persian text of the

names either of the sixth conspirator or of his father, and in the Median we have merely an initial *Pa* in the first, and a terminal *agga* in the second name. The individual alluded to is perhaps the Ἀσπαθίνης of Herodotus. The ethnic title *Pársa* which closes the 18th paragraph, is perfectly distinct. I must observe in regard to lines 84, 85, and 86, that as the writing is obliterated on both edges of the column, I have been guided in the distribution of the restored words by a mere estimate of the number of characters required to complete the lines, and that it is very possible therefore the linear divisions which I have adopted may not be minutely correct. I would recommend, whenever an opportunity occurred, that this paragraph should be re-examined; for I copied it in the evening, when I was exhausted by nearly twelve hours of unintermitted labour; and I am under an impression, that by careful scrutiny, and in a more favourable light, several of the names which in my copy are left blank, might yet be recovered.

The 19th paragraph is, I believe, entirely illegible. I have noted in my rough copy, that the column appears to extend like the preceding to ninety-two lines, but that I was unable to trace any two consecutive letters throughout the last six lines. Unfortunately the Median translation is also wanting of this portion of the inscription.

I have only to add, that in my rough copy of the 2nd column, and of the upper part of the 4th column, I have omitted in many cases to introduce the sign of disjunction (preferring, for the sake of rapid execution, the separation of the words by an interval in the writing), and that in the present text, therefore, errors may have occasionally been committed where a complete word terminates the line, and where it is impossible from the materials now at my disposal, to distinguish whether the sign 𐏐 be engraved upon the rock at the end of one line or at the commencement of the next. I regret there should be this single source of uncertainty in a text of which I believe the fidelity to be otherwise unimpeachable; but at the same time it is satisfactory to know that the accident does not in the least affect either the construction or the signification of the paragraphs.

Column V.

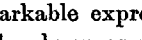
This tablet, which is supplementary to the preceding columns, is in a state of such deplorable mutilation, that it would be a waste both of time and ingenuity to undertake an analysis of the text, or to attempt anything like a connected and intelligible translation.

A few lines, at the same time, may be restored in the opening paragraph with some plausability; for the names are fortunately pre-

served, and the narrative evidently follows the same construction with which we are already familiar. To these restorations, then, the following notes will principally refer; but I shall also remark upon such other points of orthography as may be deserving attention.

Line 3.—If the reading of *thraḍam* in the centre of this line be correct, it is a remarkable expression; for *thrada* appears to be used throughout the 4th column as an indeclinable word. I find, however, a note of interrogation attached to the letter in the rough copy, and I am inclined therefore to question the accuracy of the reading.

Line 4.—The words *'Uwajha.námá* ought, according to the context, to intervene between *wajhanam* and *dahyáush*, but the space upon the rock does not appear sufficient to admit of them.

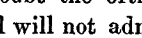
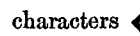
Line 5.—In the name of the Susian rebel the termination in  is alone distinctly legible. The first is doubtful, and it is impossible to say how many characters may have preceded it.

Line 6.—The letter in *'Uwajiyá* is quite distinct; agreeing with the orthography employed in line 76 of the 1st column.

Line 7.—The orthography of *Gubar'uwa* on the right hand of the line is valuable, as it enables us to restore the imperfect name of Gobryas, which occurs in the list of conspirators, associated with Darius against the Magus. (See column 4, line 84.)

Line 8.—I give the ethnic title of *Pársa*, as the initial is tolerably distinct; and if this Gobryas be the same as the conspirator of that name, he was unquestionably a Persian.

Line 11.—I doubt the orthography of *marada*, at the end of this line, for the word will not admit of explanation. The rough copy, however, gives the reading without note or comment.

Line 12.—The characters  in the centre of the line being tolerably distinct, I am I believe authorized in restoring *agarbáya*. I doubt, however, if I have not committed an oversight in the rough copy, in introducing in the word *ániya;* for the orthography in line 82 of the 1st column, and in lines 73 and 88 of the 2nd column, where the construction is evidently similar, is simply  .

Line 14.—Remark the orthography of *awadashim*, as in line 59 of the 1st column, line 52 of the 3rd column, &c., instead of the *awadáshim*, which appears to be found in line 73 of the 3rd column.

Lines 16, 17, 18.—The imperfect words on the right hand of the tablet are entirely strange to me, and I greatly question the correct-

ness of the copy. The termination *thát'ish,* in line 18, although a fragment, is of some interest, as a further example of the accusative neuter of a theme in *i.* Compare *im. hat'ish,* which occurs so frequently at Persepolis.

Lines 20, 21.—There can be no error as to the orthography of *Jiwahyá;* for the word occurs again in line 36. As it is isolated, however, in both passages, little can be made of it.

Lines 22, 23.—Remark the accusative *Sakám* for the name of the country of the Sacæ. In all the other passages at Behistun where the name occurs the long *a* is omitted. (See line 17 of column 1, line 8 of column 2, and line 2 of the detached inscription K.) The name of *Tigrám* for the Tigris has been met with before in lines 85 and 88 of the 1st column.

Line 24.—*Abiya. darayam,* "towards the sea," is a remarkable phrase.

Line 25.—*Pisá* is a new word. *Viyatara* - - - may be the commencement of the imperfect term, which occurs in line 88 of the 1st column.

Lines 26 and 28.—The final characters in both these lines suggest the restoration of *agarbáyam.* In line 28 the name of the Sacian rebel is half obliterated. I have restored the two first letters on the faith of line 1 of the detached inscription K., but it is impossible to say, either in this passage or in the detached inscription, whether the third character be or . The reading of *Saruk'ha* with *u* is adopted, although the Median appears to have *d.*

Line 29.—The word of which we have the two first letters at the end of this line is probably *mathistam.*

Lines 33 and 35.—I am quite at a loss to identify either the word which ends in line 33 with *yadiya,* or that which commences with *yadáta* in line 35.

Line 36.—The orthography of *jiwahyá* is perfectly distinct.

The inscription closes before the 37th line reaches the right hand of the tablet.

I cannot depend on the accuracy of this copy with nearly the same confidence as on that of the preceding columns; for, in the first place, the writing is exceedingly difficult of access, owing to the abrupt falling off of the ledge of rock on which the foot of the ladder requires to rest; in the second place, the fragments on the left hand, in the centre, and on the right hand of the tablet, will not admit of being copied in continuous lines, but can only be taken in separate columns,

the chances of erroneous collocation being thereby greatly multiplied; and in the third place, with little time at my disposal, and in despair of obtaining any satisfactory information from the tablet, I neglected to verify the copy after it was taken by comparison, line for line, with the writing on the rock; a precaution which I adopted, for the most part, in the preceding columns, and which I consider to be indispensable to a perfect confidence in the fidelity of the transcript.

NOTES TO THE DETACHED INSCRIPTIONS.

These inscriptions are fortunately in so good a state of preservation that they are almost independent of notes. Their inaccessibility indeed presents the only difficulty with which their transcript is attended.

A.—In lines 3, 5, and 6, I have introduced the letter after the initial in the name of Hystaspes, but as I before observed in the preliminary notes to the 1st column, I entertain very considerable doubts of the correctness of the orthography. In the present text, accordingly, the letter will be found in a parenthesis.

Line 8.—My rough copy gives the orthography of *Chishpish* and *Chishpishahyá*, without comment; but I do not feel by any means assured of the accuracy of the reading. That the name is written *Chishpáish* in lines 5, 6 of the 1st column is positive, and if the orthography had really varied in this passage, it is only natural to suppose that it would have particularly attracted my attention. I may also observe, that the upper half of the present inscription, from its great elevation, is exceedingly difficult to be copied, and is far less deserving of confidence, therefore, than the parallel passages in column 1.

Line 11.—The second letter in the word which succeeds *Par'uviyat* is nearly effaced. It appeared to me to resemble , but I do not consider the identification to be by any means established. In line 7 of the 1st column the two last characters of the word are alone distinguishable.

There are only twelve letters in the last line, but they are extended in such a manner as to occupy the same space, which in the upper part of the inscription contains thirty letters.

Inscription marked D.—Remark the orthography of *Nabukhadrachara* in lines 3 and 4, and of *Nabunitahya*, without the final in line 6.

Inscription marked E.—The orthography of *'Uwak'hshatarahya*, without the final in line 7, may be depended on.

Inscription marked F.—The initial letter of the name which I read *'Umanish* in line 4 is doubtful. I have given the character as in the rough copy, but I have added, in a note made upon the spot, that the true reading may possibly be or .

Inscription marked G.—The orthography of the two last words is the same as in inscription E.

Inscription marked I.—I believe I am correct in giving the final in *Nabunitahyá* in line 8, notwithstanding that the orthography varies from that observed in inscription D. The letter, at the same time, is placed in a parenthesis in the text, to show that there is some doubt attaching to it.

Inscription marked K.—The last character in the first line is very doubtful. It is impossible indeed to distinguish in the Persian text whether it may be or ; but the Median orthography of the name is in favour of the latter reading. As the word occurs, moreover, but in one other passage of the inscriptions, column 5, line 28, where it is again imperfect, the true pronunciation must remain uncertain.

MEMOIR

ON

CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

Chapter I.—Preliminary Remarks.

The scientific world of England, which has taken the lead in so many other branches of palæographic study, has been content to leave the investigation of the Cuneiform Inscriptions almost entirely to Continental scholars; and, which is still more unusual in the history of Eastern archæology, the origin and progress of this investigation, and the results that have been obtained from it, appear to be but imperfectly known amongst us. Individuals doubtless of all countries, whether Englishmen or foreigners, engaged in the study of Oriental antiquities, have followed with a curious eye the successive discoveries that have been made; but general attention, or, at any rate, an attention commensurate with the value of the discoveries, has not been hitherto in England directed to the subject; and if I were to take up the inquiry, therefore, at the point where Professor Lassen has left it, interpretations which would satisfy the criticism of France or Germany might be received in London with extreme suspicion. This circumstance has suggested the propriety of adopting a more extended and elaborate form of introduction to a Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions, than the present advanced stage of the inquiry can be considered rigidly to demand. In a study, indeed, of which the value depends entirely on the authenticity, and of which the authenticity can alone be verified by the constant and consentient results of a cautious and severe analysis, it is obviously better to err on the side of prolixity than of omission. A defective or imperfect link will destroy the integrity of the whole chain of evidence, while accumulative proofs, although they may encumber and perhaps disfigure the argument, will at the same time but contribute to its strength.

But if I thus commence with the elements of the inquiry, and travel over ground already thoroughly explored, I foresee considerable difficulty in discriminating between those points of evidence which I have derived from the labours of others and those which are original to my own researches. Having been engaged, indeed, upon the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persia at intervals during the last ten years, and having in the course of my studies perused the works of various Continental writers upon the subject, it will be impossible, in stating the results at which I have arrived, that I should express the exact extent

of my obligation to each author whom I may have consulted during the progress of the inquiry. As far as the public judgment is concerned in awarding to competitors the prize of originality, there can be little room either for confusion or embarrassment; for priority of announcement is held, I believe, in all cases to decide the question of priority of discovery. Individually also, so far from desiring to impugn the merits, or to contest the rights of others, I should be well content to rest my present claims on the novelty and interest of my translations; and if there must be rivalry in a field which is so ample, I would desire to take rank only as an original discoverer, according to the success which may attend my efforts to decypher the Median and Babylonian inscriptions. But there are other interests at stake. It may be expected of me that, having engaged, in the year 1839, to publish, in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, an illustrative Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persia, I should explain the reasons which have caused the engagement to remain unredeemed until the present time; and if these reasons be complete and satisfactory, the Society may perhaps consider that, as a précis of the contents of a large portion of the Behistun Inscriptions, differing in no material respect from the analytical translations which are now submitted, was in the year 1839 actually read before them, they may be entitled to claim for the present Memoir the same degree of originality which would have been incontestably conceded to it, had it appeared in the Transactions when it was first announced for publication.

Such are the considerations which induce me to recur to a preliminary notice that was written in the year 1839 for the Memoir I was then engaged in preparing for the press. In this introduction, and in the notes which a more extended acquaintance with the subject has now enabled me to add to it, will be found an outline of the origin and early course of the discovery, as well as of the share I took, while the inquiry was yet in its infancy, in advancing its progress and improvement. A few supplementary remarks will then explain the reasons which compelled me for a period to abandon the study, and I shall close the introduction with a brief exposition of subsequent research upon the Continent, of the facilities which I have enjoyed for becoming acquainted with that research, and of the assistance which I have derived from it in remodelling the present Memoir, and in giving all available extension and accuracy to the interpretation of the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

"[1] It would be interesting, perhaps, to the lovers of Oriental litera-

[1] The extract which commences at this place is copied verbatim from the M.S. of 1839, but the marginal notes are entirely new.

ture, if I could open the present Memoir with a detailed account of the progress of cuneiform discovery, from the time when Professor Grotefend first decyphered the names of Cyrus, Xerxes, and Darius, to the highly improved condition which the inquiry now exhibits; but my long absence from Europe, where the researches of Orientalists have been thus gradually perfecting the system of interpretation, while it has prevented me from applying to my own labours the current improvements of the day, has also rendered me quite incompetent to discriminate the dates and forms under which these improvements have been given to the world[1]. The table[2], however, in which I have arranged the different alphabetical systems adopted both by Continental students and by myself, will give a general view of their relative conditions of accuracy, and, supposing the correctness of my own alphabet to be verified by the test of my translations, it will also show that the progress of discovery has kept pace pretty uniformly with the progress of inquiry.

"Professor Grotefend has certainly the credit of being the first who opened a gallery into this rich treasure-house of antiquity[3]. In decyphering the names of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and Hystaspes, he obtained the true determination of nearly a third of the entire alphabet, and thus at once supplied a sure and ample basis for further research. M. Saint Martin, who resumed the inquiry on its being

[1] The present marginal notes will be found in a measure to supply this deficiency.

[2] See the alphabetical table heading Chapter III. I have now added to it such improvements and alterations as have been adopted on the Continent since the above was written.

[3] Professor Grotefend's first discovery was announced in the Literary Gazette of Göttingen in the year 1802, but the memoir upon the subject, which was at the same time read before the Royal Society of that place, was never published. In 1805, there appeared a farther exposition of his views which, however, rather tended to discredit than to verify his original discovery (see Klaproth's Aperçu de l'Origine des diverses Ecritures, p. 62.) Several papers were published by the Professor in the 4th, 5th, and 6th volumes of the Mines de l'Orient (1814-16), but they regarded the Babylonian rather than the Persian writing. The first complete account of his system of interpretation was given in the Appendix to the third edition of Heeren's Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr, und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der Alten Welt; Göttingen, 1815; an account which was enlarged and illustrated in the fourth edition of that excellent work, published in 1825. See Heeren's Researches, published by Talboys in 1833, vol. II., p. 313. The Baron de Sacy reviewed Professor Grotefend's labours in a letter to Mr. Millin, which was published in the Magasin Encyclopédique, année VIII., tom. V., p. 438. An account of Dr. Grotefend's discoveries was communicated to the Bombay Literary Society, in 1818, and was published in the 2nd volume of their Transactions.

abandoned by the German Professor, improved but little on the labours of his predecessor[1]; but shortly afterwards Professor Rask discovered the two characters representing M and N, which led to several most important verifications[2].

"The memoir of M. Burnouf on the two Cuneiform Inscriptions of Hamadán, published in 1836, added several discoveries of interest[3], and the recent researches of Professor Lassen supplying an identification of at least twelve characters, which had been mistaken by all his predecessors, may entitle him almost to contest with Professor Grotefend the palm of alphabetical discovery[4].

"In a very few cases only, which may be seen on a reference to the comparative table, have I indeed found occasion to differ with him as to the phonetic power of the characters, and in some of the cases even, owing to the limited field of inquiry, I have little more than conjecture to guide me.

"But in thus tracing the outlines of the discovery, as far as they are at present known to me, and in thus disclaiming any pretension to originality, as far as regards the alphabet which I have finally decided on adopting, I think it due to myself to state briefly and distinctly, how far I am indebted for my knowledge of the Cuneiform character and of the language of the Inscriptions to the labours of Continental students, which have preceded the present publication. It was in the year 1835 that I first undertook the investigation of the Cuneiform

[1] Saint Martin appears to have first turned his attention to the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persia in 1821 or 1822. A memoir was read by him on the subject before the Asiatic Society of Paris in the course of the latter year, and an extract of this paper was published at Paris in February, 1823. See Journal Asiatique, tom. II., p. 59. The entire dissertation appeared, I believe, subsequently in the Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc., II. Series, tom. XII., 2e partie, pag. 113. His matured opinions, however, which he considered *à l'abri de la Critique*, (see Burnouf's Memoire sur deux Inscriptions Cuneiformes, p. 2), are only to be found in Klaproth's Aperçu de l'Origine des diverses Ecritures, a volume of which fifty copies were alone printed, and which appeared in Paris in the summer of 1832, almost at the exact period of Saint Martin's early and lamented death. See Klaproth's Aperçu, p. 65, 66, 67.

[2] For the discoveries of Professor Rask, see Ueber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache und des Zend-Avesta, etc., übersetzt von F. H. von der Hagen, p. 28. Berlin, 1826.

[3] M. Burnouf's elaborate Memoir was published in June, 1836. It is entitled Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions Cunéiformes, trouvés près d'Hamadán. The comparative table in Chapter III. will show the merit of his alphabet.

[4] Professor Lassen's work on the Inscriptions, entitled Die Alt-Persischen Keil-Inschriften von Persepolis, was published at Bonn, in May, 1836. It may be considered, therefore, to have appeared simultaneously with the Memoir of Burnouf.

character; I was at that time only aware that Professor Grotefend had decyphered some of the names of the early sovereigns of the house of Achæmenes, but in my isolated position at Kermanshah, on the western frontier of Persia, I could neither obtain a copy of his alphabet, nor could I discover what particular inscriptions he had examined. The first materials which I submitted to analysis were the sculptured tablets of Hamadán, carefully and accurately copied by myself upon the spot, and I afterwards found that I had thus, by a singular accident, selected the most favourable inscriptions of the class which existed in all Persia for resolving the difficulties of an unknown character, and which had, in fact, supplied Professor Grotefend with the elements of his original discovery[1].

"These tablets consist of two trilingual inscriptions, engraved by Darius Hystaspes, and by his son Xerxes; they commence with the same invocation to Ormazd, (with the exception of a single epithet omitted in the tablet of Darius,) they contain the same enumeration of the royal titles, and the same statement of paternity and family; and, in fact, they are identical, except in the names of the kings and in those of their respective fathers. When I proceeded, therefore, to compare and interline the two inscriptions (or rather, the Persian columns of the two inscriptions; for as the compartments exhibiting the inscription in the Persian language occupied the principal place in the tablets, and were engraved in the least complicated of the three classes of Cuneiform writing, they were naturally first submitted to examination), I found that the characters coincided throughout, except in certain particular groupes, and it was only reasonable to suppose that the groupes which were thus brought out and individualized must represent proper names. I further remarked, that there were but three of these distinct groupes in the two inscriptions; for the groupe which occupied the second place in one inscription, and which, from

[1] This is incorrect. Professor Grotefend founded his system of interpretation on an analysis of two short inscriptions at Persepolis, very accurately copied by Niebuhr. (Vol. II., Tab. 24, B. and G.) The process by which the Professor arrived at the identification of the character is very elaborately described in his amended paper, published in 1825. See Heeren's Researches, English translation, vol. II., p. 332—346. The inscriptions of Hamadán, though frequently copied, were, I believe, first published in M. Burnouf's Memoir of 1836. They consist exclusively of the introductory autographic formulary which is usually followed at Persepolis by a prayer invoking the protection of Ormazd and his angels. This formulary will be found eleven times repeated, with unimportant variations, in the Zusammenstellung der Inschriften, appended to the memoir published last year by Professor Lassen, in his Magazine, entitled Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes; Bonn.

its position, suggested the idea of its representing the name of the father of the king who was there commemorated, corresponded with the groupe which occupied the first place in the other inscription, and thus not only served determinately to connect the two inscriptions together, but, assuming the groupes to represent proper names, appeared also to indicate a genealogical succession. The natural inference was that in these three groupes of characters, I had obtained the proper names belonging to three consecutive generations of the Persian monarchy; and it so happened that the first three names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, which I applied at hazard to the three groupes, according to the succession, proved to answer in all respects satisfactorily, and were, in fact, the true identifications[1].

"It would be fatiguing to detail the gradual progress which I made in the inquiry during the ensuing year. The collation of the two first paragraphs of the great Behistun Inscription with the tablets of Elwend supplied me, in addition to the names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, with the native forms of Arsames, Ariaramnes, Teispes, Achæmenes, and Persia, and with a few old words, regarding which, however, I was not very confident, and thus enabled me to construct an alphabet which assigned the same determinate values to eighteen characters that I still retain after three years of further investigation[2].

"During a residence at Teherán in the autumn of 1836, I had first an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the labours of Grotefend and Saint Martin. In Heeren's Ideen[3], and in Klaproth's Aperçu

[1] The names identified by Professor Grotefend in the Persepolitan Inscriptions were the same as those which I decyphered at Hamadán, and the process by which he arrived at their identification was nearly similar to that which is here detailed.

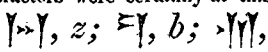
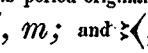
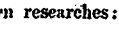
[2] I am neither able, nor is it of any consequence after the lapse of so many years, to describe the means by which I ascertained the power of each particular letter, or to discriminate the respective dates of the discoveries. I follow the text of 1839, and have no doubt that at that period I could have explained the manner in which I had identified these eighteen characters before I met with the alphabets of Grotefend and Saint Martin.

[3] It was the German edition of 1815 which I then consulted. The amended paper of Professor Grotefend, which appeared in the edition of 1825, contains little or nothing of alphabetical modification, but it is worthy of remark that of the six translations which are found in the earlier essay, two alone are admitted into the later. It may be presumed, accordingly, that during the period which intervened between the two editions, the Professor had been led to mistrust, in a great measure, the applicability of his method of translation. His alphabet exhibits a correct identification of eight letters out of the thirty to which he assigned equivalents. Saint Martin endeavoured to construct an alphabet of thirty-nine characters, twelve of these he considered doubtful, ten he identified correctly, of seventeen his reading was erroneous.

de l'Origine des diverses Ecritures, I found the Cuneiform alphabets and translations which had been adopted in Germany and France; but far from deriving any assistance from either of these sources, I could not doubt that my own knowledge of the character, verified by its application to many names which had not come under the observation of Grotefend and Saint Martin, was much in advance of their respective, and in some measure conflicting, systems of interpretation. As there were many letters, however, regarding which I was still in doubt, and as I had made very little progress in the language of the inscriptions, I deferred the announcement of my discoveries, until I was in a better condition to turn them to account.

"In the year 1837, I copied all the other paragraphs of the great Behistun inscription that form the subject of the present memoir[1], and during the winter of that year, whilst I was still under the impression that Cuneiform discovery in Europe was in the same imperfect state in which it had been left at the period of Saint Martin's decease, I forwarded to the Royal Asiatic Society my translation of the two first paragraphs of the Behistun inscription, which recorded the titles and genealogy of Darius Hystaspes. It is important to observe that these paragraphs would have been wholly inexplicable, according to the systems of interpretation adopted either by Grotefend or Saint Martin; and yet the original French and German alphabets were the only extraneous sources of information which, up to that period, I had been enabled to consult[2]. It was not indeed until the receipt of the letters which had been sent to me from London and Paris, in answer to my communication to the Royal Asiatic Society, that I was made acquainted even with the fact of the inquiry having been resumed by the Orientalists of Europe, and a still further period elapsed before I learnt details of the progress that had been made upon the Continent

[1] This must be understood to include the entire first column; the opening paragraph of the second; ten paragraphs of the third column, and four of the detached inscriptions. I was then of opinion that the mutilation and inaccessibility of the sculpture rendered further transcription impossible, but I have since succeeded in recovering the whole of the record with the exception of a few paragraphs at the foot of the tablet.

[2] I have no copy at hand to which I can refer in order to test the alphabetical accuracy of this specimen of my early labours; it was unquestionably faulty, but the names were at any rate correctly identified, and the construction of the original was preserved throughout. Professor Lassen has given a reprint of these paragraphs in the Roman character, in his recent Memoir, p. 164, and has been misled in several passages by the conjectural restorations as well as by the inaccuracies of the original. The identifications of the five following essential characters were certainly at this period original to my own researches:  , *kh*;  , *z*; , *b*;  , *m*; and , *n*.

in decyphering the inscriptions simultaneously with my own researches in Persia. The memoir of M. Burnouf on the Inscriptions of Hamadán, which was forwarded to me by the learned author, and which reached me at Teherán in the summer of 1838, showed me that I had been anticipated in the announcement of many of the improvements that I had made on the system of M. Saint Martin, but I still found several essential points of difference between the Paris alphabet and that which I had formed from the writing at Behistun, and my observations on a few of these points of difference I at once submitted to M. Burnouf, through the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of London[1]. The materials with which I had hitherto worked were far from being complete. The inscriptions which I had copied at Hamadán and Behistun supplied my only means of alphabetical analysis, and the researches of Anquetil du Perron, together with a few Zend MSS. obtained in Persia, and interpreted for me by an ignorant priest of Yezd, were my only guides in acquiring a knowledge of the ancient language of the country. In the autumn however of 1838 I was in a condition to prosecute the inquiry on a far more extended and satisfactory scale. The admirable commentary on the Yaçna, by M. Burnouf[2], was transmitted to me by Dr. Mohl of Paris, and I there for the first time found the language of the Zend Avesta critically analyzed, and its orthographical and grammatical structure clearly and scientifically developed. To this work I owe in a great measure the success of my translations; for although I conjecture the Zend to be a later language than that of the inscriptions, upon the debris of which,

[1] In this letter I believe I suggested, amongst others, the following identifications in preference to the values assigned by M. Burnouf; = *m*, and = *tr*, and I also gave an indication of the power of in the orthography of the name of Nabochodrossor and of in that of Cambyses. The most important aid which I derived from the alphabet of M. Burnouf was the determination of the character as the representation of *k*. I remained for a long time in doubt regarding the value of the following characters, , , , and ; and in the powers which I assigned to the two latter, I am even now at issue with all my predecessors.

[2] The two first parts of this elaborate work were published in 1833-35. It may be considered indispensable to all inquiries, which have for their object the elucidation of Persian antiquities, but at the same time the want of an Index greatly impairs its utility as a mere manual of reference. When the talented author can command sufficient leisure to enable him to complete his undertaking, he will, no doubt, supply the desiderated Index, which as far as Zend vocables are concerned, will answer all the purposes of a grammar and dictionary.

indeed, it was probably refined and systematized, yet I believe it to approach nearer to the Persian of the ante-Alexandrian ages than any other dialect of the family, except the Vedic Sanskrit, that is available to modern research. At the same time, also, that I acquired through the luminous critique of M. Burnouf an insight into the peculiarities of Zend expression, and by this means obtained a general knowledge of the grammatical structure of the language of the Inscriptions, I had the good fortune to procure copies of the Persepolitan tablets which had been published by Niebuhr, Le Brun, and Porter, and which had hitherto formed the chief basis of Continental study. The enumeration of the provinces tributary to Darius Hystaspes I found to be in greater detail, and in a far better state of preservation in the Persepolitan inscription[1], than in the corresponding list which I had obtained at Behistun, and with this important help I was soon afterwards able to complete the alphabet which I have employed in the present translations. The names of *Gadára* and *Asagarta*, both of which were defective in the Behistun inscription, supplied me with the power of *G* for character 𐎢, which in my previous communication to M. Burnouf I had conjectured to represent the compound articulation of *st* (in preference to the value proposed by him of *û*,) and the name of *Sughda*, also obliterated at Behistun, verified the value of *gh*, which had been assigned by M. Burnouf to a difficult character (𐎣) and which I had called in question on insufficient grounds. A number of other improvements followed on this accumulation of materials, and in the winter of last year, before I left Persia, the alphabet which I had decided on adopting exhibited almost the same appearance that it does at present[2].

[1] This inscription occurs on the southern wall of the great platform at Persepolis. It was copied and published by Niebuhr, (see Voyage en Arabie, &c., tom. II., pl. 31. inscr. I.), and by Ker Porter, (Travels in Georgia, &c., vol. I., pl. LV. *a*); and the geographical names which it contains were elaborately examined by M. Burnouf and Professor Lassen, in their respective Memoirs of 1836. The copy, however, which was made by Mr. Westergaard in 1843, and which was published with an amended translation by Professor Lassen in his Magazine of last year (see Zeitschrift, &c., p. 175), is infinitely more correct than either of the other transcripts.

[2] During this period, I obtained through continued labour, the following identifications of value; 𐎧=*h*; 𐎺=*w*; 𐎼=*i*; 𐎽=*v*; 𐎾=*th*; and 𐎿, *jh*. I have since learnt that Professor Lassen, M. Jacquet, and Dr. Beer of Leipsic, had some time previously made the same discoveries, but their respective works were in 1838 entirely unknown to me. At the same time, I must admit that I was not altogether satisfied with the powers that I had assigned,

"On my arrival at Baghdad during the present year I deferred the completion of my translations, and of the Memoir by which I designed to establish and explain them, until I obtained books from England, which might enable me to study with more care the peculiarities of Sanskrit grammar; and in the mean time I busied myself with comparative geography. It was at this period that I received through the Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, a letter from Professor Lassen, containing a précis of his last improved system of interpretation, and the Bonn alphabet I recognized at once to be infinitely superior to any other that had previously fallen under my observation[1]. The Professor's views indeed coincided in all essential points with my own, and since I have been enabled, with the help of Sanskrit and Zend affinities, to analyze nearly every word of the Cuneiform inscriptions hitherto copied in Persia, and thus to verify the alphabetical power of almost every Cuneiform character, I have found the more reason to admire the skill of Professor Lassen, who with such

and that with regard to that most useful character , I remained entirely in error until the following year.

[1] From this alphabet I first learnt the power of the letter *y*, which from its frequent occurrence at the end of a word I had previously mistaken for an aspirate, answering to the Sanskrit visarga. I believe, however, that the Bonn Professor derived his knowledge of this character from Dr. Beer, who published an elaborate review of the different systems of interpretation adopted by Professor Grotefend, M. Burnouf, and Professor Lassen, in 1838. Another advantage which I derived from the letter in question was the confirmation of my conjectural reading of and , as *dh* and *t'h*. The only characters of which I objected to the values assigned by the Professor, were the following; , , and . In the letter of which I am speaking, the power of the character was left undetermined. Having since had an opportunity of comparing this alphabet of 1839, with that published by Professor Lassen three years previously in his Alt-Persischen Keil-Inschriften, I find that the former contained new readings of the five following characters, , , , , and , but I am not informed to what precise extent the Professor was indebted for these improvements to his own researches. M. Jacquet and Dr. Beer had both published in the interim, and had suggested, I believe, several of the alterations adopted by Professor Lassen, but it is very possible that the discoveries were made independently at Paris, at Leipsic, and at Bonn.

I may as well observe in this place, that the Persepolitan is always figured at Behistun as , and that I make use accordingly on all occasions of the latter type, unless I am quoting a Persepolitan alphabet.

very limited materials as were alone at his disposal in Europe, has still arrived at results so remarkably correct. The close approximation of my own alphabet to that adopted by Professor Lassen, will be apparent on a reference to the comparative table, and although in point of fact, the Professor's labours have been of no farther assistance to me than in adding one new character to my alphabet, and in confirming opinions which were sometimes conjectural, and which generally required verification, yet as the improvements which his system of interpretation makes upon the alphabet employed by M. Burnouf appear to have preceded not only the announcement, but the adoption of my own views, I cannot pretend to contest with him the priority of alphabetical discovery. Whilst employed in writing the present Memoir, I have had further opportunities of examining the Persepolitan inscriptions of Mr. Rich, and the Persian inscription of Xerxes which is found at Vân[1]; and I have also in the pages of the Journal Asiatique, been introduced to a better knowledge of the Pehlevi, by Dr. Müller[2], and I have obtained some acquaintance with Professor Lassen's translations, from the perusal of one of the critical notices of M. Jacquet.

"Having thus briefly described the progress of my Cuneiform studies during the last four years, and having explained the means by which I have been enabled to complete my alphabet, I have now to make a few particular remarks on the translations. This branch of the study although depending upon, and necessarily following the correct determination of the characters, is of course the only really valuable part of the inquiry. It is in fact the harvest springing from the previous cultivation of a rugged soil, and as far as I am aware, it has been hitherto but poorly reaped.

"The translations of Professor Grotefend and of Saint Martin are altogether erroneous and merit no attention whatever[3]. The memoir

[1] I obtained this copy from M. Eugene Boré, who visited Vân in the latter end of the year 1838. His transcript is more perfect than that which was found among Schultz's papers, and which was published in the Journal Asiatique, IIIe. Series, tom. IX. No. 52, but it is still defective in the last two lines, which are said to be entirely concealed by shrubs and grass growing out of the face of the rock. My translation of this inscription, in ch. 5, may be compared with that which is given in Lassen's last Memoir, page 147—151.

[2] Dr. Müller's Memoir was published in the April Number of the Journal Asiatique for 1839. I am unable to refer at present to M. Jacquet's papers which were published serially in the same periodical, and I cannot give therefore the date of their appearance. M. Jacquet died however in 1837.

[3] By translation, I do not mean the deciphering of names, but the correct rendering of the different members of a sentence according to their etymologies

of M. Burnouf on the inscriptions of Hamadán is confined to the illustration of twenty short lines of writing, containing an invocation to Ormazd, a few proper names, and a bare enumeration of royal titles. Some of the grammatical peculiarities, are it is true, from their identity with similar formations in Zend, correctly developed; but the nature of the inscriptions has necessarily rendered the labours of the Paris secretary, ample and erudite as they are, deficient in historical interest; and the faulty condition of his alphabet has, moreover, led him into several important errors of translation. His incidental examination of the geographical names contained in one of Niebuhr's Persepolitan inscriptions constitutes by far the most interesting portion of his researches; yet in a list which exhibits the titles of twenty-four of the most celebrated nations of ancient Asia, he has correctly deciphered ten only of the names[1].

"Of Professor Lassen's translations I have no means of judging, except from the specimen which he has sent me of his system of interpretation applied to Niebuhr's Geographical inscription, and from M. Jacquet's critique on the same subject[2]. The highly improved condition of the Bonn alphabet has rendered the Professor's identification of the geographical names at Persepolis far superior in correctness to that of M. Burnouf, but still he is not, I think, without error in his reading and appropriation of these names[3], and that he has also in many cases misunderstood both the etymology of the words and the grammatical structure of the language, will be apparent

and their respective grammatical relations. In the one respect the labours of Grotefend and Saint Martin were valuable; in the other, they were beneath criticism.

[1] The names which M. Burnouf identified, notwithstanding his violation of their orthography, were the following:—Persia, Media, Babylon, Arabia, Cappadocia, Ionia, Zarangia, Aria, Bactria, and Sogdiana. Of the remainder, he left the greater part untouched, but the few which he did examine were incorrectly rendered. I may mention the Oichardi, Ithaguri, Arrhoei, Gordyeans, Armenians, &c.

[2] At this period one of M. Jacquet's Essays had alone fallen into my hands. I have since hastily examined the entire series, but unfortunately I am without the means of consulting them at present, and I retain no very distinct recollection of their contents.

[3] In Professor Lassen's first work (1836) there are three names which I consider open to objection—Choana, Arbela, and Gordyene. In 1839, he had amended the first of these titles to Susa, and in his last Memoir (1844) he returns to M. Burnouf's original identification of Arabia, instead of Arbela. At present, the only names in Niebuhr's list of which I question Professor Lassen's reading are his *Xudráya* and *Parutaya*. This subject, however, will be discussed in its proper place.

from the appendix to the present Memoir, where I have compared the Professor's translation of Niebuhr's inscription with my own[1].

"In the present case, then, I do put forth a claim to originality, as having been the first to present to the world a literal and, as I believe, a correct grammatical translation of nearly two[2] hundred lines of Cuneiform writing, a memorial of the time of Darius Hystaspes, the greater part of which is in so perfect a state as to afford ample and certain grounds for a minute orthographical and etymological analysis, and the purport of which to the historian must, I think, be of fully equal interest with the peculiarities of its language to the philologist. I do not affect at the same time to consider my translations as unimpeachable; those who expect in the present paper to see the Cuneiform Inscriptions rendered and explained with as much certainty and clearness as the ancient tablets of Greece and Rome will be lamentably disappointed. It must be remembered that the Persian of the ante-Alexandrian ages has long ceased to be a living language; that its interpretation depends on the collateral aid of the Sanskrit, the Zend, and the corrupted dialects which in the forests and mountains of Persia have survived the wreck of the old tongue; and that in a few instances, where these cognate and derivative languages have failed to perpetuate the ancient roots, or where my limited acquaintance with the different dialects may have failed to discover the connexion, I have then been obliged to assign an arbitrary meaning, obtained by comparative propriety of application in a very limited field of research. I feel, therefore, that in a few cases my translations will be subject to doubt, and that as materials of analysis continue to be accumulated and more experienced Orientalists prosecute the study, it may be found necessary to alter or modify some of the significations that I have assigned; but at the same time I do not, and cannot, doubt, but that I have accurately determined the general application of every paragraph, and that I have been thus enabled to exhibit a correct historical outline, possessing the weight of royal and contemporaneous recital, of many great events which preceded the rise and marked the career of one of the most celebrated of the early sovereigns of Persia."

When I wrote the foregoing introduction in the year 1839, it was my intention to have merely published the text of the Behistun Inscriptions, with a running commentary illustrative of such points of

[1] I do not think it necessary at present to give this comparative appendix. Any one who is curious on the subject may collate the translations which are given in chap. 5, with those contained in Professor Lassen's last Memoir.

[2] Since augmented to considerably above four hundred lines.—Ed.

philology, history, and geography, as appeared particularly to deserve attention, and I confidently expected that the Memoir in this humble form would be ready for the press before the expiration of the year. As I proceeded however with my task the labour grew insensibly on my hands. The examination of a language, so venerable from its age, and so interesting from its close affinity to the Vedic Sanskrit, seemed to demand more care than could be bestowed on it in a mere series of critical notes; while the historical and geographical questions that started up in rapid succession at each progressive stage of the inquiry, threatened to bury the text under a load of commentary, and to obscure, or perhaps entirely efface, the force and perspicuity of the argument. I set to work, accordingly, in the autumn of 1839 to recast the Memoir, arranging the material under different heads, and devoting a separate chapter to the treatment of each particular subject. This distribution was of the greatest assistance to me. The progress of the work was necessarily slow, but it was constant and uniform; and I might have still hoped to publish the Memoir in its amended form in the spring of 1840, had not circumstances, over which I had no control, and which I could neither have desired nor foreseen, arrested my inquiries in mid-career and superseded for a long period the possibility of their resumption.

It is not my intention to dwell with any minuteness on the interruption which I thus sustained. Let it suffice to say that my services were called into activity by the Government, that I was suddenly transferred from the lettered seclusion of Baghdad to fill a responsible and laborious office in Afghanistán, and that I continued in that situation during the entire period of our eventful occupation of the country. Those who have experienced a difficulty of combining a sustained application to literary matters with the ordinary distractions of business, will I believe admit that in the emergent condition of the public service in Afghanistán, calling for undivided attention and untiring care, I had no alternative but the abandonment of antiquarian research. To have continued my labours on the inscriptions during the few hours of leisure that I could legitimately command would have produced no result; to have devoted any considerable portion of my time to the inquiry, would have been incompatible with my duty to the Government.

But years rolled on, and in December, 1843, I found myself again at Baghdad. The interest in the inscriptions with which my original researches had inspired me, had never flagged; it was sharpened perhaps by the accidents that had so long operated to delay its gratification; and I thus hastened with eager satisfaction to profit by the first interval of relaxation that I had enjoyed for many years to

resume the thread of the inquiry. Mr. Westergaard, well-known for his contributions to Sanskrit literature, who had been travelling in Persia during the year 1843, for the express purpose of collecting Palæographic and antiquarian materials, supplied me at this period in the most liberal manner with several new inscriptions which he had copied at Persepolis. The inscription on the portal close to the great staircase, which had escaped all former visitors, was of much value; equally so were the corrections of Niebuhr's inscriptions H and I, and the restoration of all the minor tablets upon the platform; but the gem of his collection, the most important record in fact of the class which exists in Persia, with the exception of the tablets of Behistun, I found to be the long inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam engraved on the rock-hewn sepulchre of Darius. This inscription was no less remarkable for its extent and interest than for the correctness of its delineation. I could not but observe indeed that Mr. Westergaard's copy, defective as it necessarily was, both from the abrasion of the rock and from the difficulty of tracing letters through a telescope at so great an elevation, still indicated, in its superiority over all the specimens of Niebuhr, Le Brun, Porter, and Rich, the immense advantage which a transcriber acquainted with the character and language enjoys over one who can only depend for the fidelity of his copy on the imitative accuracy of an artist.

I have derived the greatest assistance in my recent labours from Mr. Westergaard's inscriptions, as well as from the Median copy of the inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, with which soon after my arrival at Baghdad I was most kindly furnished by M. Dittel, a Russian Orientalist, who was Mr. Westergaard's coadjutor at Persepolis; and I trust that both these gentlemen will permit me to express in a public form, the obligations which I thus owe to them.

It is probable that with these extended materials at my command, and with the improved acquaintance with the language which such materials supplied, I should have thought it advisable under any circumstances to undertake a third revision of the Memoir that I was writing; but such a course was rendered absolutely necessary by the fortunate result of a visit which I was enabled again to make to the rock of Behistun in the autumn of last year, and in which I succeeded in copying the whole of the Persian writing at that place, and a very considerable portion also of the Median and Babylonian transcripts. I will not here speak of the difficulties or dangers of the enterprise. They are such as any person with ordinary nerves may successfully encounter; but they are such, at the same time, as have alone prevented the inscriptions from being long ago presented to the public by

some of the numerous travellers who have wistfully contemplated them at a distance.

On returning to Baghdad from my tour in Southern Kurdistán, public avocations and indifferent health again prevented me for some time from continuing my labours. The same causes have operated, with more or less effect, in impeding their prosecution during the spring and summer, and if I had not been fortunately able to avail myself of the ready hand of Lieutenant Jones, an accomplished officer of the Indian Navy, who has delineated the sculptures of Behistun and contributed in a great measure to the execution of the text, I might have been altogether frustrated in my hope of early publication. I may observe, at the same time, that in February of the present year, I took the precaution of forwarding to the Royal Asiatic Society, a literal translation of every portion of the Persian writing at Behistun, and of thus placing beyond the power of dispute the claim of the Society at that date to the results which are published in the following Memoir.

I now proceed to notice the contemporaneous march of discovery upon the Continent during the interval which had elapsed since the publication of the Bonn and Paris Memoirs of 1836. Professor Lassen, I believe, established a Journal at Bonn in the year 1838[1], devoted exclusively to the elaboration of Palæography and Eastern literature, and in that journal, I have been given to understand several papers on the Cuneiform Inscriptions have from time to time appeared[2]. One of these papers, containing a translation of the inscription of Artaxerxes Ochus, was explained to me (for unfortunately I am ignorant of German) by Dr. Aloys Sprenger, at Calcutta, in 1843; but of the contents of the others I have no cognizance whatever. I am indebted to Mr. Westergaard for the information that Professor Grotefend undertook in 1839 to call in question the discoveries of Professor Lassen, and to place in opposition to them the infallible claims of the antiquated alphabet of 1815[3], a proceeding which was justly regarded by the German literati as little better than fatuity.

[1] This Journal was entitled "Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes."

[2] I now find that two papers only were published by Professor Lassen on the Cuneiform Inscriptions, in the early numbers of his Journal. 1. "On the latest advances in the decypherment of the simple Persepolitan wedge-formed characters." (Vol. II. No. XXVI. p. 165.) And 2, "On some new Cuneatic Inscriptions of the simplest form." (Vol. III. No. XVI. p. 442).

[3] Professor Grotefend may, perhaps, date his original alphabet from 1802. I fix on 1815 as the period of the publication of the third edition of Heeren's Ideen, in which the discoveries of the Professor first appeared "in extenso."

Professor Grotefend may take up the high position of primitive, though imperfect discovery; but Professor Lassen may contest with him even in the numerical identification of alphabetical powers; while in all the essentials of interpretation the old has no pretension whatever to be brought into comparison with the modern system. I also learn from the same source that other Orientalists with whose labours I am very imperfectly acquainted have been engaged in the inquiry. To Dr. Beer of Leipsic, it appears, is conceded in Germany the discovery of the two characters 𐎢 *h*, and 𐎥 *y*, and the lamented M. Jacquet is said to have appropriated to his own researches the determination of the letter 𐎧 *ch* and 𐎨 *jh*[1]. The only identifications in the present Memoir that I presume to be essentially different from those which are universally received at present upon the Continent, are 𐎪 *t'* and 𐎫 *m'*, but the attribution of the power *sh*, instead of *s*, to the character 𐎮, and of *tř* (with a dormant rather than an articulated liquid) to the character 𐎯, are modifications of some consequence, and two new letters 𐎰 and 𐎱 will also be remarked, which I respectively represent by *n'* and *ñ*.[2] To those who are interested in tracing the exact progress of alphabetical announcement, the tabular statement which heads Chapter III., on the Persian Cuneiform alphabet, will afford full and satisfactory information. For the mere purpose of reading the inscriptions the phonetic powers which are given in the right-hand column of the Table will be an ample and sufficient guide.

It remains that I should pay another tribute to Professor Lassen's acumen and research. It appears that Mr. Westergaard on his return to Europe at the commencement of 1844, placed his Persian inscriptions in the hands of Professor Lassen, and that these new

[1] Dr. E. F. F. Beer published in 1838, a review of the discoveries of Grotefend, Burnouf, and Lassen, in the Allgemein. Hall. Literat. Zeitung, I. § 38; and this article was, I believe, the first which appeared in Germany suggesting the true powers of the letters 𐎢 and 𐎥. M. Jacquet, however, is said to have previously and independently made the same discoveries at Paris; and as he died in 1837, the publication of his papers in the Journal Asiatique, unless they were posthumous, must have anticipated the Leipsic announcement. Dr. Beer's review I have never seen, and M. Jacquet's papers I perused so long ago, and in such a cursory manner, that I entertain a very imperfect recollection of them.

[2] The former of these letters is met with only in the particle *anuwa*, answering to the Sanscrit अनु, and the latter, which occurs in two proper names, appears to be borrowed from the Median alphabet.

materials were justly deemed of sufficient consequence to demand an elaborate and immediate analysis. Professor Lassen accordingly devoted an early number of his Journal to the subject, and he took occasion at the same time to collect all the other inscriptions of the class and to publish the whole series together, in an amended text, and with revised translations[1]. This is I believe the last work that has appeared upon the subject, and as might have been expected, it anticipates in some degree the novelty of the present Memoir. I have received a copy of the pamphlet whilst I have been writing the following pages, and I have found it of the greatest convenience, as a manual of reference. The marginal notes, indeed, that I have added to the present text, will show the care with which I have consulted it; but at the same time, I am bound to say that my translations, already completed when the book arrived, were, if not independent of assistance, at any rate beyond the reach of alteration, and I have further to regret that an ignorance of German has deprived me of that aid on questionable points of grammar, which, if I had been able to follow the Professor's arguments, I could not have failed to derive from the matured opinions of so eminent and correct a scholar.

I have only further to observe, that although the present Memoir, in consequence of the great augmentation of material, has been rewritten during the present year, it is, as far as the original materials extended, and in all essential points of grammatical and etymological construction, absolutely identical with that which I had brought into a forward state of preparation for the press in the year 1839. If the translations can be amended (and imperfectly acquainted as I am with the niceties of Zend and Sanskrit grammar, I submit them with diffidence and deference to the public,) they must be indebted for their improvement to a critical examination of the text; for the materials available for analysis or verification, are now, I believe, entirely exhausted; and unless excavations should be undertaken on a great scale either at Susa, Persepolis, or Pasargadæ, we must rest content with the sorrowful conviction that we have here, comprised in a few pages, all that remains of the ancient Persian language, and all that contemporary native evidence records of the glories of the Achæmenides.

[1] Professor Lassen's article is entitled "Die Alt-Persischen Keilinschriften nach N. L. Westergaard's Mittheilungen, Von. Chr. Lassen." It forms the first number of the sixth volume of the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, and extends to 188 pages. Professor Lassen had the kindness to transmit to me, through Mr. Renouard, Foreign Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society of London, a copy of his excellent Memoir, on July 13th, 1844, but owing to the difficulty of communicating between Bonn and Baghdad, the pamphlet only reached me in August, 1845.

CHAPTER II.

On Cuneiform Writing in general.

Before proceeding to the immediate subject-matter of the first division of the present Memoir, it appears indispensable to devote a few remarks to Cuneiform writing in general, in order to introduce the reader to an acquaintance with the study, viewed in its full extent, as a most important branch of Palæographic science, as well as to explain the nature and to point out the value of that particular section of the inquiry which is here submitted to examination. At the same time, however, in classifying the writing and in suggesting the appropriation of the different alphabets, I must necessarily express myself with some reserve; for neither have my researches at present been carried to that point which might entitle me to speak with confidence, nor, if they had attained their full developement, would it be convenient at the present time to anticipate the interest which may attend the elaboration of the Median and Babylonian inscriptions, in the succeeding portions of the Memoir.

I shall observe, then, that a system of writing, of which the elements were the arrow-head and wedge, was a very early, if not the earliest, method employed by man for embodying language in an artificial form. In those other species of writing which, in point of antiquity, rival or surpass the Cuneiform (I allude particularly to the Egyptian and Chinese), symbolical representation was the forerunner or the substitute of a phonetic alphabet, and it has been argued even that, in the primitive type of cursive writing employed by the Syro-Arabian nations, as the names of the letters were borrowed from the most common objects in nature (for no other reason that can be assigned beyond an identity of initial articulation), so the forms of the characters may have been originally designed, by a rude representation of the object, to convey a more distinct idea of the phonetic power[1]. It is certainly at present beyond the scope of legitimate research to inquire whether the primitive Cuneiform alphabet can be included in this curious category. That it could not have originated in pure ideography is self-evident; but whether pictorial represen-

[1] Klaproth, who had little favour for theories that did not originate with himself, rejects this idea as altogether improbable; he observes that it is impossible to trace any resemblance between the forms of the Semitic letters and the shapes of the objects of which they bear the names, and he conjectures accordingly, that the nomenclature was given as a mere sort of "memoria technica." See Aperçu de l'Origine des diverses Ecritures, p. 77.

tation, rather than an arbitrary assortment of signs, may not have led to the formation of the primitive phonetic characters, we are not likely for some time to be in a condition either to disprove or to affirm. Of more importance is it at present to discriminate the different species of writing, and to define their localities with some preciseness. I shall consider, therefore, in succession, the three great divisions into which this branch of Palæography may be reduced, and, although with serious objections to the nomenclature, I shall adhere to the designations of Babylonian, Median, and Persian writing[1], which the publications of the last thirty years have rendered too current and familiar to be discontinued without extreme inconvenience.

I. The Babylonian is unquestionably the most ancient of the three great classes of Cuneiform writing. It is well known that legends in this character are stamped upon the bricks which are excavated from the foundations of all the buildings in Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Chaldæa, that possess the highest and most authentic claims to antiquity, and it is hardly extravagant, therefore, to assign its invention to the primitive race which settled in the plains of Shinar. It embraces, however, so many varieties, and it is spread over such a vast extent of country, that Orientalists have been long divided in opinion as to whether its multitudinous branches can be considered as belonging to one type of alphabet and language. Those who have studied the subject with most care (and I would particularly instance M. Botta, the discoverer of the Nineveh marbles[2]) have arrived at the conviction that all the inscriptions in the complicated Cuneiform character, which are severally found upon rocks, upon bricks, upon slabs, and upon cylinders, from the Persian mountains to the shores of the Mediterranean, do in reality belong to one single alphabetical system; and they further believe the variations which are perceptible in the different modes of writing to be analogous in a general measure to the varieties of hand and text which characterize the graphic and glyphic arts of the present day. I hesitate, certainly, with the super-

[1] I would employ the term Semitic, instead of Babylonian, but that that term itself is in an Ethnographical sense open to exception, and that Cuneiform writing moreover is opposed in all essentials of organization, direction, and extent, to what we know of the Semitic alphabets. I am inclined to think, also, that Scythic would be a more appropriate appellation than Median for the second class of Cuneiform writing.

[2] I shall frequently have occasion to quote the opinions of M. Botta, and I shall always do so with respect. As I am, however, indebted for my acquaintance with those opinions entirely to private correspondence, I must apologize for their communication, should their present announcement anticipate M. Botta's own publications.

ficial acquaintance which I possess at present with the subject, to place my opinion in opposition to theirs; and yet I can hardly subscribe in all its amplitude to this general and complete amalgamation. I perceive, in fact, as I think, modifications of a constant and peculiar character, which perhaps are hardly sufficient to establish a distinction of phonetic organization between the Babylonian and Assyrian writing, but which may be held, nevertheless, to constitute varieties of alphabetical formation; and the inscriptions of Elymais, also, from their manifest dissimilarity to either one system or the other, are entitled, I consider, to an independent rank. I proceed, therefore, with some diffidence, to exhibit a classification of the complicated Cuneiform writing according to the opinions which I have formed from a tolerably extensive examination of the inscriptions, premising, at the same time, that I see no sufficient grounds at present to prevent us from attaching all the languages which the various alphabets are employed to represent, to that one great family which it is the custom (improperly enough) to designate as the Semitic[1]; and that I leave untouched the great and essential question, whether the difference of character indicate a difference of orthographical structure, or whether the varieties of formation are merely analogous to the diversity which exists between the Estranghelo and the Nestorian alphabet, the printed and the cursive Hebrew, or the Cufic and the modern Arabic.

The complicated Cuneiform character, then, may, I think, be divided into three distinct groupes,—Babylonian, Assyrian, and Elymæan; and the two former of these groupes will again admit of subdivision into minor branches. Of the Babylonian there are only two marked varieties; the character of the cylinders may be considered as the type of the one, that of the third column of the trilingual inscriptions of Persia of the other. The former is probably the primitive Cuneiform alphabet. It is also of extensive application; it is found upon the bricks which compose the foundations of the primæval cities

[1] Dr. Pritchard, in his admirable researches into the Physical History of Mankind, has assigned the name of Syro-Arabian to the nations which are usually termed Semitic, observing (vol. III. p. 7,) that many of these nations are declared in the Patriarchal genealogies to have descended from Ham, and that it is evidently improper to apply to a whole groupe of nations an epithet, which derived from the Patriarch of one division, excludes all the rest. In real fact, if we must have a Patriarchal nomenclature, Hammite would be a more appropriate title than Semitic, for of the four sons of Ham, three at any rate, Cush, Mizraim, and Canaan founded nations of the Syro-Arabian groupe, while of the descendants of Shem, the Arabian Joctanides, the Aramæans, and the Assyrians were alone undoubtedly of the same Ethnographical family. In the Toldoth Beni-Noah, the majority of the Shemite nations will be found to be of the Arian family.

of Shinar, at Babylon, at Erech, at Accad, and at Calneh[1], and, if the Birs-i-Nimrúd be admitted to represent the tower of Babel, an identification which is supported, not merely by the character of the monument, but by the universal belief of the early Talmudists[2], it must, in the substructure of that edifice, embody the vernacular dialect of Shinar at the period when "the earth was of one language and of one speech[3]." But it was not confined, as has been sometimes supposed, to cylinders and bricks. It has the same title as that of the trilingual inscriptions to be considered a lapidary character; for we have specimens of it on Sir Harford Jones' great slab published by the Honourable the East India Company in 1803, as well as upon numerous stones and hard baked pieces of clay that have been disinterred at Babylon at different periods[4]. Nor was its employment, or

[1] Babylon is too well known to require illustration. Erech was corrupted by the Greeks into Ὀρχόη. Its true Chaldæan name was *Warká*, under which title it is described by the early Arabic geographers as the birth-place of Abraham, with an evident allusion to the *Ur* of the Chaldees. The ruins which still retain the name of *Warká*, are to be seen to the west of the Hye, near its point of confluence with the Euphrates, but they are now rarely accessible owing to the inundation of the surrounding country. Accad is in all probability a mistaken reading for Accar, the Hebrew *d* and *r* being nearly similar. The latter term, equivalent to the Greek *ακρα*, was a generic title for a lofty embattled palace, and in this sense still applies to numerous ruins in Babylonia. The Accad or Accar of Genesis, I consider to be عقرقوف *Akarkúf* near Baghdad, which is called in ancient Oriental authors sometimes the hill of Nimrod, and sometimes the palace of Nebuchadnezzar. It it more difficult to identify Calneh; general opinion is in favour of Ctesiphon, but from the evidence of the bricks, I prefer the Chaldæan ruins of *Kalwádha* near Baghdad.

[2] When the Sanhedrim and the Beresith Rabba were composed, (and they are among the earliest of the Talmudic writings, dating probably from the second or third century, A.D.) the Babylonian Jews were so convinced of the great ruin of Borsippa being the representative of the Tower of Babel, that they sought for derivations connected with the confusion of tongues to explain the name. If, therefore, the Borsippa of Berosus, Strabo, and Stephen (Barsita in Ptolemy, and Byrsia in Justin) can be shown to be identical with the present Birs-i-Nimrúd, the latter site will be determinately connected with the Tower of Babel. By the early Arabs (Beladheri, &c.,) the Birs is usually named the *Sirh-un-Nimrúd*, or Nimrod's palace, and in the Sidr of the Sabæans, Babel and Bursif are connected together. I have never found any reason for identifying the tower of Babel with the temple of Belus; the one was at Borsippa, the other at Babylon. See Bochart's Phaleg, col. 36, and Buxtorf's Talmudic Lexicon, in voce בורסיף, Borsiph. Yákút's Mo'ejam el Baldán, in voce أجمة بورس Ajummah Burs, and Norberg's Liber Adami, vol. I. p. 153.

[3] See Genesis, ch. xi. v. 1.

[4] Signior Mussabini's forthcoming work on Cuneatic writing will probably

at any rate its intelligence, restricted to that immediate vicinity; I copied, in the year 1836, a very perfect inscription of thirty-three lines in this character, from a broken obelisk on the mound of Susa, and a black stone which is engraved with 104 short lines of the same writing, and which is now in the possession of the Earl of Aberdeen, was excavated not long ago from the ruins of Nineveh[1]. The only spot at the same time in which, I believe, an inscription in the primitive character is to be found engraven on the naked rock is at Sheikhán[2], between the ancient capitals of Resen and Calah[3], and there it is reversed for the evident purpose of impression.

The second form of this alphabet is the best known, as it is also unquestionably the least ancient, branch of the Babylonian writing. It is employed with little or no variation of type to represent the transcript in the third column of all the trilingual tablets of Persia, and it may perhaps, therefore, be not inappropriately termed the Achæmenian-Babylonian. By what means it became simplified from the primitive writing, or by how many centuries its adoption preceded the rise of the Achæmenian dynasty, we have no data at present for determining; but that it was in use until a late period of the Persian empire, is proved by the inscription on a vase in the treasury of St. Mark's at Venice, which records the name and titles of Artaxerxes (Ochus) in hieroglyphics and in the trilingual characters of the Achæmenians[4]. It is curious to remark that, although at Persepolis, at Hamadán, at Ván, and at Behistun, this writing exhibits no sensible variety, it may be doubted if a genuine Babylonian monument has been ever met with, of which the character is precisely identical. The Inscriptions published

exhibit many specimens of this class of writing preserved in the Museums of Europe. I have at present before my eyes a very perfect relic of this class, which was lately disinterred from among the ruins of Cutha, the city of the Cutheans, who colonized Samaria. It consists of forty lines of writing, engraved on the two faces of a black, barrel-shaped stone; on one side the legend is as clear as if only recently inscribed; on the other it is a good deal mutilated.

[1] The bricks at Susa are also stamped with inscriptions in the primitive Babylonian character.

[2] See Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, vol. IX., p. 37.

[3] Resen, or more properly Dasen, as it was written by the Septuagint, I place at Yássín Tappeh in the plain of Shahrizor, the original seat of the Dasíní Kurds; and Calah (the Halah of the captivity, Χαλα in Isidore, and Halus in Tacitus,) I suppose to be identical with the Holwán of Syriac and Arabic History; the ruins of which are to be seen at Sir Pul-i-Zoháb.

[4] I have been favoured by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson with a copy of this curious relic. It merely contains the legend "Artaxerxes the Great King," but the orthography is so barbarous that I have no hesitation in assigning it to the third king of that name in the Achæmenian line.

by Rich (Babylon and Persepolis, Plate 8, Nos. 1, 2, and 3,) are certainly a near approximation, and Grotefend observes that the writing upon the stone described by Mr. Millin (Monumens Antiques, Plates 8 and 9, No. 1,) partly resembles the same type[1]; but I repeat that I am not aware of any legend discovered at Babylon that may lay claim to an absolute identity; and this is the more to be regretted, as we are indebted to the trilingual inscriptions of Persia for our only key to the decypherment of the Babylonian alphabet, and any variation, accordingly, from the former type seriously impedes the extension of the inquiry.

In Rich's last work, Plate 9, No. 4, an inscription is given which the author would assign to a distinct species of Babylonian writing, and, certainly, at first sight, it would seem deserving of such a distinction; but on examination the peculiar appearance which it exhibits is found to arise from the distortion of oblique elongation; and as it is also, I believe, an almost solitary instance of the employment of the character, it may be attributed perhaps with more reason to a mere variety of text than to any real difference of alphabetical formation[2].

I now proceed to the Assyrian branch of the complicated Cuneiform writing. M. Botta, who has exhumed, under the liberal patronage of the French Government, the multitudinous inscriptions of Khorsabád[3], and who will shortly, it is hoped, confer a more important benefit upon science by rendering their contents intelligible, regards the Assyrian writing, wherever it may exist, as of one common and universal type. I do not pretend at present to contest this view, as far as it may con-

[1] See Heeren's Researches, vol. II. p. 322. This relic is usually called the slab of Michaux, it was found among the ruins of Ctesiphon; for particulars regarding it, see Ouseley's Travels, vol. I. p. 422.

[2] Rich observes, p. 187, that in excavating at the Kasr he found specimens of this writing on small pieces of baked clay of a darker and finer quality than the bricks, and the impression of one relic of the class he has published in plate 9, 5, where however the writing appears to me to be of the Assyrian rather than the Babylonian type. Perhaps the specimens B and C, published by Grotefend in the sixth volume of the Mines de l'Orient, p. 143, may be considered of the same class.

[3] I presume the public to be too well acquainted with the recent excavations in the neighbourhood of Nineveh to need any detailed notice of Khorsabád. The ruins probably represent the palace of Evorita, to which Saracus, the last king of the lower Assyrian dynasty, retired on the approach of the confederate Medes and Babylonians; and the name of صرعون Sar'un, which attaches to the site in early Arab geography, appears to be identical with the Sarbena of Ptolemy and Sarbanna of the Peutingerian Table. See Eusebius, I. 9. p. 25. Yákút's Mo'ejam el Baldán, in voce صرعون Sar'ún, Ptol., lib. 6. c. 1. and Peut. Tab. Seg. 10.

cern either the language or its alphabetical structure; but in respect to the configuration of the character, it requires, I think, to be somewhat modified. If the permutations of letters occurring in certain words (particularly names) at Ván, and at Khorsabád, were regular and constant, or if the frequent repetition of those words, either at one place or the other, by a different employment of signs connected the two systems of orthography together, and explained the process of amplifying, abridging, or modifying the respective characters at will, then, by an extensive assortment of variants, the alphabets perhaps might be brought to coalesce; but such I cannot find to be the case. On the contrary, I perceive characters at Ván which never occur at Khorsabád, and *vice versâ;* and without impugning, therefore, in any way the possible identity of language, or the probable identity of its phonetic organization, as I have distinguished between the Babylonian writing of the primitive and Achæmenian periods, so do I also recognize a difference between the Medo-Assyrian and the Assyrian alphabets. By the Medo-Assyrian alphabet I indicate that which (with the exception of the trilingual inscription of Xerxes) is exclusively found on the rocks at Ván and its neighbourhood[1], which occurs at Dásh-Tappeh, in the plain of Miyándáb, and on the stone pillar at the pass of Kel-i-Shín[2], and which, as far as I can judge from an imperfect specimen of the writing, is also the character employed in a rock inscription on the banks of the Euphrates, between the towns of Malatíeh and Kharpút[3]. The Assyrian alphabet, on the other hand, appears to be peculiar to the plains of Assyria. In this character are engraved the entire series of the marbles of Khorsabád. Broken slabs bearing the same writing have been excavated from the ruins of

[1] These inscriptions, amounting in number to forty-two, were published in the Journal Asiatique, IIIme. Ser., Tom. IX., No. 52, after copies taken by the lamented Schultz.

[2] For notices of these inscriptions, see Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. X., Part 1., pages 12 and 21. I have a correct copy of the mutilated writing at Dásh Tappeh, and as far as I am able to connect the fragments together, I judge the entire legend to have been a mere transcript of one of the tablets at Ván. The Kel-i-Shín pillar being enveloped with a thick covering of ice and snow at the period of my visit to Ushneï, I could only copy a few isolated letters on the eastern face of the slab, which are however certainly of the Assyrian type. I have since learnt that the western face of the pillar contains an inscription of equal length with that on the eastern face, and that in the fair season the whole of the writing is tolerably legible.

[3] I first heard of this inscription from Mr. Robertson, an English engineer, who visited the mines at Arghanah, in the spring of 1839. The tablet was subsequently examined by some Prussian officers who were with the Turkish army at the battle of Nezíb; but I believe the entire legend never yet to have been copied.

Nineveh[1], and I was also lately favoured with the fragment of an inscription from Nimrúd (perhaps the Rehoboth of Scripture[2]), which is unquestionably of the Assyrian type[3]. The bricks, moreover, which I have seen from Khorsabád, Nineveh, and Nimrúd, are, as might be expected, impressed with legends in the Assyrian character, and exhibit, in this respect, a very remarkable difference from the relics of the same class in Babylonia[4]. Unfortunately I have never been able to obtain bricks stamped with the Cuneiform character from either of the sites which I suppose to represent the sister capitals of Resen and Calah[5]. Such relics, however, I have every reason to believe, are found both at Shahrizor and at Holwán, and if, when submitted to examination, the writing should prove to be of the Nineveh type, we then may claim for the Assyrian character an antiquity of invention and an extensiveness of employment almost equal to that of the primitive Babylonian.

I have already mentioned the disinterment of a stone from the ruins of Nineveh, which exhibits a very long and perfect inscription in the character of the Babylonian cylinders. The discovery of this relic, however, *in situ*, does not, as it appears to me, necessarily confound the limits of Assyrian and Babylonian writing. It was probably of foreign manufacture, and may have been preserved by some inhabitants of Nineveh, as an amulet or sacred curiosity. Under any

[1] See Rich's Kurdistan, vol. II. pages 31 and 43. The Nineveh slabs are in the British Museum with Mr. Rich's other Oriental antiquities.

[2] This place, the Larissa of Xenophon, is supposed by Bochart to represent Resen. See Phaleg, col. 237. I have no reason for identifying it with Rehoboth, beyond its evident antiquity, and the attribution of Resen and Calah to other sites. The Arab geographers placed Rehoboth at Rahbeh on the Euphrates, the Talmudists at Borsippa, both of which positions being far beyond the confines of Assyria are obviously inadmissible. See Yákút's Mo'ejam, in voce Rahbeh, and Phaleg, loc. cit.

[3] I was favoured with a fac-simile of this inscription by the Rev. Mr. Badger last year. The writing, which extends to six lines, is precisely similar to that at Khorsabád.

[4] Rich has given a fac-simile of the writing on the Nimrúd bricks; Kurdistan, vol. II. p. 130. On the Assyrian bricks each letter appears to have been separately impressed, and the writing covers the whole face of the brick, while at Babylon, the legends varying from three lines to seven, are formed in a parallelogram with a margin in the centre of the brick, as if a framed stamp containing the inscription had been employed for the impression. At Susa, again, although the character is Babylonian, and the writing is divided by lines, the stamp is of a much larger size, covering in some instances the entire face of the brick.

[5] The four primæval capitals of Assyria were, Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen, see Genesis x. 11 and 12. For the identifications of the two latter, see note 3, page 23.

circumstances, it can only be regarded as a specimen *sui generis;* for the usual writing which is found upon cylindrical pieces of hard baked clay excavated from Nineveh is quite distinct from any variety of character which occurs on similar relics at Babylon. The Assyrian running-hand, as it may be called, is extremely minute and confused, and the letters, by their sloping position, are made so thoroughly to intermingle, that it is almost impossible to discriminate their respective forms. Mr. Rich (Babylon and Persepolis, Plate 9, No. 5,) has published a fragment of writing which appears to me to be in this difficult character; numerous specimens of it are to be found in the Museums of Europe, but by far the most interesting and perfect relic of the class that has been ever hitherto discovered, is a hexagonal cylinder of clay, in the possession of Colonel Taylor[1]; which exhibits on each side between seventy and eighty lines of writing, in excellent preservation, but so elaborately minute as, I fear, to defy all attempts at analysis. I have, indeed, a paper impression of this curious record in which the relief of the characters is more clearly marked than on the original cylinder, and yet, although I have repeatedly examined it with the aid of a magnifier, I hesitate to say whether it most resembles the writing of Khorsabád or Ván.

Before I quit the subject of the Assyrian Inscriptions, I must also notice the tablets at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kalb, in the vicinity of Beyroot. I remember to have seen in Persia many years ago a lithographed sketch of the entire sculptures executed by M. Bonomi; but, as far as my recollection serves me, there was no attempt in that sketch to delineate the forms of the characters. At present, I can only consult a drawing of the principal figure made by an Armenian gentleman, together with a few detached specimens of characters, and I find from the materials that, although the style of sculpture at the Nahr-el-Kalb resembles in every particular the figures at Khorsabád, the letters appear to be of the Medo-Assyrian type; a circumstance which, if it should be verified by more elaborate examination, will have the important effect of determinately connecting the monuments of Ván and Khorsabád. At any rate, in a locality, accessible at all times to European curiosity, a question of so much interest to historical research ought not to remain long in doubt[2].

It remains that I should notice the inscriptions of Elymais, with which up to the present time, the public are I believe altogether un-

[1] Late British Resident at Baghdad.

[2] From an examination of a cast made from the monument by M. Bonomi, and placed in the British Museum, the character, so far as its mutilated condition will allow us to pronounce, appears to be of the Assyrian class, although some of the groupes approach more nearly to those of the Ván Inscriptions.—Ed.

acquainted. They are found in the vicinity of Mál-Amír, the ancient city of the Uxii, and have been examined by Mr. Layard, the only English traveller who has ever penetrated to the spot[1]. I have been obligingly furnished by that gentleman with copies of two of these inscriptions, each extending to twenty-four lines, which he transcribed from the rock, and the number of new characters which they exhibit, characters for which no conjectural equivalent can be found either in the Babylonian or the Assyrian alphabet, entitles them, I think, to an independent place in the classification of the complicated Cuneiform writing. It is probable that other inscriptions of the same class exist in various parts of Elymais, but the tablets of Kal Fara'ún and Shikaft-i-Salmán have been alone hitherto examined.

It will thus be seen, that the classification which I have adopted of the complicated Cuneiform writing embraces the following divisions:—

{ Primitive Babylonian,
{ Achæmenian Babylonian;
{ Medo-Assyrian,
{ Assyrian;
Elymæan.

It is not my intention in this place to discuss the affinities of the respective alphabets. They all possess a great number of signs in common, but there are also certain characters peculiar to each system, which, as they are constant in their respective localities, can hardly be explained by the caprice or extravagance of the artist. M. Botta has observed, that a person who can read the Khorsabád Inscriptions, can read every other species of the complicated character, and I consider his opinions entitled to the utmost respect; but the principle will certainly not hold good in an inverse application, for my own acquaintance with the Achæmenian Babylonian is of some extent, and yet I have not hitherto succeeded in identifying a single name in the tablets of Ván or Khorsabád.

I will now add a few remarks on the attempts which have hitherto been made to decypher this interesting character. Germany took the lead in the inquiry. In the Mines de l'Orient, vols. IV. V. and VI. (1814—1816) there are several elaborate papers on the subject, and I learn from Professor Grotefend's Essay on the Cuneiform cha-

[1] I had the good fortune to be the first to draw attention to the antiquities of Elymais, although, as I was indebted to oral information only for a knowledge of the ruins, the accounts were found by Mr. Layard and Baron de Bode when they visited the localities to be exaggerated, and in some instances incorrect. The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Shikaft-i-Salmán, were particularly mentioned in my Memoir on Susiana. See Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. IX. p. 84.

racter, forming Appendix No. 2, to the second volume of Heeren's Researches, (published in 1815,) that his own labours were either subsequent to, or contemporary with, those of a host of other Archæologists. The names of Tychsen, Münter, Kopp, De Murr, Hager, Millin, and Wahl, are particularly conspicuous among the early inquirers, but I do not perceive that any real advantage resulted from their labours, beyond the preliminary, but most necessary, process of classifying the characters. This classification, I understand, has been carried to a much greater extent of late years in England by Mr. Cullimore, and it is probable that Signior Mussabini's work, which I see announced for publication[1], may contain some attempt at phonetic expression. The laborious task however on which M. Botta has been engaged during his excavation of the Nineveh marbles, promises to be of greater importance to the interpretation of the inscriptions than all preceding efforts. Having an inexhaustible field of comparison, he has been employed in constructing a complete table of variants, the frequent repetition of the same words with orthographical variations of more or less extent furnishing him with a key to the equivalent signs, and by these means he has succeeded, as he informs me, in reducing the Assyrian alphabet to some manageable compass. My own labours have been restricted to the Achæmenian Babylonian, as I have found it at Persepolis, Hamadan, and Behistun, and I have attempted nothing further at present than the determination of the phonetic powers of the characters. I have obtained a tolerably extensive alphabet from the orthography of the following names; Achæmenes, Cyrus, Smerdis, Hystaspes, Darius, Artystone, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Gomates, Magus, Atrines, Naditabirus, Nabochodrossor, Nabonidus, Phraortes, Xathrites, Cyaxares, Martius, Omanes, Sitratachmes, Veisdates, Aracus, Phraates, Persis, Susiana, Margiana, and Oromasdes; but I have left the grammar and construction of the language hitherto untouched.

The anomaly which cannot fail at first sight to attract the attention and excite the astonishment of Orientalists is that, whilst all the Semitic alphabetical systems with which we are acquainted are distinguished for their rigour and compactness, the primitive lapidary writing of the same races, or at any rate of the races occupying the same seats, should be constructed on a scale of such extraordinary amplitude and laxity[2]. Very important ethnographical considerations

[1] "On Cuneatic Writing," announced for publication by the Syro-Egyptian Society of London.

[2] The direction of the Babylonian writing, from left to right, is another remarkable instance of departure from the usages of the Semitic nations. Professor

are suggested by this circumstance, but whether we may be authorized to introduce any essential modification into the received opinions on primitive Semitic settlement, must depend on that analysis of the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian languages which is evidently on the eve of execution. I will only observe in this place, in regard to the Babylonian alphabet, that I am not prepared with M. Botta to admit the existence of real variants of character in the same monument, except where the variation, arising from a mere capricious augmentation, elongation, or collocation of signs, is patent and unequivocal. I attribute the great diversity which is observable in the internal orthography of names and words to one or all of the four following causes.

Firstly. Each consonant possessed two forms representing it as a mute and as a sonant, so that in expressing a dissyllable, in which such a consonant was medial, it was optional to employ either one or the other, or both of these forms together.

Secondly. The vowel sounds were inherent in the sonant consonants, (and perhaps also at the commencement of the mutes,) yet for greater perspicuity it was allowable to represent the vowels at will by definite signs.

Thirdly. Redundant consonants were frequently introduced for no other purpose, as I conjecture, than that of euphony; and,

Fourthly. The phonetic organization was so minute and elaborate that, although each form was designed to represent a distinct and specific sound, yet in the orthography of names, (particularly foreign names) the artist was perpetually liable to confound the characters.

I do not consider such variants to be legitimately interchangeable, but I believe their indifferent employment to arise from the difficulty of distinguishing between the respective modifications of phonetic power which they were intended to represent. The application of these principles to M. Botta's table of variants, and the assimilation of the Assyrian characters to those which occur in the names at Behistun, must, it is only reasonable to suppose, afford an ample basis for the interpretation of the Khorsabád Inscriptions. In inquiries of this

Grotefend has pretended that a direction from right to left is the natural order of cursive writing among the Orientals who sit cross-legged, while the reverse is the natural order of inscriptions on stones; but the English translator of Heeren has well remarked, that this distinction is altogether fanciful. See Heeren's Researches, vol. II. p. 348. Putting aside the doubtful questions of the origin of Cuneiform writing and the direction of the Himyaric inscriptions, we may consider it as a general, if not an universal rule, that Semitic languages in all ages have been written from right to left, while the contrary direction has been adopted in the writing of all nations of the Arian family.

nature, indeed, the opening of the first gallery is the only matter of serious embarrassment; at each successive stage of the inquiry difficulties resolve themselves, and the entire fabric is soon laid bare before the cautious march of diligent and critical research.

It is natural to infer from the peculiar form of Cuneiform writing, that in all ages and in all countries it must have been confined exclusively to sculptures and impressions. In Babylonia and Assyria there was certainly a cursive character employed in a very high antiquity, synchronously with the lapidary Cuneiform. We meet with it occasionally on bricks and cylinders[1], and if these relics were insufficient to prove its authenticity, we might refer to the squared Hebrew which the Jews are believed to have adopted in Babylonia, and to have first substituted for the old Samaritan when they returned from the captivity with a language sensibly affected by their long residence on the Tigris and Euphrates[2]. It is probably, however, the Cuneiform character of Assyrian type, to which Herodotus[3] and Diodorus[4] allude under the titles of Syrian and Assyrian writing; and the tablets of Acicarus, regarding which Clemens of Alexandria has preserved so

[1] Professor Grotefend alludes to several of these legends, (Heeren's Researches, vol. II. p. 345,) and Klaproth has given the copy and translation of a similar impression from a Babylonian brick in his Aperçu, p. 78. I have three specimens of the same character under my eyes at present, which are severally copied from Babylonian bricks, gems, and cylinders. I observe, that like the Cuneiform legends of the cylinders, the characters are reversed for the purpose of impression; the letters which run from left to right are evidently allied to the Phœnician, and according to Klaproth, are the earliest form extant of Semitic cursive writing.

[2] Klaproth, in his usual dogmatic way, rejects this hypothesis as an absurd pretension which has nothing to support it beyond Rabbinical tradition. The squared Hebrew, he says, was borrowed from the Palmyrene, and its antiquity may be limited "presque avec certitude" to the fourth century of the Christian era. Aperçu, &c. p. 79. The only evidence I can find, however, that in any way supports this assertion is that of the coins of the Maccabees, which exhibit the same characters as the Asmonean medals in use before the captivity. That a squared character, however, approximating to the Hebrew more nearly than to any other Semitic writing, must have been employed, at least in the third century before our era, is shown by the Arianian and Parthian alphabets, of which the Western origin has been demonstrated by Professor Wilson, (see Ariana Antiqua, pp. 260, 261,) and I have also met with Babylonian gems inscribed with Hebrew characters, of which the execution denoted a very high antiquity, as early probably as the age of Alexander. Gesenius would be better authority than Klaproth in a question of this sort, but I have not at present means of reference, either to the Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache, or to the Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta.

[3] Lib. iv. cap. 87.

[4] Lib. ii. cap. 1. The passage is quoted from Ctesias, and refers to the inscriptions of Semiramis at Baghistan or Behistun.

curious a notice, were inscribed I should imagine with the same letters[1], but of the Achæmenian Babylonian class[2]. The latest monument upon which the ancient character is preserved is probably the inscription of Tarki, north of the Caucasus, a relic that M. Burnouf has with some plausibility assigned to the period of Arsacide dominion[3]. In Babylonia proper its employment could hardly have survived the era of Alexander the Great, and as it appears never to have been used in Persia, except in connexion with a foreign language, and for the purpose of ministering to the pride of the Achæmenian monarchs, who claimed to have inherited the science as well as the wealth and glory of Babylon, it ceased no doubt to be understood to the eastward of the mountains after the extinction of that dynasty. Grecian civilization then, as it is well-known, replaced for a while Semitic influence in the interior of Persia, and when the Macedonians retired, they were succeeded by that tide of immigration from the eastward which for many centuries imposed a Scythic character on the usages, the religion, and perhaps, also, in some degree, on the language of the Parthian nation.

II. The character which has hitherto been denominated the Median is peculiar to the trilingual inscriptions of Persia. It is of a very high degree of interest, not so much on account of the information which it embodies, for with one solitary exception it is employed for the mere purpose of translation, but in regard to the nation to which its language may be assignable. As it is met with wherever the Achæmenian monuments extend, at Persepolis, Hamadan, Behistun and Ván, and also on those relics of Achæmenian rule which still exist in Egypt[4], or which are of Egyptian manufacture[5], the inference

[1] Democritus, the Greek philosopher, is said to have interpreted the inscriptions on the column of Acicarus, and to have incorporated their contents in his works on Babylonian Ethics. He was at Babylon in the commencement of the fourth century, B.C. See Clem. Alex. Stromata., edit. Sylburg. lib. i. p. 303, and Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, vol. II. p. 105.

[2] M. Et. Quatremère appears to have especially treated on the ancient cursive writings of Assyria and Babylonia in his Memoir on the Nabathæans, Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. XV. page 244., sqq. I have never seen, however, this article, which is highly spoken of.

[3] See Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions Cunéiformes, p. 176, sqq.

[4] I allude to the Suez stone first copied by Gen. Dugua, and published in Denon's Voyage, pl. 124. See Heeren's Researches, vol. II. p. 319; and Descrip. de l'Egypte, Antiquit. Mémoires, I. 3. p. 269. Lassen has described and translated the inscription in his last Memoir, page 81. See Zeitschrift, &c. vol. VI. No. 1.

[5] See the Inscriptio Vasis ap. Caylus, tom. V. Tab. XXX., published and rendered by Grotefend in Heeren's Researches, vol. III. last plate. For the

appears inevitable, that the people to whose tongue it was appropriated must have constituted, under the Achæmenian dynasty, one of the great divisions of the Persian empire; and as we also find the tablets upon which it is engraved occupying a middle place, either in actual position or in relative convenience, between the original and vernacular records on the one side, and the Semitic transcripts on the other, we may further argue that this great popular division was inferior to the native and then dominant Persian, but superior to the conquered Babylonian. An indication of so plausible and direct a nature immediately leads us to the Medes, who, although a subject race, were admitted, it is well-known, under the Achæmenians to a certain degree of participation in the political rights of the Persians; and it is, I imagine, on such grounds only, irrespective of all internal evidence, that by general consent the name of Median is now assigned to the writing in question.

But the time is rapidly approaching in which we shall be enabled to examine the subject in a more critical and elaborate manner. The tablets of Persepolis and Behistun have furnished above ninety proper names of which we have the equivalents in the Persian character, and the repetition of these names in many places, with variations of orthography, has contributed a further help to the classification of the signs. With such facilities, then, for alphabetical identification, and with the extensive field of grammatical comparison afforded by the Behistun translations, it must be evident that under patient investigation, the language must be recognised, if it have a living representative; or if entirely extinct, that it may be in a measure resuscitated. That investigation I have not yet completed, but I am at any rate in a condition to make the following observations with some confidence.

The alphabet contains about one hundred characters, and as the vowels (unless they commence a syllable) are, for the most part, inherent in the consonants, the phonetic organization may be understood to be exceedingly elaborate. There appear to be mutes and sonants as in the Babylonian alphabet, and the interchangeability of the letters of the same class is carried to almost an equal extent. So great, indeed, is the confusion in this respect, that in the orthography of names it is impossible to ascertain from the Persian equivalents whether certain characters may represent *k* or *g*; *t* or *d*; *m*, *w*, or *v*; *p*, *b*, or *f*, and so on through all the classes of articulation; but I am inclined to believe that in the construction of words these mutations depend for the most part on fixed rules. The division of words also by the disjunctive sign

inscription on the Egyptian vase in the Library of St. Mark's, discovered by Sir G. Wilkinson, see chap. 5 of the present Memoir.

does not appear to be altogether arbitrary, for where that sign is wanting euphonic letters frequently form a link of connexion. But the distinguishing characteristic of the alphabet is its repugnance to the letter *r;* where that character occurs in the Persian, as the first member of a compound articulation, as in *ark, art, arm, arsh,* &c., it is in the other alphabet universally elided; where it occurs as a sonant in the one, it is usually changed to an *l* or to a guttural in the other[1]. I do not assert, at the same time, that the letter *r* is unknown; it is merely disaffected by the genius of the language. There is evidently also a close affinity between the *n* and *l*, but I hesitate to say they are actually interchangeable[2]. It appears to me that in many points of orthography which I have thus noticed, the structure of the so-called Median alphabet exhibits a very close affinity to that of the Babylonian, and it is precisely in those points that the departure from a Semitic type is most observable, and that both the one organization and the other approach more nearly to a Scythic (or, as Dr. Pritchard calls it, an Allophylian) character.

Regarding the language I must speak at present with considerable reserve, for my researches on this subject require to be extended, as well as methodized; and I have not, moreover, that intimate acquaintance with the higher branches of philology which might entitle me to generalize with safety. I will only observe, therefore, that in many of the essential characteristics of language, the so-called Median organization is of the Scythic type. In the employment of post-positions and of pronominal possessive suffixes the coincidence is striking; while in the declension of nouns, not merely are postfixed particles substituted for casual inflexions, but the particles are fre-

[1] As in Armenian, Georgian, and Chinese.

[2] Dr. Pritchard observes, in his Researches, vol. IV. page 385, that in the languages of High Asia, "the *n* and *l* are interchangeable consonants, as it has been abundantly proved by Dr. Schott." This peculiarity of orthography appears to me in a remarkable way to connect the Scythic with the Semitic races. In Pehlevi the substitution of the *n* for the Persian *r* (which I consider to be the same as *l*) is the distinguishing characteristic of the language, and both in the ancient and modern dialects of Babylonia the same confusion is observable. We have thus Labynetus and Nabonidus, Nebuchadnezzar and Nabochodrossor, Rubíl in Arabic for the Hebrew Reuben, and the modern Mendallijín for the ancient name of Band-i-Najín (the Mendalli of the Maps).

The substitution of these letters may sometimes be traced in the Arian languages, as in *alius, alter,* in Latin, for *anyas, antar,* in Sanskrit. *Bána,* in Kurdish, for the Persian *Bálá,* "above." The Πευκανεων of Dionysius for Πευκαλεων, &c. Eustathius, in his Commentary on verse 1143 of the Periegesis, says that the name was written indifferently Πευκαλεις and Πευκανεις. *Peucela* is Pali for the Sanskrit *Pushkala.*

quently the very same as those which are employed in modern Turkish. The pluralizing particles are also nearly similar, and I perceive an occasional introduction of a Tartarian gerund. On the other hand, the general construction is rather Arian than Scythic; the members of a sentence (with the exception of those Scythicisms that I have already noticed) follow the direct, instead of the inverse collocation; and the different clauses are connected together by a relative pronoun (or rather, perhaps, a particle; for it is singularly defective in its developement) instead of the relative participle of the Tartarian dialects. I have sometimes thought that the relative pronoun may be foreign to the language, as in the Osmanli-Turkish; and that its employment, together with the Anti-Scythic collocation which it necessarily produces, may be caused by the desire of producing a literal translation (in which each individual word shall correspond) of the Persian original. It is, at any rate, the most essential incongruity which the language exhibits to the Scythic type. But there are other elements of speech of which it is not so easy to dispose. The pronouns, as far as I can give them a vocal identity, appear to be Semitic; or, at any rate, they seem to form a connecting link between the Semitic and the Scythic dialects. The adverbs, on the other hand, epecially where they are used co-relatively, have all the peculiarities of Arian formation; while the verbs, if they agree in principle with the Tartarian dialects by forming their terminal inflexions, for the most part with pronominal suffixes, exhibit, at the same time, the strange anomaly of euphonic (?) initial modification, not perhaps to the same extent, but apparently of a kindred character with that which prevails in Celtic[1]. I have hitherto succeeded in identifying very few names of objects or verbal roots. Those which I have identified are chiefly of the Turkish family; but I have been sometimes startled by meeting with an unequivocal Semitic term; and a great number of Persian words, particularly titles, are introduced directly into the language in their full integrity both of sense and sound.

Perhaps I am hardly justified in generalizing on these scanty grounds. Inferences, at any rate, which are drawn from such doubtful and imperfect premises, and which are supported at present with no evidence beyond the mere assertion, cannot be expected to command much ethnographical weight. If, however, the peculiarities, both of orthography and structure, which I have above detailed, can be depended on, philologists will probably admit that the so-called Median inscriptions are of the Scythic family; but that the language in which they are written must have been so long exposed to exterior

[1] See Pritchard on the Celtic Nations, chap. I. sect 2.

and antagonist influences, as to have lost much of its distinctive character. Such, at any rate, is the opinion which I at present entertain; but I refrain from pronouncing any definite sentence, until I shall have completed an analysis of all the materials at my disposal, and until also I shall have compared with all available accuracy and care the structure of the language of the inscriptions with those insulated dialects of Northern Media, which certainly present several peculiarities of a similar character; and which, if the language be really Median, would seem to possess a claim to geographical, or, at least ethnographical, connexion with it[1].

In the mean time, while any doubt attaches to the structure or classification of the language to which these inscriptions belong, it must be obviously useless to try their nationality by the usual test of an affiliation of type. If the elements of the tongue should prove to be of the Arian family, and if the Scythic or quasi-Scythic character which it presents should be recognised as a secondary developement, there would be no great difficulty in reconciling this uncouth amalgamation with our historical knowledge of the ancient inhabitants of Media; for although the Arian origin of the Medes is now universally admitted[2], and although the names of the Median kings, as they are preserved to us by the Greeks, or as they occur in the inscriptions[3], are manifestly of an Arian etymology, still the connexion of the country with Scythic races was sufficiently close and continuous to account perhaps for a copious introduction of foreign terms, and for a certain modification even of the primitive structure of the language. We have only, indeed, to recollect, that Media was constantly exposed to irruptions from the northward, that for twenty-eight years during the reign of Cyaxares it was under a Scythic yoke, and that the inhabitants latterly appear to have been so thoroughly intermingled

[1] I allude to the Georgian and Armenian. Dr. Pritchard, in the 13th and 14th chapters of the 4th volume of his Researches, discusses in the most able manner the ethnographical relations of these languages. The Armenian he classes among the members of the Arian family, but he observes that its claim to affinity is remote, and that it has been but recently admitted; while of the Georgian speech he observes, "we may set it down as one by itself, unconnected or but distantly connected with any other idiom."

[2] Heeren considers the cognate origin of the Medes and Persians to be susceptible of direct proof; (see Researches, vol. I., p. 324;) and Dr. Pritchard, throughout his Asiatic Researches, employs the terms Median, Persian, and Medo-Persic, in an ethnographical sense, as almost synonymous.

[3] For the etymologies of Frawartish and 'Uwakhshatara the true native forms of Φραόρτης and Κυαξάρης, see the Vocabulary, in vocibus. M. Burnouf translates 'Ασπυάγης, or Ajis-Dahâka, as it is read in the Vendidad, "the biting snake." See Nouv. Journ. Asiat. IV. series, tom. IV. No. 20, p. 498.

with the Scythic tribes of Sacæ and Cadusii, that the best informed historians failed in many instances to distinguish between them[1], to admit the possible Scythicism of the original speech of the Medic race[2]. But if, on the other hand, the language of the inscriptions should be fundamentally Scythic, and the departure from that type should be the effect of an intercourse with Arian or Semitic nations, then I believe we must reject the possible attribution to the Medes of the centre columns of the trilingual tablets. In that case, it would become a question of considerable embarrassment to what constituent portion of the Persian empire they might belong. We should be obliged, in fact, in order to resolve the difficulty, either to suppose the Scythic and Arian colonization of Persia to have taken place simultaneously; or we might consider the Persian immigration to be of a comparatively recent date, and we might assign the inscriptions in question to the aboriginal race, who under the new empire had lost their political individuality, but to whom, as they still continued to constitute the great mass of the population of the country, it was thought proper to address a transcript of the national records in their vernacular and only intelligible dialect.

Independently of the evidence afforded by the structure of the language, there are a few incidental expressions scattered through the

[1] There can be little doubt but that the Cadusian war described by Ctesias as occurring during the reign of Artæus, refers to the Median revolt under Dejoces, and it is possible also that the Cadusian expedition of Artaxerxes, of which Plutarch gives an account, was conducted against the same people. In my Essay on Ecbatana, I have noticed this confusion between the Medes and Cadusians, (see Jour. R. G. Society, vol. X. part I. page 126;) and I shall have occasion to examine the subject more in detail in a future portion of the present Memoir. One of the chief cities of Media, I may add, is named Ghudhrush in the Inscriptions.

[2] There are many notices in the classics which connect the ancient Median speech with the Scythic, but whether by Scythic in this case is meant Sclavonic or Tartarian, I doubt if we are in a position at present to decide. The Sarmatæ, or Sauromatæ, who spoke Scythian, although badly, were certainly a colony from Media. See Herod. IV. cap. 110—117; Diod. Sic. lib. II. cap. 3; and Plin. lib. VI. cap. 7. Again, Pomponius Mela connects the Sarmatæ with the Parthians, (lib. IV. cap. 3;) and of the Parthian language, Justin (lib. XLI. cap. 2,) says it was a connecting link between the Scythic and Median; while John of Malala (Edit. Dindorf, p. 26), quoting from some unknown passage of Herodotus, says, "the Parthians to the present day retain the dress, language, and laws of the Scythians." Strabo's famous passage, p. 374, in which he connects the Medes, Persians, Bactrians, and Sogdians in one homo-glot family, refers apparently to a later period of Arian colonization, although, at the same time, it must be admitted that a quotation which he also gives from Nearchus of a nearly similar purport, as far as the Medes and Persians are concerned, can only apply to as early an age as that of Alexander's conquest.

inscriptions which may possibly throw some light upon this curious ethnographical subject. It would be inconvenient to collect or scrutinize such notices at present, but they will form a legitimate and interesting object of inquiry in a succeeding portion of the Memoir. I will here only observe that, as the supposed Median Inscriptions are found exclusively on the Achæmenian tablets, the invention of the alphabet may be referred, without much chance of error, to the age of Cyrus the Great; that as they are appended by way of translation to the legends of the Achæmenian kings from the time of Cyrus to that of Artaxerxes Ochus, the alphabet and language in which they are composed must have been currently understood during that interval, by a numerous and, I conceive, an integral portion of the subjects of the Persian empire; and that the solitary instance of a detached inscription of this second class on the face of the great sculpture at Behistun, unaccompanied by a Persian or Babylonian transcript[1], furnishes a clue, at any rate, either to the habitat of the race to which the language belonged, or to the nationality of the artist who executed the independent record. That letters of the so-called Median class occur in the incongruous inscription at Tarki, north of the Caucasus, does not, I conceive, furnish any grounds for supposing the language and character to have been in current use during the rule of the Arsacide dynasty. An imperfect knowledge of the phonetic powers of the three species of writing may, certainly, through the trilingual Achæmenian tablets, have survived for a short time the wreck of the Persian monarchy; and in default of a better medium of intelligence, it is possible that an early Parthian king may have thus employed the Cuneiform character to commemorate his northern expedition; but, on the other hand, it involves no anachronism to suppose that the name of Arsaces may have been borne by a Caucasian Satrap at any period of the Achæmenian line[2], and I may add that the intermingling of the alphabets, moreover, exhibits all the marks of a remote and provincial barbarism. The extinction of the second class of Cuneiform writing was, doubtless, synchronous with that of the other systems, and any remarks that I may have to offer on the subject will thus be introduced in the following section; but I would draw attention to the fact, that we can hardly suppose a language, so peculiar in its charac-

[1] This inscription, which refers to the various historical tablets executed by Darius in different parts of his empire, is of particular interest, as it records several names which I have not otherwise met with, and which, indeed, up to the present time, I have not been able satisfactorily to identify.

[2] I need only mention the attribution by Ctesias of the name of Arsaces to Artaxerxes Mnemon, to show that the title was in use under the Achæmenians.

ter, and so extended in its use, to have become obsolete in its native country, without impressing its tone upon later dialects, and thus affording a clue to its own elaboration in the structure or vocabulary of some living tongue.

III. The preceding observations, compared with the sequel of the present chapter, will be found to present the contrast of exploration and description. Hitherto upon a treacherous soil inquiry has moved slowly and darkly forward, surrounded with difficulties and fearful of a premature announcement of results; but we now stand on firm ground, and have a beaten track before us; our only chance of danger is in deviation from the direct line of argument.

I will premise, then, that the Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions, to which the present Memoir is exclusively devoted, are the peculiar records of the house of Achæmenes. The earliest monument of the class at present known is the inscription of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadæ[1]; the latest dates from the time of Artaxerxes Ochus[2]. The inscriptions are found upon rocks, slabs, and pillars at Persepolis, at Pasargadæ, at Hamadán, at Behistun, and Ván, and detached specimens of the same writing occur upon the Suez stone, on the vase in the treasury at St. Mark's, on that curious relic which is known as the urn of the Count Caylus, and lastly, in the legend of Tarki, to which I have already more than once alluded. The situation which these inscriptions occupy on the trilingual tablets, to the left where the series is horizontal, at the head where the succession is downwards, and in the centre where that is the place of honour and the lateral compartments are thrown out of the field of vision[3], evidently marks them as the original and vernacular records, of which the Median and Babylonian adjuncts are the mere translations. At Persepolis, moreover, the head-quarters of Achæmenian power, an important document is met with, which is unaccompanied by the usual transcripts; and when we perceive also that it is this particular document, which most triumphantly asserts the dominancy of the Persian race, and which represents the feudatory provinces of the empire as

[1] This inscription has been copied by Sir William Ouseley, Porter, and Rich. The best account of it may be found in Lassen's last Memoir, Zeitschrift, vol. VI. p. 152.

[2] For Lassen's translation of this inscription, see Zeitschrift, vol. VI. No. 1, p. 159, sqq. My own rendering, in chap. 5, will be found to be slightly different.

[3] I do not think it necessary to specify the relative position of the tablets in all the various inscriptions of Persia. Instances will be found of the three different modes of collocation which I have here noticed, but the usual order of the series is from left to right, in the same direction as the writing.

the victims of Persian prowess, we discern, perhaps, in the exclusiveness of the record something more of policy than of accident[1].

As the language of the inscriptions will be elaborately examined in a future chapter, I shall content myself with observing at present that it is of the Arian type, resembling Sanskrit very closely in its grammatical structure, but in its orthographical development more nearly approximating to the Zend; while, in the peculiarity of organization which requires the juxta-position of certain consonants with certain vowels, it exhibits something of a Scythic character[2], and while it inherits, probably from the same source, a small proportion of its vocables and roots.

The invention of this character and the extent of its application afford matter for curious inquiry. The want of antecedent documents supplies, in the first place, a negative argument of some weight, that it must have originated with Cyrus the Great; while the extraordinary revolution which took place under that monarch, and which suddenly acquired for the Persian race the supremacy of Western Asia, explains at the same time the necessity which then first arose for the employment of a lapidary character, to express in the vernacular dialect of Persia the monumental records of the nation. As the elements also of which the letters are composed are identical with the elemental signs of the Babylonian and Assyrian alphabets, there is every reason to believe that the type of charcter was adopted in reference to those pre-existing systems of writing, systems with which his Semitic conquests must have rendered the Persian monarch familiar. The question, then, which is offered for examination is, whether the Persian Cuneiform character was, with the exception of this adoption from a foreign source of its elements of form, an original alphabetical invention; or whether it was a mere transcript, executed for lapidary purposes, or a Babylonian model of a species of cursive writing that had previously belonged to the nations of the Arian family. We have certainly no direct acquaintance with any such Arian prototype, but circumstantial evidence is, I think, in favour of its existence. On this subject I will offer the following remarks:—

[1] This is the famous Geographical Inscription of Niebuhr, marked I., and copied from the outer face of the southern wall of the great platform. For Lassen's translation of the amended copy made by Westergaard, see Zeitschrift, &c., Vol. VI. No. 1, p. 42, sqq. The particular force, however, of the passages to which I allude, has escaped the Professor's observation.

[2] Dr. Pritchard observes, in his Researches, &c., vol. IV. p. 382, "Another peculiarity prevails throughout the formation of the Turkish and Mongolian languages, in which certain consonants can only be pronounced in juxta-position with certain vowels."

1. The Persian Cuneiform alphabet, although it has no pretension to the refinement of the classical Sanskrit, is still sufficiently copious in its expression of the phonetic powers, and sufficiently precise in its application of them, to indicate an advanced stage of orthographical development. It is not, it must be allowed, altogether free from confusion or irregularity; yet its organization could hardly have been so perfect as it is, if it had been a primary attempt to give a bodily form to the peculiarities of Arian articulation.

2. The language of the Persian Inscriptions possesses strong characteristics of affinity with the Sanskrit, but is, at the same time, distinguished from it, by that uniform permutation, both of alphabetical powers and of grammatical inflexions, which points to a very remote period for their common separation from the parent stock. How, then, is it possible that the development of these languages should have proceeded for so many centuries *pari passu*, each in its respective path, if either the one idiom or the other had been alone indebted to an oral medium for the preservation of its tone and purity? The antiquity of the Vedas, assailed as it has been of late by the advocates of Buddhist literature, may be now triumphantly vindicated by an appeal to the language of the Inscriptions; and as the Sanskrit in its purest form can be thus shown to be the type rather than the refinement of the historic Pali, we may perhaps not unreasonably assume the character of the Maurian dynasty, which was appropriated to the latter dialect, and which is the oldest form extant of Indian Palæography[1], to have been itself a derivation from some earlier alphabet, that was in use amongst the primitive colonists of Aryavarta, for the transcription of their hymns and sacrificial prayers. If, however, alphabetical writing were known to any branch of the Arian family prior to the age of Cyrus, it can hardly have been concealed from that

[1] James Prinsep, who first decyphered this interesting character, was struck with its resemblance to the most archaic form of Greek, and he drew up accordingly a comparative table of the Pali and Sigæan alphabets, (see Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. VI. p. 382). His theory, however, has found little favour with Palæographers, the names, powers, and series of the Greek letters, together with unanimous tradition, establishing, it is thought, beyond the reach of controversy, their Phœnician derivation. The extraordinary similarity, at the same time, between the forms of the letters, as they were used at a very early epoch by two branches of the Arian family, widely severed as were the Greeks and Indians, together with the common direction of the writing from left to right, in contradistinction to the Semitic usage, requires still, I think, to be explained. Prinsep's attribution of the Pali character to the fifth century B.C. is altogether assumptive. The reign of the Nandas, shortly before the Macedonian conquest, is the limit of its probable antiquity, although for the transcript of the Buddhist doctrines there must have been a cursive Arian prototype.

division, which of all others was farthest advanced in Hagiology. Sacerdotal influence and a written character are in the East almost inseparable, and whatever may be our opinion of the Books of Zoroaster, it seems impossible therefore to suppose that the Magi, anterior to the age of Cyrus, were without a sacred literature[1].

3. That a character employed for cursive purposes was in use under the Achæmenides we have undoubted evidence. The decree of Cyrus, which was found in the house of records at Ecbatana[2], the edict of Darius[3], the letters of Artaxerxes[4], are specifically mentioned in holy writ; and from Herodotus and Ctesias we also know that the national annals were elaborately written out and preserved in the archives of the state[5]. In what writing, then, were these public documents embodied? The peculiar formation of the Cuneiform character precludes the possibility of its employment, and the Babylonian cursive alphabet, adapted to a Semitic dialect, could have been hardly competent to express the peculiarities of an Arian tongue. A comparison, indeed, of the Persian and Babylonian orthographies of the proper names, which occur in the inscriptions, shows the extreme improbability of the two races having employed a common alphabet. The Babylonian characters could neither have represented the distinct aspirations of the Arian consonants, nor could the employment of the letter *r* in a compound articulation, which the Persian so much affected, but which was entirely foreign to the Semitic organs of speech, have by any possibility found a place in the latter alphabet. The inference, therefore, obviously is, that the Achæmenians must have

[1] The very elaborate vocalic organization of the Zend indicates, I think, a comparatively recent era for the formation of its alphabet; while the disfigurement of authentic history affords an argument of equal weight against the possible antiquity of the composition of the Zend-Avesta. At the same time, there is strong evidence of the Magi having possessed from the remotest period, books which they ascribed to some proto-patriarch of the name of Zoroaster. These books are quoted by Plato (Pol., B. XXX). They were in the hands of the disciples of Prodicus, who flourished in the fifth century, B.C. (Clem. Alex., Edit. Sylburg, p. 304). They supplied Osthanes, who accompanied Xerxes in his Grecian expedition, with materials for his work on Magic. They were expounded and indexed by Hermippus (Plin., lib. XXX. cap. 1). I do not allude to the later extracts of Eusebius, Suidas, &c., or to the published Zoroastrian oracles, for their claims to antiquity are apocryphal; but notices of the fourth and fifth century, B.C. are certainly deserving of consideration.

[2] Ezra, chap. VI. v. 2.

[3] Daniel, chap. VI. v. 9.

[4] Nehemiah, chap. II. v. 9.

[5] Herod. lib. VII. cap. 100. Diod. Sic., lib. II. cap. 3. Herodotus in no passage expressly mentions the royal records, but he notices the muster-roll of the army of Xerxes. On this subject, see Heeren's Researches, vol. I. p. 85, sqq.

possessed a cursive alphabet of doubtful origin but adapted to Arian articulation, which was employed synchronously with the lapidary Cuneiform; and if this be admitted, as the age of one is determined while that of the other is lost in antiquity, the derivation, or perhaps, the transcription, of the known from the unknown, would be in the legitimate order of events.

The foregoing observations having shown the probability that such a character did exist in Persia, antecedent to the introduction, or rather the invention, of the Cuneiform alphabet, it remains to be seen if any thing can be eliminated with regard to its form or type. All those ancient systems of Persic writing with which we are acquainted, although applied to Arian dialects, are obviously formed on a Semitic model. I may notice, in chronological succession, the writing[1] on the Cilician Darics; the Arianian alphabet (of which the earliest certain specimen is the transcript of the Edicts of Asoka[2]), with its derivatives the Numismatic Bactrian, and the character of the Buddhist topes[3]; the Zend[4]; the Parthian, exhibiting in the In-

[1] These legends, I believe, up to the present time have never been decyphered. The coins are figured by Mionnet, vol. V. plate 21, and Gesenius speaks of the character as "specimens of the ancient Persian writing." (Script. Ling. Phœn. mon., part I. p. 74.) By the generality of Numismatists they are referred to the cities of Sida and Celenderis, but M. Adrien de Longperrier, from the similarity of their emblems to those on the sculptures of Khorsabád, would refer them to Assyria, under the rule of the Achæmenians, (see Nineve et Khorsabád, in the Revue Archæologique of July 15, 1844.) It is probably to this writing that the apocryphal letter of Themistocles alludes, in speaking of the new Assyrian characters introduced by Darius. Them. Epist., p. 117.

[2] If Captain Cunningham be correct (and it is rarely safe to dissent from him) in attributing the bilingual coins, bearing the legend of "Amogha-bhutasa-maharajasa-rajnya kunandasa," to Nanda Mahapadma, we have specimens of the Arianian Numismatic alphabet sometime anterior to the age of Alexander; and the lapidary character of Kapur-di giri, dating about a century after that era, will then be a derivative rather than a type. Judging from the mere forms of the letters, the rock inscriptions have all the appearance of superior antiquity, and Professor Wilson appears to consider the legends on the coins of Eucratides (B.C. 181) as the earliest specimens of the Numismatic Bactrian. See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. VII. plates 2, 3, &c.; and vol. X. p. 157.

[3] For the Numismatic Bactrian, and the character which is found on jars, cylinders, &c., in the Buddhist topes, see Professor Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, passim, and particularly the chapter on the Arianian alphabet.

[4] I cannot here enter upon the discussion of that controverted question, the origin of the Zend character, but I entertain a very strong suspicion that the alphabetical system is far more modern than is generally supposed. Klaproth would assign the character to an Indian source, (Aperçu, &c., p. 68,) but all the letters with which he has brought it into comparison are very modern degradations of the old Pali type, and the resemblance, therefore, can but be accidental.

scriptions of Persia at least three varieties[1]; and the Pehlevi, lapidary, numismatic and cursive[2]. These several branches of Palæ-

(See Prinsep's comparative Table, Journ. Asiat. Soc., vol. VII., p. 276, and plate 9 of Klaproth's Aperçu, &c.) It is worthy of remark that the early Sassanian Pehlevi is to all appearance a connecting link between the Zend and the Semitic type; for it is only through the Pehlevi that we can compare the Zend letters with the Hebrew. I must reserve this difficult subject for future examination.

[1] The three varieties of Parthian to which I refer are, 1stly. a very barbarous character, which is found on the tablets at Tang-i-Sulúk, near Behabán; at Shimbor in the Bakhtiarí mountains, and in a cave near 'Amadíah. The first set of these inscriptions have been published by M. Boré, in the Journal Asiatique, after the Baron de Bode's copy; for transcripts of the others I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Layard and M. de Laval; 2ndly. the character of the inscription at Holwan, which, in my Memoir on Susiana (Journ. Geo. Soc., vol. IX., p. 37), I have named Pehlevi, but which, on further examination, I believe to be a very old type of the Parthian; and 3rdly. the character of the Parthian translation in the bilingual inscriptions of Ardeshír Babegán. De Saey (Ant. de la Perse, pl. 1, A. No. 4) published, and attempted to read, a short specimen of this class, from Nakhsh-i-Rustam. Porter (Travels, vol. I., p. 512, pl. 15) contributed a long Parthian Inscription from a cave at Hajiabád, and I have also extensive legends in the same character, copied by myself, from the ruins of the five temples at Shahrizor. I doubt, however, if, as Professor Wilson observes (Ariana Antiqua, p. 261), the Parthian can be considered to form a stage in the transmutation of the Baetrian Pali to the Numismatic Sassanian; for the latter is the nearest to a pure Semitic type of any species of Persic Palæography, and must, therefore, I think, have been adopted direct from the banks of the Tigris. There appears, also, to have been a Parthian Numismatic character, which is figured on some Arsacidan coins published by Mionnet, vol. V. pl. 29, and which is also, I believe, noticed in the Memoir by Sir William Ouseley, On some Medals and Gems, &c., &c., London, 1801, but I have never seen a specimen of this writing. The character on the Eastern coins of the Arsacides (Vonones, Undopherres or Gondophares, Pacorus, Arsaces, Orodes, &c.) is a mere degradation of the Numismatic Bactrian, and is sufficiently legible.

[2] In the time of Ardeshír Babegán, the lapidary and numismatic Pehlevi were nearly identical, but in succeeding ages the latter became very essentially degraded, as has been clearly and elaborately shown in M. Adrien de Longperrier's Essai sur les Médailles des Rois Perses de la Dynastie Sassanide, Paris, 1840. At the same time the most degraded writing on the coins will be found to differ materially from the text of the Pehlevi books at present in the hands of the Indian Parsís, and I think, therefore, we may classify the character as lapidary, numismatic, and cursive. We may also trace the lapse of the degraded numismatic into the cursive character now in use, through the writing which is frequently found on the interior surface of jars and sepulchral urns disinterred in different parts of Persia. The short legend again, written on the breast of the king's horse, on the great tablet at Shápúr, appears to have been engraved while the Pehlevi was then in a state of transition, and I have impressions of several gems which still further facilitate a connexion between the modern and ancient characters. In the names of the Parsí witnesses attached to the copper Sasanam, which is at present in possession of the Syrian Christians of Malabar, we have probably an interesting specimen of the Pehlevi character, as it was carried to India by the first emigrants

ography are all more or less connected. There is hardly that resemblance between them which should indicate, or at any rate prove, immediate affiliation; on the contrary, it is more probable from their diversity of organization, that the systems of writing were formed independently of each other; but at the same time it is clearly shown by the configuration of the letters of each system, that the alphabets were severally adopted from a Semitic source; and the direction of the writing, moreover, from right to left, connects them in a common category. But there is good evidence, also, for believing in the existence of an Arian character of an equal, if not a higher, antiquity than any of the preceding alphabets. The oldest specimen *extant* of the Pali writing is, I believe, found upon a gem inscribed with the name of Amogha-bhata, which Captain Cunningham assigns to the age of the Nandas[1]; but I have already alluded to the apparent necessity of a written character for the development and retention of the niceties of Sanskrit grammar; and the most authentic annalists of Buddhism, moreover, circumstantially relate that, after the death of Sakya, his doctrines were written out partly in Sanskrit and partly in Sindhu (or Pali); while translations were also made in Tibetan, in Chinese, in Scythic, and "*in Parsic for the inhabitants of the Parsika country*[2]."

Now if this Parsic writing were brought by the Arian colonists in their original migration from the eastward, it would of course follow a direction from left to right, similar to that which is common to all the Palæographic systems of India; and it would thus meet the primary condition which should distinguish the prototype of the Persian Cuneiform. We cannot perhaps adopt the direction of any

of the Zoroastrian faith, when they fled from the Arab army on its approach to Abilah, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and sought refuge at Sindán, a town on the coast of Guzerat, well known in Arab geography, but which, without this direct testimony of Hamzeh Isfahání, we should have some difficulty in recognizing in the St. John of the modern maps.

[1] See Journal Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, vol. IX., p. 155. The same eminent numismatist, whose forthcoming work, "On the Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East," is likely to throw a most valuable light on the subject of Arian Palæography, assigns, as I have before observed, the bilingual coins of Raja Kunanda to the elder Nanda, who preceded Chandragupta or Sandracottus, the contemporary of Seleucus Nicator, by two generations. If this appropriation be admitted, our earliest specimen of the Indian Pali will date from about B.C. 370.

[2] See extract from the Index to the Káh-gyur, translated by Csoma de Körös, in Journal Asiat. Soc., vol. VII. p. 282. The introduction of Tibetan into this list, is probably the natural vanity of a Buddhist writing in that language. Scythia, which is identified by its position beyond the Sita river, is called the Monkey Country, or the Gold Land.

system of writing as a determinate characteristic of alphabetical type[1], for the Babylonian Inscriptions violate the Semitic rule, and the Greek again reverses its Phœnician model[2]; yet the circumstance is certainly entitled to some consideration; and if, therefore, there were an Arian and Semitic alphabet synchronously in use in Persia prior to the age of Cyrus, the direction, as well as the organization of the Persian Cuneiform character, would lead us to assign it to the former rather than to the latter type.

These, however, are hazardous speculations into which I have been unnecessarily and perhaps inappropriately drawn. I may resume, in a future chapter of the Memoir, the subject of Palæographic affinities; but it is of more consequence at present to explain the application, than to search for the origin of the Persian alphabet. A brief description therefore of the tablets on which this character is found, and of the peculiarities which distinguish its employment, will close my preliminary remarks "on Cuneiform writing in general."

The famous trilingual inscription of Cyrus the Great, which still survives on a ruined pilaster at Múrghâb, is the most ancient monument of its class[3]. In the two short lines of Persian writing that are here met with, we have only, it is true, eleven distinct characters; but it is not to be supposed that the alphabet was formed in a doubtful or incomplete condition. Perhaps excavations among the ruins in the vicinity may some day reveal other tablets, bearing inscriptions of greater length and variety[4]; and the claim of Cyrus may thus be verified to be considered the inventor of a perfect alphabet. No

[1] The bilingual legends on the coins of Kunanda afford a striking proof that the direction of a writing depends on the alphabetic type, and not on the language. The inscriptions on the obverse and reverse of these coins are to the same effect, and in a common language, but they are written in a different character. The Bactrian Pali, which is allied to the Semitic alphabet, follows a direction from right to left, while the Indian Pali, which is of the Arian family, reads from left to right.

[2] It can hardly be said that the Bustrophide Greek reads both ways, for the first line, which determines the direction, is from left to right, while the following line, in which the direction is reversed, is merely the complement, that was tacked on backwards to suit an agricultural conceit.

[3] This short inscription, which merely contains the words, "I am Cyrus the King, the Achæmenian," is repeated several times on the ruins at Múrghâb, the remains, probably, of the tomb of Cyrus the Great.

[4] I consider the mounds in the vicinity of the tomb at Múrghâb to be one of the most favourable spots for excavation in all Persia. If the site be really that of Pasargadæ, as there seems every reason to believe, we might hope to find among the monuments of Cyrus, which are doubtless buried in the vicinity, some record of the liberation of Persia from the Median yoke.

records have yet been discovered of Cambyses, and if any works of the class were executed during the short reign of the Magian impostor, they were no doubt destroyed on the recovery of the throne by Darius, the son of Hystaspes.

To this monarch, insatiable in his thirst of conquest, magnificent in his tastes, and possessed of an unlimited power, we are indebted for all that is most valuable in the Palæography of Persia. Imbued, as it appears, with an ardent passion for monumental fame, he was not content to inscribe the palaces of his foundation at Persepolis with a legend commemorative of their erection[1], or with prayers invoking the guardianship of Ormazd and his angels[2], but he lavished an elaborate workmanship on historic and geographic records in various quarters of his empire, which evince considerable political forethought, an earnest regard for truth, and an ambition, natural and hardly to be quarrelled with, to transmit the glories of his reign to future generations, to guide their conduct, and invite their emulation. At Persepolis, in the high place of Persian power, he aspired to elevate the moral feelings of his countrymen, and to secure their future dominancy in Asia, by ostentatiously displaying to them their superiority over the feudatory provinces of the empire[3]; while upon the sacred rock of Baghistán he addressed himself, in the style of an historian, to collect the genealogical traditions of his race, to describe the extent and power of his kingdom, and to relate, with a perspicuous brevity worthy of imitation, the leading incidents of his reign. We are hardly prepared, indeed, in the narrative of an Eastern despot, to meet with the dignified simplicity, the truthfulness, and self-denial, which characterize this curious record[4]. His grave relation of the means by which, under the care and favour of a beneficent Providence, the crown of Persia first fell into his hands, and of the manner in which he subsequently established his authority, by the successive overthrow of the rebels who opposed him, contrasts most strongly, but most favourably, with the usual emptiness of Oriental hyperbole. In addition to these inscriptions at Persepolis and Behistun, we have another record of the royalty of Darius, at Hamadan[5], and the exten-

[1] See Inscription marked B, in Lassen's Zusammenstellung; Zeitschrift, vol. VI., No. 1, p. 170.

[2] See Inscription marked H, in the same collection, p. 175. In chap. V. of the present Memoir, I have given amended translations of all these inscriptions.

[3] Inscription marked I, in Lassen's collection, p. 175.

[4] This is the great Inscription of above 400 lines, which forms the principal subject of the present Memoir.

[5] See Lassen's collection of Inscriptions, p. 179. Inscription marked O. This

sive tablets at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, which have been lately copied, contain further particulars of his descent and territorial acquisitions together with a last solemn address to the nationality of his countrymen, inscribed by way of epitaph on his rock-hewn sepulchre[1]. The numerous inscriptions of Darius add twenty-five letters of the Persian alphabet to the eleven already obtained from the solitary tablet of Cyrus; and from their great extent, and the variety of matter which they embrace, they enable us also to obtain a very tolerable insight into the orthographical and grammatical structure of the ancient Persian language. Cyrus the Great had set the example of appending to his Persian records Babylonian and Median translations, and Darius adhered to the same method of giving all available publicity to his historic monuments. There is, I believe, only one instance, in the geographical inscription on the southern wall of the great platform of Persepolis where the Persian writing of this monarch appears without its Median and Babylonian adjuncts; and I have already surmised that, in this particular case, the transcript may have been designedly omitted, in order to avoid offensiveness to the subject nations, who are expressly said to have been reduced to servitude by the Persians, and who are, perhaps, even stigmatized as enemies[2].

Xerxes, the successor of Darius, inherited to a certain extent his father's passion for Petroglyphy; but the ambition of perpetuating the victories of the Persian arms, which was the useful and ennobling object of the one, appears to have yielded, in the other, to a mere gratification of personal vanity, redeemed however in some degree by the filial regard which is shown throughout his records to the memory of the monarch who preceded him. His inscriptions at Persepolis, which are sufficiently numerous, are thus devoted, almost exclusively, to the commemoration of the erection of the different edifices that he added to the palace[3]; and at the Medo-Assyrian capital of Ván, where

is the record which was critically examined by M. Burnouf, in his Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions Cunéiformes, &c.

[1] For Lassen's translation of this long inscription of 60 lines, which was very accurately copied in 1843 by Mr. Westergaard, see Zeitschrift, p. 81—119.

[2] On further consideration I am inclined to think this explanation somewhat fanciful. The sentence which introduces the Geographical list may be rendered, perhaps, "These are the nations which I have subdued, together with this state of Persia," rather than "by means of this state of Persia," which is the reading I have hitherto adopted. Lassen's translation of the passage, Zeitschrift, p. 45, will, I have no doubt, be abandoned by the author when he peruses the present Memoir.

[3] Lassen, in his Zusammenstellung, has eight inscriptions of Xerxes, copied from different parts of the ruins of Persepolis. There are also repetitions of several of these inscriptions upon other tablets at the same place.

there is a legend of somewhat greater length, it is merely to the unsatisfactory purport, that as Darius had failed to leave a memorial of his visit to the city, Xerxes, the son, under similar circumstances, had taken care in his own person to supply the omission[1]. The style of the inscriptions of Xerxes, both in the address to Ormazd and in the enumeration of the royal titles, is closely imitative of the formula which had been introduced by Darius; but the thread of independent historic narrative which distinguished the records of the father, appears to have been altogether neglected by the son; and the preservation therefore of the monuments of the latter monarch is almost destitute of general interest. We gather at the same time from the tablets of Xerxes some curious philological data; modifications, both of orthography and structure, appear to have already crept into the Persian language, as it is exhibited in his inscriptions; a new character, borrowed, as I think, from a Semitic source, was added by him to the alphabet, and the royal title of *K'hsháyathiya* (or king) was replaced under his reign by its synonym of *Naqa*[2]; whilst the compound words, also, of the preceding century are found in a few instances to be divided, and to be subjected to inflexion in each element; the first lapse being thus perhaps observable from the original concrete form to the subsequent expansion of the Zend[3].

Posterior to the age of Xerxes, one legend only has been yet discovered. It is found at Persepolis in duplicate, and is of the highest interest. The tablet, which was first disinterred and copied by Mr.

[1] The inscription of Ván is given by Professor Lassen, after Schultz's copy, Zeitschrift, p. 176. The transcript, which will be found in the fifth chapter of the present Memoir, and which follows the MS. of M. Boré, is more complete than Schultz's copy, but is still defective in the last two lines.

[2] I am perhaps hardly justified in this statement. There is, certainly, no autographic rock inscription of Darius Hystaspes which bears the title of *Naqa* (?); the term is found in connexion with the name of Darius upon the Suez stone, and upon a Babylonian cylinder, both of which relics are assigned to the son of Hystaspes; [see Grotefend's Neue Beiträge zur Erlauterung der Babylonischen Keilschrift, p. 34; and Lassen's last Memoir, page 80; the honorary legend also of Artystone at Persepolis has the same title of *Naqa* in apparent allusion to Darius Hystaspes. If *Naqa* were a title first introduced by Xerxes, the three records above noticed must be referred to Darius Nothus, and I am unwilling, without further evidence, to adopt such an appropriation. In the inscriptions of Xerxes, the term *Naqa* and *K'hsháyathiya* are employed indifferently.

[3] I allude to the terms *A'urahya Mazdáha* and *Par'uwa-zanánám* for *A'uramazdáha* and *Par'uzanánám*. The title, however, which is usually written *Dhuriya-apiya*, both by Xerxes and Darius, is found in the inscription of the latter king at Nakhsh-i-Rustam to be contracted in a single word *Dhuriápiya*, and the division, therefore, of compounds can hardly be admitted as a determinate effect of degradation in the language.

Rich, and for the duplicate of which we are indebted to the researches of Mr. Westergaard, is of the age of Artaxerxes Ochus[1], and its great value consists in the production which it gives to that monarch of the line of Achæmenian royalty, in a direct descent from Arsames, the grandfather of Darius. It is further curious in affording, by the introduction of two compound characters[2], and by a sensible variation of grammatical structure, additional proofs of the change which the Persian language was gradually undergoing, as it came into more general and vernacular use[3]. As the tendency, indeed, of its popular employment must have necessarily been to emancipate it from the trammels of nice grammatical propriety, under which it appears in its earliest form, and for which it was no doubt indebted to a careful written cultivation, I should be inclined to assign the period of Alexander's conquest, as the probable era from which we may date its bifurcation into the two distinct channels, that it would appear to have subsequently pursued. I would suppose that, on the one hand, as an oral dialect, it lost its compound and many of its distinctive articulations, its redundant relatives, its inflexions of case and gender, and that it thus gradually subsided into the vernacular form which it possessed probably on the institution of the Sassanian monarchy, and which continued with little variation to the Arab conquest. On the other hand, also, I would conjecture, that whilst it was still in the enjoyment of much of its original vigour and flexibility, it was taken up by the priesthood as a vehicle for religious teaching; that it was modified and augmented by further intercourse with its cognate branches to the eastward; and that, as a sacred dialect, it was refined and systematized by sacerdotal care, until it became finally embodied in the highly artificial forms of alphabetical expression and of gram-

[1] This inscription was, I believe, first published and imperfectly rendered by Professor Grotefend, in the Neue Beiträge, s. 13, from the copy in the British Museum. The text of the inscription was given entire in Rich's work, Plate XXIII., and it forms the principal subject of Lassen's article, "On some new Cuneatic Inscriptions," in the Zeitschrift, &c., vol. III. No. 16, p. 442. Westergaard's duplicate, which was transcribed in 1843 (the slab having been previously laid bare and, I suppose, copied by Messrs. Flandin and Coste), and which amends the text of Rich in some important passages, has been published and translated by Lassen, in his last Memoir, p. 159.

[2] In one of these characters the two inscriptions vary. Rich has and Westergaard .

[3] On the Egyptian vase in the Library of St. Mark's, which also dates from the age of Ochus, the orthography of the language is even more degraded than at Persepolis; for the name of *Artak'hshatrá* is there found to be corrupted to *Ardak'hobôshcha*.

matical structure which we find it to exhibit, at the present day in the Hagiographic books of the Parsís[1].

I have little more to say on the general subject of Cuneiform writing. The Persian character was no doubt currently understood at the period of the Greek invasion; but with the possible exception of the anomalous legend of Tarki, there is no monument of the class yet known which can be assigned to a later date than the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus. The Parthian monarchs, as it is well known, employed the Greek character upon their Western, and the Arianian on their Eastern coins, while, in the rock inscriptions, which they sparingly executed in different parts of their dominions, the several varieties of type, adopted either in different ages, or by different races, indicate a common and Semitic origin.

We may infer, therefore, that the Persian Cuneiform writing expired with the rule of the Achæmenian kings; and that the knowledge even of the character was altogether lost before the restoration of Magism by Ardeshír, the son of Bábek. If I could ascertain the precise period of the authorship of the Zend-Avesta, I might more nearly indicate the era of the final extinction of the ancient writing. Not many centuries could have elapsed between the time of Alexander and the invention of the Zend alphabet, or the language, to which that alphabet was appropriated, would hardly have preserved so much of the structure of the Achæmenian Persian; and yet, on the other hand, the compilation of the works of Zoroaster, for which I conclude the alphabet to have been formed, must have taken place, apparently, at a period when not only the Cuneiform Inscriptions were illegible, but when their contents even had faded from public memory, or the priesthood could neither have had the audacity nor the desire to darken authentic history by the distorted and incomplete allusions to Jemshíd and the Kayanian monarchs which are found in the Vendidád Sadé and in the ancient hymns, and which originated those romantic stories regarding Asiatic empire, that have ever since obtained currency in

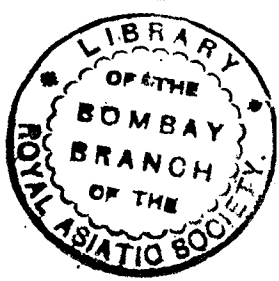
[1] I am aware that in thus suggesting a comparatively recent epoch for the reduction of the Zend language to its present form, I am treading on dangerous ground; but I am obliged to say that M. Burnouf's arguments have altogether failed to convince me that the Zend was immediately cognate with the Vedic Sanskrit, or indeed, that it was ever a spoken tongue. It is certain that the language of the inscriptions is not a derivation from the Zend; the two forms of speech may possibly have existed synchronously, one as a Demotic and the other as a Hieratic language; but in that case the disfigurement of historical names and the straining after artificial etymologies, which occur in every page of the Zend-Avesta, are points which will hardly admit of explanation. I shall recur to this subject in another place.

the East. The interpretation of the inscriptions of Persepolis, which is commemorated in a Cufic legend preserved on the spot as having been achieved by a Kurdish secretary and a Magian priest of Persia in A.H. 344, can only by possibility apply to the records of the Sassanian monarchs, that are interspersed among the more ancient tablets[1].

Those tablets have been as a sealed letter to the world for at least twenty centuries. It has been reserved for civilized Europe to reveal their mysteries, and it is my firm belief, that the discoveries that have been already made are but a prelude to others of far greater moment, that will reward the toils of continued investigation.

In the following Memoir, or perhaps I should rather say, in the following series of Memoirs, I propose to examine the three classes of Cuneiform Inscriptions in succession. The Persian writing, as it is the least difficult, will form the exclusive subject of the present Essay; but if health and leisure permit, I hope subsequently to extend the inquiry with the same labour and attention to the Median and Babylonian Inscriptions. The elaboration of the one will possess the sole interest of language, but in the other we may look for historical discoveries, associated with many prominent features of Scripture chronology, and ascending probably to an early age in the colonization of Western Asia.

[1] See De Sacy's Antiquités de la Perse, p. 137. The author of the Mujmal-el-Tawárikh also states, on the authority of Hamzeh Isfahání (whose evidence is always valuable on the subject of Persian antiquities), that a Múbid having been invited to read the Pehlevi Inscriptions of Persepolis, interpreted the legends to signify that "King Jem had done so and so, on a certain day of a certain month." Had the explanation referred to the inscriptions at Behistun, the coincidence would have been remarkable; for the various actions of Darius are there recorded according to their respective dates, but at Persepolis chronological annalism is not attempted. I must add, however, that the real Pehlevi Inscriptions of the Takht-i-Jemshíd are to the present day undecyphered.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Comparative Table of the Persian Cuneiform Alphabet, accor… to the different Systems of Interpretation.

No.	Character.	Geotefend, from Heeren, 1824.	Rask, 1826.	Saint Martin, from Klaproth, 1832.	Burnouf, 1836.	Lassen, 1836.	Jacquet and Boer, 1837-38.	La… 1839.	Lassen. 1844.	Adopted in the present Memoir. Sanskrit.	Zend.	Greek.	1845. English.	Character.
1	𐎠	é *and* i	....	a	â	â	....	â a	â	....	....	....	á *or* a (*init.*)	𐎠
2	𐎡	ô	....	y	ô	i	....	i i	i	....	....	....	i	𐎡
3	𐎢	û	....	ou	u	u	....	û u	u	....	....	....	u	𐎢
4	𐎣	é	....	e	k	k	....	k	k	क	ک	....	k	𐎣
5	𐎤	kh	....	kh	kh	k'	....	kh	kh	ख	ख	....	k'h	𐎤
6	𐎥	z	....	h	q	a	....	a	q	....	ق	x	kh (خ)	𐎥
7	𐎦	û	....	?	u	g	....	g	g	ग	ګ	....	g	𐎦
8	𐎧	z	....	....	gh ?	g'	....	gh	gh	....	گ	....	gh (غ)	𐎧
9	𐎨	ô	....	e	v	ï y	(J.) tch	k'	k'	च	چ	....	ch	𐎨
10	𐎩	dj ?	....	?	gh ?	g'	....	dj	g'	ज	ج	....	j	𐎩
11	𐎪	ng	....	?	h ?	ñ	(J.) j (*fr.*)	j	z'	....	ژ	....	jh (ژ)	𐎪
12	𐎫	m	....	t	t	t	....	t	t	ट	ټ	....	t	𐎫
13	𐎬	th ?	....	?	dh	t'	....	th	d'h	ठ	ٹ	....	t'h	𐎬
14	𐎭	i	....	h	y	ç	....	t'h	θ	....		θ	th (ث)	𐎭
15	𐎮	m ?	....	?	l ?	k'	....	tch	k'h	....	....	....	t' (with i)	𐎮
16	𐎯	n	....	n	th ?	t'	....	tr *or* t'	thr	....	....	....	tr	𐎯
17	𐎰	d	....	d	d	d	....	d	d	द	د	....	d	𐎰
18	𐎱	z	....	?	gh	d'	....	dh	dh	ध	ذ	....	dh	𐎱
19	𐎲	b *or* p	....	p	p	p	....	p	p	प	پ	....	p	𐎲
20	𐎳		....	?	f	f	....	f	f	....	ف	φ	f (ف)	𐎳
21	𐎴		....			b		b	b				b	
22	𐎵		m	a	m	m	....	m	m	म	م	....	m	
23	𐎶	h	....	e	i	'm ?	....	hm	'm	....	....	....	m' (with i)	
24	𐎷	k ?	....	?	gh ?	g' ?	....	gh ?	x	....	....	....	m' (with u)	𐎷
25	𐎸	tsch	n	m	n	n	....	n	n	न *and* ण	ن	....	n	𐎸
26	𐎹	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	n' (with u)	𐎹
27	𐎺	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	ñ ?	𐎺
28	𐎻	h	....	e	h	h	y	y	....	....	ۓ	....	y	𐎻
29	𐎼	r	....	r	r	r	....	r	j	य	ی	....	r	𐎼
30	𐎽	sch	....	ch (*fr.*)	l	s'	(B.) ṛ *or* l	sh ?	r	....	....	....	r' (with u)	𐎽
31	𐎾	e	....	i	i	w	....	w	w	व	» *and* ۏ	....	w	𐎾
32	𐎿	g	....	v	g	v (*init.*)	....	v ?	v	....	....	....	v	𐎿
33	𐏀	s	....	s	ç	ç	....	ç	ç	श *and* ष	ش	....	s (س)	𐏀
34	𐏁	sch	....	ch (*fr.*)	ch (*fr.*)	s'	....	s	s	स	س *and* ص	....	sh (ش)	𐏁
35	𐏂	gh	....	e	z	z	....	z	z	....	ز	ζ	z	𐏂
36	𐏃	a	....	ou	a	a (*init.*) ng (*med.*)	h	h	h	ह	ه	....	h	𐏃
37	𐏄	h	....	h	....	....	....	y	rp	....	....	....	q ?	𐏄
38	𐏅 *or* 𐏆	....	....	....	....	....	....	ks	dah	....	....	....	dah ?	𐏅 *or* 𐏆
39	𐏇	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	bu'mi	....	....	....	bum'i ?	𐏇
40	𐏈	Sign of division introduced by the modern editors.												𐏈

Note.—Lassen's Alphabet of 1844 is expressed according to the G… system of orthography.

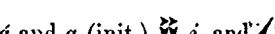
CHAPTER III.

On the Persian Cuneiform Alphabet.

The characters that have hitherto been discovered in the Persian Cuneiform writing amount to thirty-nine. The alphabet was doubtless formed with a special reference to the peculiarities of Persian pronunciation, and a general resemblance may thus be traced between its organization and that which distinguishes the Palæographic systems of other branches of the Arian family; but at the same time the constructions are far from being identical. In the place of the very elaborate vocalic organization which characterizes the alphabets of the Zend and of the Sanskrit, and to a certain extent, even of the primitive Pali, the Persian writing exhibits a simplicity which more nearly connects it with a Semitic type. It employs three characters only to represent the "matres lectionis." It admits not of the epenthesis of the Zend[1], nor of duplication, nor of the artificial developments of the *guna*, and of the *vriddhi*. It acknowledges no law of *sandhi*, properly so called; it is, in fact, in every respect, in a comparatively crude and unfinished state. We may, perhaps, in consideration of the family ties of the language to which it was appropriated, adopt for it the same classification that Indian grammarians have assigned to the Devanagari alphabet; but we may fairly doubt if any such classification were recognized at the period of the execution of the Cuneiform Inscriptions; for many of the links which that system requires are found to be defective in the Persian alphabet, many of the articulations of the language are entirely foreign to the Indian organs of speech, and an orthographical principle, moreover, imperfectly carried out, but evidently allied in origin to the Scythic law of the juxtaposition of certain consonants with certain vowels, is observed to enter largely into the composition of the alphabet, and within the range of its application, to contrast in a very remarkable way with every other species of Arian writing. Although, therefore, in the tabular statement which is placed at the head of the present chapter, I have followed the general order of the Devanagari alphabet, and although in pursuing the inquiry, I shall for the sake of perspicuity divide the

[1] I allude to the euphonic introduction of *i* or *u* before a consonant in order to harmonize with the vowel which follows. It is a peculiarity of Zend orthography of irregular, but very general application, and is apparently allied in origin to that principle of organization in the Tartarian dialects, which is termed the Harmony of the Vowels.

letters, as far as they will admit, into the different classes of Sanskrit articulation, I shall not pretend to institute a close comparison between the two systems of writing; nor, except as derivatives from a common but a very remote source, shall I venture to place them in the same Palæographic category. The Persian vowels are thus represented:—

 *á* and *a* (init.) *i*, and *u* or *'u*.

 á and *a*. The true and legitimate power of this character is unquestionably a long *á*, answering to the Sanskrit आ, and the Zend 𐬀; but, where it is used as an initial, it represents the short, as well as the long sound of the vowel. We have a precisely analogous instance of the double employment of the character in its Pehlevi transcript 𐭠, and if we consider the *ain* and *alif* of the Syro-Arabian alphabets as a single character, such, indeed, as they became in the application of those alphabets to Arian languages[1], we shall remark the same or a very similar orthographical defect throughout the entire range of early Semitic writing[2]. The Indian alphabetical systems escaped this want of precision, by distinguishing between initials and medials, and the Zend attained the same end by reduplicating the primitive sign, (which was nothing more than the Semitic *ain*), and by thus employing the two characters 𐬀 and 𐬁 to represent respectively the short and the long powers of the vowel; but in an alphabet which was innocent of such refinements, and in which the expression of the short sound of *a* in the middle of a word by a distinct character was rendered unnecessary by a principle of organization, a confusion in the representation of that sound, as an initial

[1] The 𐭠 of the Zend and Pehlevi is manifestly a modification of the Sassanian 𐭠 or Parthian 𐭠, which, again, were certainly adopted from the Hebrew ע; yet the Pehlevi employed the 𐭠 strictly as the representative of the Hebrew א.

[2] The Hebrew, for instance employed the א to express the long *a* as the complement of a syllable, but initially, the power was short, unless pointed otherwise. It seems to be now generally admitted that the Semitic *alif*, *ain*, *vau*, and *yod*, were originally consonants, and that their employment as vowels was owing to the influence of Greek orthography. Does not however the organization of the Cuneiform vowels, and their apparent adoption from a Semitic type, render this position very doubtful? See Wall's Examination of Hebrew Orthography, vol. II. page 221.

articulation, appears to have been inevitable; unless, indeed, a peculiar initial sign had been invented for the purpose, like the Sanskrit आ, the character which properly represented the long *á* would offer the only method of expression.

It can be hardly necessary to undertake an argument in order to prove that the short sound of *a* was optionally inherent in all the consonants of the Persian alphabet. This principle of organization is common to every single branch of Arian Palæography, with the exception of the Zend. Previously to the employment of the "matres lectionis" as vowel signs, it was also probably common to the various systems of Semitic writing, and to whichever source, therefore, we may attach the Cuneiform alphabet, it would have been indeed remarkable if the character had departed from so universal a type. The absence, at the same time, of any method of indicating the suppression of this vowel-sound in a compound articulation, or at the end of a word, is productive of some embarrassment. In the latter case, if we remember that the language of the inscriptions admits of no termination in a consonant, except in regard to the characters which are equivalent to the Sanskrit *anuswára* and *visarga*[1], we obtain a certain extent of orthographical precision; but in compensation for the *p'hala* of the Indian alphabets, a system of combined expression which appears to be coeval with the formation of an Arian character[2], we can only rely on etymological affinities, and in a few cases on the aspirative development which we perceive in the character preceding a liquid, or a semi-vowel, and which we know to be the effect of a coalition of the powers. To these questionable points of orthography attention will be directed in another place. At present I propose to give a few examples of the employment of the letter 𐎠, as an initial, a medial, and a final.

I. In the following names and well defined words, the character unquestionably represents the short *a* of the cognate languages.

*A*riya, "an Arian"; compare Sans. आर्य, Greek Ἀρια.

*A*rtak'hshatŕá; Arta is written in Heb. ארת, in Sass. 𐭠𐭓𐭕, in Gr. Ἀρτα, Pers. اردشیر.

[1] In the absence of any sign equivalent to the *viráma*, I have, perhaps, adopted this conclusion too hastily. There is at any rate a terminal *t* in the ablative *Par'uviyat*, and according to Sanskrit orthography we should read *atar*, rather than atara (अन्तर्) for the preposition "within."

[2] The edicts of Asoka exhibit many examples of compound characters, although not nearly to the extent which prevailed in the later Devanagari.

A'uramazdá; for A'ura compare Sans. असुर, Zend 𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀, Sass. 2ϚϽ2ϚϽ, Pers. اور.

Atŕiyátiya, the name of a month, in Sanskrit अत्रिजातः.

Anámaka, "the intercalary month," in Sans. अनामकः "the unnamed."

Adam, "ego"; compare Sans. अहम्, and Zend 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬆 azĕm.

Awa, "ille," the remote demonstrat. pron.; compare Zend 𐬀𐬫𐬀, Pers. او.

Abiya, "adversus," in Sanskrit अभि, in Zend 𐬀𐬯𐬌, and perhaps 𐬀𐬫𐬀.

Asbára, "eques," Pers. اسوار, from Sans. अश्वः, Zend 𐬀𐬵𐬯𐬀; compare Peh. asobár.

Asmána, "cœlum," Zend 𐬀𐬵𐬨𐬀𐬱𐬀, Pers. اسمان; compare Vedic अश्म.

Atara, "inter," Sans. अन्तर्, Zend 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬆, Persian اندر.

The most frequent employment of the character, however, as an initial, in the language of the inscriptions, is to express the temporal augment in the past tenses of verbs, where the analogy, both of Sanskrit and Greek, requires that it should represent the short rather than the long sound of the vowel. Instances of this employment will be found in every line of the inscriptions, and a few words are also met with, in which, as the equivalent of the privative particle[1], it must necessarily express the same phonetic power[2].

Its identification as the representative of the long sound of the vowel, when used as an initial, is more difficult; for Sanskrit roots commencing with आ are extremely rare, and there is, I believe, moreover, but one single term in the inscriptions, in the orthography of which we can with any confidence compare the character with the particle आङ्. This term is *A'naya*, signifying "led," where we may perhaps, from the analogy of living dialects[3], recognize the Sanskrit root नी *Ni* in composition with the particle of extension.

In the past tenses, however, of the auxiliary verb "to be," the initial character, representing the temporal augment in combination with the short vowel of the root, must be necessarily elongated, and I

[1] Such as *Anámaka*, "the unnamed;" *Arika*, "prayerless;" (?) and, *Afina*, "to dispossess." (?)

[2] I doubt if the prosthetic employment of the *a*, which was so common in Pazend and in early Persian, and which occurs even occasionally in Zend, (conf. *aŋĕrĕpta*) was known to the language of the inscriptions.

[3] In Mahratta and Guzeratti *A'n* continues to be used to the present day with the signification of "taking."

write accordingly *áha* for the Vedic आस् *ás*, rather than *aha*[1]. Wherever, indeed, a root may occur, of which the initial letter is the short *a*, the law of interior *sandhi*, as M. Burnouf terms it, will require the elongation of the vowel in the past tenses; and although, therefore, at present the substantive verb is, I believe, the only case in point which occurs in the inscriptions, if we had a more copious vocabulary there is every reason to believe that we should be able to verify, beyond question, the double employment of 𐎠 as an initial to represent the आ as well as अ. In Cuneiform names of which we have only Greek or Semitic equivalents, it is impossible to define with any precision the quantity of the initial vowel. In *Arabáya*, for Arabia, it represents the Semitic guttural (Heb. ערב, Arab. عرب); in *Arm'ina*, for Armenia, it replaces the Hebrew aspirate (הרמיני[2]); in *Athurá*, for Assyria, it may either be long or short. In all such cases I express the character by a simple *a*, leaving the accentuation to future research.

II. The following words, compared with their Sanskrit and Zend equivalents, will sufficiently identify the long power of 𐎠, when used as a medial.

Kára, "a state or army," identical in etymology with Sans. कार and Pers. کار.

Brátá, "a brother," Sans. भ्राता, Zend 𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀 brátá, Pers. برادر.

Mátá, "a mother," Sans. माता, Persian مادر.

Bájish, "tribute," Pers. باج or باژ, from Sans. भज, "to serve."

Stána, "a place," Sans. स्थानं, Zend 𐬯𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬀, Pers. affix ستان.

Náma, "a name," Sans. नाम, Pers. نام; compare Gr. ὄ-νομα, Lat. *nomen*.

Mám, "me," accus. case, Sans. मां, Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬨 mãm.

[1] *A'ha* is a more regular form than either the Vedic *ás* or the *ásít* of the classical Sanskrit. It is, according to the respective orthography of the two languages, the exact equivalent of the Zend *áoṇha*. See Burnouf's Yaçna. Alphab. Zend. P. CXVIII. In Zend, however, the usual form is 𐬀𐬀 or 𐬀𐬀𐬀, and Burnouf considers this orthography preferable to the 𐬀𐬀𐬀 which occurs in a single passage of the Vendidad Sade. See Journ. Asiat. IV. Ser. Tom. 5, p. 305.

[2] *Harmini* is the Chaldæan reading. The Hebrew gives הרמונה in Amos, IV. 3; in the other passages מני alone. Saint Martin doubts the identity of the name with that of Armenia (Hist. d'Arm. tom. I, p. 250); but I prefer Bochart. See Phaleg, col. 20.

There is a multitude of names also in which the power of the character is not to be mistaken, *e. g.*—

Máda, "Media"; the Hebrew orthography was מדי, but the Arabs wrote ماذي or ماهي.

Pársa, "Persia"; compare Pehlevi 𐭯𐭠𐭫𐭮, Pers. پارس, Sans. पारशीक.

Bákhtarish, "Bactria," Greek Βακτρία, Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬌 apákhtara.

Gadára, "Gandaria," Greek Γανδαρίοι, Sans. गान्धार, Pers. قندهار.

Hufráta, "Euphrates," Greek Εὐφράτης, Arab. فرات[1].

'Uwárazm'iya, "Kharism," Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬎 Kháirizáo, Persian خوارزم.

Where the Greek substitutes an *e* for the Cuneiform, as in Μηδία for *Máda*, Cometes for *Gumáta*, and perhaps also in Πέρσις for *Pársa*, we must attribute it to the pecular genius of Ionic articulation.

The character 𐎠 is frequently also used in the inscriptions as a medial, to mark a grammatical development, and in such cases it is absolutely identical with the long *a* of the Zend and Sanskrit. I may notice the termination in *ánám*, which characterizes the genitive plural of nouns of the first declension, and the feminine elongation of the accusative singular, as Masc. *tyam*, Fem. *tyám;* Masc. *imam*, Fem. *imám.*

A further employment of the character is observable in cases of interior *sandhi*, where the analogy also holds good with the Zend and Sanskrit. In those languages it is well known that, where two short *a*'s are brought in contact, either in the formation of a compound word, or by adding an inflexion commencing with a short *a* to a theme ending in the same vowel, the effect is to swell the two short into one long power. We have numerous instances of this orthographical law in the language of the inscriptions. *Vishtáspa*, the native form of Hystaspes, is for *Vishta+aspa.* The past tenses of compound verbs exhibit a similar development, *Awájha* and *Frájha*, standing for *Awa+ajha* and *Fra+ajha; Frábara* for *Fra+abara; awástáya* for *awa+astáya*, &c.; and perhaps also the elongation which occurs in the formation of the present tense is to be explained, on the same principle, as the coalition of two short vowels, one of which appertains

[1] It is remarkable that in the orthography of Media, Persia, Euphrates, and many other geographical names, the Hebrew suppressed the long *a*, which has been uniformly reproduced, however, in the modern pronunciation.

to the root or conjugational suffix, and the other to the substantive verb, employed to denote the conditions of number and person[1].

The reason, however, for the employment of the letter before the suffix in *ya*, whether the letter be the particle of attribution, or the characteristic of the fourth conjugation, is not so potent. The orthographies of *Arabáya*, for Arabia, and *M'ud(a)ráya* for Mizraim, are hardly to be explained by the law of *sandhi;* nor am I able to distinguish why the *a* should be elongated in verbal formations like *agrabáya, ap(a)riyáya,* &c.[2]

III. In the employment of 𐎠 as a final, there is a marked diversity between the Sanskrit and Cuneiform orthography. With the exception, indeed, of the nom. fem. sing. of nouns of the first declension, and the nom. sing. of nouns which answer to the Sanskrit themes in ऋ *trí*, the character 𐎠 occurring at the end of the word, will be rarely found in Sanskrit to be represented by the long *a* in the same position.

The causes of this are twofold: in the first place, the language of the inscriptions has a tendency to elongate the short final *a* of the Sanskrit wherever it may occur in a gramatical suffix; and in the second place, the mute terminal consonant of the Sanskrit (unless it be the *anuswára*) is universally elided after the long *a* in the Cuneiform correspondent, the effect of these laws being, of course, to give an undue proportion of Cuneiform vocables terminating in 𐎠, and to render the grammatical condition of the suffix in such cases, occasionally subject to doubt.

The instances in which the first law is specially remarkable, are, firstly, in the third pers. sing. of the middle imperfect, where the Sanskrit त *ta* is, with two exceptions, always represented by *tá*[3]; secondly, in the genitive case of nouns of the first declension, where

[1] This employment has been long ago admitted in explanation of the verbal terminations in the dialect of the Vedas. See Lassen's Ind. Bibl. tom. III. p. 85; and Burnouf's Yaçna; Notes, P. LXX. In the inscriptions the singular terminations are *amiya, ahya, atiya,* for *asmi, asi, asti,* and we have, perhaps, also in the first pers. plural *amahya* for *smasi,* or more anciently, *asmasi.*

[2] These are the imperfects of verbs answering to गृभ and ग्रभी, and will be duly explained in the vocabulary.

[3] These exceptions are *awajhata* and *áhata.* The etymology of the first is doubtful; the second is more generally written *áhatá.*

the Cuneiform *hyá* answers to the Sanskrit स्य *sya;* and thirdly, in a numerous class of particles and prepositions, such as *utá* (S. उत); *upá* (S. उप); *hachá* (Z. [illegible]); *hadá* (S. सह); *chá* (S. च); *wá* (S. व), &c., &c.; and in the latter set of examples, the dialectic terminal elongation is further illustrated by our finding that, where a pronoun is subjoined to the particle, the vowel, being no longer final, sometimes relapses to its original short accentuation[1]. I must observe, at the same time, that the law of (or rather, as I have above named it, the tendency to) final elongation is not universal in its application: the third person middle imperfect of the substantive verb is written in the inscriptions indifferently *áhata* and *áhatá*, and the orthography of *hya* is employed in many cases instead of *hyá* for the genitival suffix.

With regard to the second law, that of the elision of the terminal mute consonant after the long *a* (and, I may add, with very few exceptions, after the short *a* also), we have an ample field of comparison in the cases of nouns and in the conjugation of verbs. The Cuneiform terminal [illegible] answers to the Sanskrit आः *ás* in all the following positions: first declen. nom. masc. plur., and fem. gen. and abl. sing., and nom. and acc. plur.; also nom. masc. sing. of theme in long *á*, and gen. and abl. fem. sing. of theme in *i*. In the abl. masc. sing. of the first class, it is put for आत् *át*, and in the acc. masc. plur. for आन *án*, and in the locative cases of feminine themes in *i* and *u*, it appears even to stand for आं *ám*[2]. Where it is found in the characteristic of the instrumental masc. sing. and in the locative plural, the development cannot be so immediately compared with Sanskrit in-

[1] Compare the orthographies of *Utamiya*, *manachá*, *awadashim*, and *awahyarát'iya*, compounded of words which, when employed without an adjunct, are written *utá*, *maná*, *awadá*, and *awahyá*.

[2] On further consideration, I do not think we can admit the lapse of the *anuswára* under any circumstances; and I prefer, therefore, explaining the Cuneiform orthography by the interchange of the genitive and locative cases, which is so common in Zend. The *iyá* of the second declen. must be compared with the Sanskrit *yás*, and although the masc. *uwa* may stand for the loc. *au*, the fem. *uwá* is more probably for the gen. *wás*. In the same way, we find in the first declen. the loc. *iya* for Sans. *e*, generally replacing the genitive in geographical names; and in the word *awahyarát'iya* "*eá ratione*," we have an instance of the two cases being actually joined together in a single word. It is important to bear in mind this laxity of syntax in reading the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

flexions; but elision and terminal elongation will still, I believe, explain the orthography[1].

With regard to verbs, the elision of the terminal consonant after long *á* is chiefly to be remarked in those cases where the root ends in that vowel, or where the characteristic is employed of the ninth class; but that the final mutes are also elided after the short *a* is shown by the conjugation of almost every active imperfect in the language; the Sanskrit verbal terminations in *at*, *as*, and *an*, being throughout the inscriptions undistinguishable owing to this circumstance.

I have only to add, that adverbs formed from pronominal roots are invariably written in the inscriptions with 𐎠𐎠, whether the terminal vowel of the Sanskrit suffix be elongated or not. I may instance *idá* "here;" *awadá* "there;" *yathá* "as;" *awathá* "thus;" *yátá* "when;" *thakatá* "then;" *yáwá* "as long as;" *awá* "so long;" &c. The only Cuneiform adverb ending in short *a*, *am'utha* "from thence," stands for *amutas*, where the law takes place of elision, instead, as in other cases, of elongation[2].

𐎡 The only doubt which can attach to this character is, whether we may be authorized by its indifferent employment for the long and short *i* of the Zend and Sanskrit, to make any distinction in the quantity of the vowel that it expresses, according to the affinities of those languages. The question is of no great consequence; but it may be answered, I think, in the negative. If, indeed, we had any well-ascertained example of two short *i*'s being brought in contact by the combination of a particle ending in that vowel with a root commencing with the same power, and if we found the character 𐎡 to be employed for the double articulation[3], the inference would then certainly be, that it must represent the elongated sound, under the operation of the law of interior *sandhi*, which, if the vowel had been *a*, would have caused the two short powers to be expressed by the letter 𐎠𐎠; but I have failed hitherto to distinguish with any certainty

[1] These particular cases of disagreement between the Sanskrit and Cuneiform inflexions will be examined hereafter.

[2] Perhaps I should also except the two obscure words *nishida* and *thrada*.

[3] The only possible instance of this coalition which occurs to me at present is in the obscure word *abishtam*, where the superlative suffix in *ishta* would appear to be added to the particle *abi*. The identity of the word, at the same time, is not sufficiently established to furnish any safe ground for argument.

an instance of such iteration, and, pending further research, I have decided accordingly on giving to the character the uniform power of *i*, without reference to the quantity of the vowel in the Zend and Sanskrit correspondents.

The vocalic organization of the Cuneiform alphabets is, as I have before remarked, clearly of the Semitic type, and in this view the 𐎹 must be considered to represent the *yod* of those systems (as the 𐎺 stands for the *ain* and *alif*, and the 𐎻 for the *váu*) after the primitive syllabic organization had given way to a foreign influence, and previous to the introduction of vowel signs. It is not very safe, perhaps, to generalize on the scanty materials which are alone at present available to our research; but, at the same time, it appears hardly, I think, irrational to suppose that, as the elongated pronunciations of *i* and *u* in the Zend and Sanskrit are evidently secondary forms, only less artificial than the diphthongs which are formed by the action of the *guna* and the *vriddhi*, and as the latter combinations can be shown, in the language of the inscriptions, to have been entirely unknown[1], so also the fusion or iteration of the two short vowel sounds, which in the case of the latter *a*, had come into constant operation (owing to the inherence of that power in the different consonants), and which had accordingly produced the elongated 𐎺, may, in the Persian language of the time of the Achæmenians, have been as yet unapplied to the vowels *i* and *u*, those two powers remaining in their original simplicity as "matres lectionis," with two single and uniform alphabetical characters to represent their short and primitive articulations.

With a view of verifying the power of *i*, which I have assigned to the Cuneiform 𐎹, I now proceed to compare the orthographies of a few proper names and well-ascertained terms that occur in the inscriptions, with their correspondents in other languages.

H*i*dhush, Sans. सिन्धुः, Zend 𐬵𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬛𐬎 or 𐬵𐬆𐬥𐬌𐬛𐬎, Gr. Ἰνδια, Pers. هند.

Arm'*i*na, Greek Ἀρμενία; compare Chaldee הרמיני, Pers. ارمينيه.

T*i*grá, Greek Τίγρις, from a root answering to Sans. तिज, Pers. تيز.

Nabun*i*da, Greek Ναβοννίδος, or Λαβυνήτος, or Ναβοννήδος.

*I*yam, "hic," "hæc," Sans. इयं, fem.; Pali, *Iyam*, masc. and fem.

[1] I do not intend by this to question the existence of the Cuneiform groupes *ai* and *ái*, or *au* and *áu*. I only mean to assert that these groupes had not been contracted into the Devanagari forms of ए and ऐ or ओ and औ.

Im, "hoc," Zend 𐬌𐬨, Persian این.

Idá, "hic," Sanskrit इह, Zend 𐬌𐬙𐬀.

P*i*tá, "pater," Sanskrit पिता, Zend 𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀, Persian پدر.

T'*i*pish, "tabula," Sanskrit लिपिः.

Examples might be multiplied *ad libitum*, but they are unnecessary. Of more importance is it to trace the properties and effects of the vowel which, elementally or servilely, enters into the composition of so very large a proportion of the Cuneiform vocables.

Its most remarkable peculiarity is, that of requiring to be placed in juxta-position with certain consonants, without, however, so far as can be ascertained, exercising any uniform influence on the articulation of these consonants; and without even, in seeking the combination, being subject to any particular affinity of class or aspiration. In the class of gutturals, the vowel *i* appears to be wholly inoperative; it will combine freely both with the *k* and *g* in their simple form[1], though it appropriates neither the one nor the other to its exclusive use, and though it may be doubted, also, if it can coalesce with the aspirated *kh* or *gh*. In the palatals its influence is more apparent. It unites with all the letters of the class; but one of them 𐎶, which answers to the Sanskrit *j*, seems to have been inarticulable without it. In the dentals, also, while it is found in combination with every character except the 𐎸 (dh), appropriated as an aspirate to the vowel *u*, it has a special letter to which it is attached exclusively, and upon the power of which, moreover, it may possibly exercise some influence. This is the obscure character 𐎹 which, although in some instances, it is used indifferently with the common 𐎵 *t*, I conceive, from its replacing in other cases the Sanskrit ड to have had a certain peculiar articulation, assimilating it more nearly to the cerebral class of Devanágari consonants[2].

I have not been able to detect any influence exerted by the vowel in question upon the letters which I include under the head of labials; but in the nasals, the 𐎼, although it coalesces with all of the class,

[1] We have thus *adakiya*, *githám*, *athagina*, &c.

[2] It must be clearly understood, at the same time, that the 𐎹 is a dental, and that the Devanagari cerebrals were unknown to the language of the inscriptions. I have examined this subject in detail in a subsequent part of this chapter.

except the aspirates, which have an exclusive affinity for the *u*, still reserves a special character, as in the dentals, to itself. This is , a letter which must have been nearly identical with the common *m*, for the two characters were used indifferently in the orthography of the name of Armenia[1]; but which nevertheless required, while the language remained in its original purity[2], to be invariably associated with the vowel *i*. In the class of semi-vowels there is the same exclusive combination of the vowel *i* with the character *v*, (the vicious and provincial orthography at Behistun of two words, *Vatha* and *Vashtáspa* for the Persepolitan *Vitha* and *Vishtáspa*, being insufficient, I consider, to disturb the otherwise universal application of the rule); and, which is still more worthy of remark, as we have seen the vowel to coalesce with the primaries of the other classes, while it has a particular secondary of these classes dependent on it for articulation, so also, we find the *i* to coalesce without repugnance with the *w*, while it still retains its exclusive hold upon the *v*. The only instance, indeed, that can be brought forward of the superior attachment of the vowel to the latter character is where the homophonous semi-vowel is required to unite the vowel *u* with the dissimilar *i*. In that case *v* is preferred to *w*, and we thus find *dhuvitiyam*, *Babir'uviya*, *Par'uviyat*, &c., instead of *dhuwitiyam*, *Babir'uwiya*, *Par'uwiyat*[3], &c. In the class of sibilants there is a certain degree of affinity between the vowel *i* and *sh*, but it is not exclusive, nor indeed, is it perhaps so strongly developed as in the connexion of the same two powers in Zend and Sanskrit[4].

From the anomalous instances which I have thus brought forward of the employment of the , no principle of organization can cer-

[1] Also in the substantive verb, and in the word for "earth" (भूमिः), which is usually written with the , but which has the common in the Inscriptions of Artaxerxes Ochus.

[2] I make this reservation, because in a later age the *i* was irregularly suppressed after the in the orthography of the name of *Mithra*.

[3] I might perhaps say that the employment of the depended on the semi-vowel of the Sanskrit correspondent being united with the preceding consonant in a compound letter, for although we have *dhuvi* for द्वि *dwi*, the is preserved in *dhuwishtam* for दुविष्ठं, but on the other hand it would be hazardous to affirm that *Babir'uviya* and *Par'uviyat*, are for *Babirvi* and *Parvet*.

[4] I allude to the aspiration of the sibilant, when it is preceded by the vowels *i* and *u*.

tainly be elicited that bears any analogy to Zend or Sanskrit orthography. The cause of the affinity of the vowel *i* for the characters 𐎡 *j*, 𐎢 *t'*, 𐎣 *m'*, and 𐎥 *v*, can neither be explained, nor can we perceive any uniform effect which the coalition produces upon the phonetic power of the consonant. I can only illustrate the formamation of the different groupes by adverting to the law which still prevails in the Tartarian dialects, requiring the juxta-position of certain vowels with certain consonants in order to render the latter articulable; and by observing that, as a similar rule appears to hold good in the so-called Median alphabet, which has every indication of a Scythic origin, it is not improbable that the Persian writing may have been indebted to that source for so remarkable a deviation from the true principles of Arian orthography.

But there are other peculiarities connected with the employment of the letter 𐎠 in the inscriptions that are scarcely less deserving of attention. The ancient Persian language, as I have before observed, admitted of no termination but the long and short *a*, the characters corresponding in Sanskrit with the *Visarga* and *Anuswára*, and perhaps, the ablatival *t*[1]. Those grammatical suffixes in *i*, therefore, which are so common in the Zend and Sanskrit, were impossible in the language of the inscriptions. In all such cases the short vowel *a* was added, and the termination in *i* became thus lengthened into *iya*. This change, however, involves a law of euphony, which is not altogether in accordance with Zend and Sanskrit orthography, and which requires therefore a few remarks in explanation. In those languages it is a well-known law, that where the vowel *i* is brought in contact with a vowel of a different class, that is, with *a* or *u*, or with any of the modifications of those primary sounds, it necessarily and invariably takes the form of its cognate semi-vowel *y*. Now, in the inscriptions, this law of euphony is evidently recognized, but its application is somewhat different. The aspirate is the only letter in the alphabet which appears to affect a direct combination with the *y*[2]; in other cases, the vowel *i*, instead of being fused into its homophonous consonant, and attached immediately to the preceding letter, retains its form, and the semivowel *y* is added after it, in order to connect it with the sound with which it could not immediately coalesce; *i*+*a* and *i*+*u*, which in Sanskrit would be *ya* and *yu*, becoming in the inscriptions *iya* and *iyu*.

[1] See note 1 to page 55.

[2] The combination of the *y* is certainly more frequent with the aspirate than with any other letter, but it is not exclusive, for we have the forms of *tya* and *rya*, as well as of *tiya* and *riya*.

In the following examples, the terminal *i* of the Sanskrit is elemental, and there can be no question, therefore, that it is euphony, and not inflexion, which causes the Cuneiform development.

Abiya, Sans. अभि, Zend [illegible] or [illegible].

Patiya, Sans. प्रति, Pali *Pati*, Zend [illegible], Greek προτὶ.

Pariya, Sans. परि, Greek περὶ.

Niya, Sans. नि or निर्, Zend [illegible] or [illegible].

Chiya, Sans. चित्, Zend [illegible], Latin, *ce*, French, *ci*.

Athiya, Sans. अन्ति (?), "near."

Particles of this description, when they are prefixed to a word commencing with a consonant, necessarily lose the terminal development, and relapse into the original form of their Sanskrit correspondents. We have thus the orthographies of *pati, ni,* and *vi,* in numerous compounds, of which they form respectively the first member. Where the second member, however, commences with the vowel *a* or *u,* the euphonic *y* is of course again introduced to connect the dissimilar powers.

By the same rule of euphony we find the Cuneiform termination in *iya* substituted for the Sanskrit *i* in the first pers. sing. of the middle imperfect of the second class; in the three persons sing. and third plur. of the present tense, active voice; and in the second pers. sing. imperative of those verbs which retain the true characteristic of the tense[1]; while it stands for the long *i* in the third pers. sing. of the Aorist, and for the ए *e,* which is known to be another form of the primitive vowel, in the locative case of nouns of the first declension, in the first pers. sing. of the middle imperf. of the first class, and also perhaps in the third pers. sing. of the present tense of the same voice and conjugation.

I do not pretend in these examples to have followed the comparison of the Cuneiform *iya* with the Sanskrit primitive vowel and its secondary forms, through all its conditions of employment. I have merely cited a few instances in order to show that, where the Sanskrit employs a terminal *i,* either in its original or modified state, the language of the inscriptions usually represents that power by the

[1] In Sanskrit, the हि (originally धि) is dropped in all three conjugations which subjoin the augment or a suffix to the root. In the Vedas, however, the characteristic is more extensively retained; and in the inscriptions also, where we find the suffix in *á* replacing *tiya* or *t'iya* for the second pers. sing., the tense employed is perhaps the optative, rather than the imperative.

lengthened orthography of *iya*. The *h*, indeed, appears alone to have that facility of combination which demands the uniform substitution of *hy* for the *si* of the Sanskrit opening on a dissimilar vowel[1].

In a great number of cases, however, 𐎹 𐏁, will be found to represent the Sanskrit *y* in combination with the preceding consonant, rather than the vowel sound of *i*, and under such circumstances it is difficult to pronounce whether the 𐎹 has been introduced as an harmonic epenthesis, owing to the repugnance of the Cuneiform alphabet to compound articulations, or whether the redundant letter is the *y*, employed for euphony as above explained. In such terms as *Hakhámanishiya*, *martiya*, *dhuriya*, *aniya*, &c., the terminal *ya* being the adjectival suffix, corresponding with the यत् or यक् of the Indian grammarians, the *i* would appear to be employed for the mere purpose of connecting the *y* with the preceding consonant, and the substitution of *iyá* for the Sanskrit *yás* in the genitive case of themes in *i* may, perhaps, admit of a similar explanation, but in the very numerous class of names and abstract nouns, which end in *iya*, such as *Kabujiya* for Cambyses, *Bartiya* for Smerdis, *Uwárazmiya* for Chorasmia, *náviya* "a ship," *k'hsháyathiya* "a king," *mániya* "worship," &c., &c., it may be questioned if the vowel *i* be not the true substantival suffix, and its adjunct *ya*, a later euphonic development.

I have observed in a previous passage that the Cuneiform alphabet is in too crude a state to acknowledge the laws of epenthesis and augmentation. The introduction of the *i* before its cognate semivowel may be considered at the same time to indicate a certain degree of refinement in this respect, and the construction of the implementive plural of the first declension affords a still more remarkable deviation from the otherwise simple organization, for the characteristic of that case is invariably written *ibish*, and we can hardly fail in such a form to recognize the same law of epenthesis, imperfectly developed, which gives to the Sanskrit अभि *abhi* the Zend orthography of *aibi*[2]. In

[1] The groupes of *ty* and *ry*, that I have before noticed, are probably for त्य and र्य rather than for त्ति and रि; स्य *sy*, is usually represented by *hy*, but the euphonic *i* is nevertheless sometimes introduced, as in the indifferent orthography of *ahyáyá* and *ahiyáyá*, for a form which should be in Sanskrit अस्यायाः.

[2] If the first *i* however in *ibish* were an epenthesis, the same peculiarity must have been known to the early Sanskrit, for M. Burnouf, in explaining the Pali *ehi* has shown the original characteristic of the Sanskrit instrumental to have been *ebhis*, (*i. e. aibhis,*) instead of *eis*. In the language of the inscriptions, the first *i* was probably employed in *ibish*, to distinguish the instrumental suffix from the

a few cases, also, where the Cuneiform 𐎶 may be held to represent the Sanskrit ज *j*, we perceive, perhaps, another instance of the harmonic employment of the *i*, terms such as *shiyátish* and *dhushiyára*, which I derive respectively from जातिः and जारः, with the prefixed particles of excellence and depreciation, being, as far as their etymology is concerned, independent of the vowel *i*.

Before closing my remarks on the letter 𐎹, I must add that there are several instances of Cuneiform termination in *iya*, for which I have hitherto found but little analogy in Zend and Sanskrit, and which I thus briefly notice. First: the present participle in the inscriptions appears to be formed in *aniya*, for the Sanskrit *an*, *anti*, *at*[1]. Secondly: *iya* is employed for the characteristic of the acc. plural of masculine pronouns, replacing the Sanskrit आन् *án*[2]. Thirdly: the same termination is used as an adverbial suffix with greater frequency than in Sanskrit[3]. And Fourthly, it occurs in several verbal formatives, such as *pátiya*, *k'hshanásátiya*, *nirasátiya*, *patiparasátiya*, &c., of which I still consider the grammatical condition to be obscure, but which may hardly admit of comparison with any Zend or Sanskrit correspondents[4].

I believe I have now duly mentioned the chief orthographical peculiarities which attend the employment of the letter 𐎹. The evidence is certainly abundantly sufficient to identify the character as the vowel *i;* but in the exclusive attribution to it of the short sound of the vowel, I am principally guided by the extreme simplicity of the vocalic structure of the language, and by the improbability of a single sign being vested with two distinct powers without there being any visible means of discriminating between them. The action of the vowel upon the consonants with which it coalesces, will be more fully investigated when I proceed to identify the power of those particular characters; while its substitution for the diphthongs of the Zend and

dative termination in *abish*, and the latter form, which is sufficiently proved, may tend to a belief, that the Sanskrit dative characteristic was originally *abhis* instead of *ebhyas*. See Burnouf's Observ. Gram. sur quelques Passages de l'Essai sur le Pali, p. 15.

[1] We have thus *chartaniya*, "preparing," "arranging," *thastaniya*, "standing," *yaniya*, "going," and perhaps, *winiya*, "seeing."

[2] Compare *imiya*, or before a suffix *imi*, "these," *awiya*, "those," &c.

[3] *Wasiya*, "much," and *adakiya*, "only," or "a little," are examples of the employment of *iya* as an adverbial suffix.

[4] Perhaps I may ultimately succeed in finding Sanskrit correspondents for these words which terminate in *i* or *e*.

Sanskrit will be noticed as instances may occur, in the vocabulary, and will be followed out with greater care in the attempt which I shall subsequently make to compare the grammatical structure of the respective languages[1].

𐎺 *u*. The identification of this letter as the vowel *u* has been so universally admitted, that I may dispense with any laboured exposition of its general power. In a multitude of names, such as *Athurá* for Assyria, *Yuna* for Ionia, *Gubar'uwa* for Gobryas, *Gumáta* for Cometes, *Mardhunia* for Mardonius, *Nabu* in the titles of Nabochodrossor and Nabonidus, *Kabujiya* for Cambyses, *Khurush* for Cyrus, &c., &c., it is found to represent the *vau* of the Semitic dialects, the Greek υ, ο, ου, and ω, and the same class of vowels in the Zend and Sanskrit. Derived immediately from a Semitic type and employed with the other vowels 𐎻 and 𐎼 to represent the "matres lectionis" of those dialects, I am inclined to assign to it the uniform power of *u*, without regard to the quantity or augmentation of its Arian correspondents, by the same arguments which I have already noticed in defining the single and simple articulation of the *i*. If, however, in describing the conditions of that vowel there were certain difficulties to be cleared up, arising from euphonic laws and the influence of Scythic orthography, explanations will be required in the present case of a still more extended and elaborate nature; for not only are the same laws exerted of euphony and combination, but a further source of embarrassment is superadded in the property of aspiration, which appears to have been inherent in the letter 𐎺, and to have thus brought it within the ill-defined and intricate range of Semitic guttural organization. I shall consider these three questions then, of its euphonic, combined, and aspirative employment under separate heads.

I. The observations which I have before made on the terminal *i* are applicable in their full extent to the terminal *u*. The Sanskrit

[1] Very important emendations of the vowel combinations, and of the powers of several of the consonantal forms in connexion with the composition of diphthongs, are given at the end of this chapter: the absence of the author from this country has prevented the incorporation of those emendations with the text, much of which was in type before their arrival; and to have substituted the new readings for those hitherto followed, would have left unaccounted for many of the terms occurring in the preceding pages: the changes are chiefly the occasional use of *ai* and *au* in place of *i* and *u*, and the rejection of the sonant aspirate. See supplementary note.—Ed.

final उ, whether elemental or servile, is necessarily lengthened in the inscriptions into *uwa*, for the same reason that इ in a similar position became converted into *iya*. As, indeed, we have already observed the various orthographies of *patiya* and *pati*, according to euphonic laws which depend on collocation, so we have *an'uwa* for the particle अनु, when it stands alone, and *an'u* when it occurs in composition before a consonant, as in *an'ushiya*. It is probable, also, that the pronoun of the third pers. *huwa*, has been substituted by the same orthographical law for the Semitic *hu*[1], the euphonic *wa* being elided in *hushiya*, where the term occurs in combination with a suffix commencing with a consonant.

The characteristic of the third pers. of the active imperative, which in Sanskrit is तु, is invariably written in the inscriptions *t'huwa*, and a further example of this terminal development is seen in the inflexions of themes in *u*, where the Cuneiform groupes *uwa*, *uwá*, and *shuwá* respectively represent the gen. or loc. masc. sing., the gen. or loc. fem. sing., and the loc. fem. plural[2].

We have no instance, I believe, of the epenthesis of the *u* before a consonant to harmonize with the vowel which follows, nor indeed, except in its relation to the *r*, does the law apply to this vowel in Zend; but its euphonic interposition between the *w* and the preceding consonant, which in Sanskrit would form a single compound articulation, is frequent, and occurs even in cases where we might suppose the immediate combination of the powers to be hardly distasteful to the Cuneiform system. Thus, although we find the soft *th* of the inscriptions to be one of the few characters which affect combination, and although we meet with the groupes of *thr* and *thw* in *Mithra*, *thrada*, *Parthwa*, *gáthwá*, &c., we also remark the acc. sing. of the pronoun

[1] We must be careful not to confound the Zend 𐬵𐬀 *hó* with the Cuneiform *huwa*, for the former is the regular correspondent of the Sanskrit सः, whereas, if we must seek a Sanskrit equivalent for *huwa*, it will be सस्व.

[2] *Uwa* may be for ओः or औ, but more probably the latter, as we have *ush* for *os* in the ablative; while, in the feminine, *uwá* answers more regularly to the gen. वाः than to the loc. औ or वां. I do not, however, think it at all impossible but that the feminine *uwá* may stand for *au*, the final elongation being in accordance with Cuneiform usage, and being employed in this case to mark the distinction of gender. We have, indeed, the same dialectic elongation in the plural locatives, *shuwá* being used for षु and *'uwá* for सु.

of the second pers. to be expressed by *thuwám* for the Sanskrit त्वां, with an euphonic 𒌝 between the 𒁹 and 𒉿. We may explain the introduction of the *u* in other cases by the notorious repugnance of the ancient Persian to compound articulations, and there is little, therefore, to surprise us in the substitution of *t'huwam* for the Sanskrit त्वं in the nom.; of *har'uwa* for सर्वः of *dhuwar* for दूर *dwri;* or of *dhuvi* for द्वि *dwi.* In verbal suffixes, however, I remark that this euphonic vowel is rarely or ever introduced, and that the Cuneiform *nawa* is thus employed in the fifth conjugation to represent indifferently the Sanskrit नव and न्व, and perhaps also the two less developed forms of नो and नू[1].

It remains to be considered if, in the Cuneiform groupe *uwa* at the commencement of a syllable, the 𒌝 may also be explained by the same law of euphony. I shall presently establish, by the clearest evidence, that the character in question was endowed with an inherent property of aspiration, and it will be sufficient, therefore, to observe in this place that, as the etymological condition of the initial 𒌝 in combination with the 𒉿 is exclusively that of an aspirate, the vocalic power which it also represents can apparently be required for no other purpose than to connect the aspirate and semi-vowel, which would not immediately coalesce. The Sanskrit स्व *swa* would be regularly represented in Persian by *hwa;* but the aspirate, although grouping with the *y*, seems to have disaffected combination with the *w;* the *u*, therefore, would require to be interposed as a link of connexion, and the orthography would thus result of *huiva.* To express this, however, in Cuneiform writing, the employment of a distinct character for the initial aspiration was superfluous, for the 𒌝 possessed that power inherently in itself; and it thus happened that the abbreviation 𒌝 𒉿 *'uwa* came to be uniformly substituted for the Sanskrit *swa.* The only objection, it appears to me, that can be brought against this analysis, and it is an analysis of great importance to the true understanding of Cuneiform orthography, is that the pronoun of the third person is written *huwa*

[1] *Akhunawam* is for असुनवं, *akhunawa* for असुन्वन्, *khunawáhya* for सुनोसि, and *akhunavyatá* for असुनूयत.

in full instead of *'uwa*, which might have been reasonably expected if the inherent aspiration of the 𐎢, being sufficient to replace the Sanskrit sibilant, was also, of course, equally available as a substitute for the Semitic guttural[1]. It is an objection which has frequently occurred to me, and which has sometimes prompted me to read the Cuneiform 𐎢𐎡 𐎢 𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢 as *ha'uwa* (Sans. सस्व) instead of *huwa*. I am guided, indeed, in the latter reading principally by the orthography of *hushiya*[2], where the elision of the *w* appears to indicate its servile character, and I had rather abandon it altogether than question the full ability of the aspiration in the Cuneiform 𐎢 to express the Semitic ה, as well as the Sanskrit स.

II. To explain the combination of the letter 𐎢 with a certain class of consonants, I must again advert to its inherent aspiration, and while I remark that this property renders it a necessary adjunct to those letters which depend on an aspirate for their articulation, I must add, that there is in its employment the same anomalous power of coalition with the simple or unaspirated letters of each class, which, in relation to some other phonetic property of which the nature is not yet discovered, distinguishes the union of the letter *i* with the simple and primary consonants, as well as with its own exclusive secondary characters. The knowledge of the peculiar quality which attaches to the letter *u* enables us to trace it through its different conditions of combination with more precision than in the case of the former vowel; but we are still disappointed in the hope of detecting that uniformity of application which should determine an orthographical principle. Neither does the vowel *u* appropriate, as might have been expected, all the aspirated consonants, nor, when its influence has been manifested by the employment of an aspirated character in the orthography of a proper name, does it retain its hold upon the letter, if by the accident of inflexional change the 𐎢 should happen to be followed by the euphonic *w*. The latter peculiarity, which, as it is uniform, seems to depend on a law, will admit of conjectural explanation; but the omission of the *u* after some of the aspirated characters, its com-

[1] In this passage I assume the identity of the Cuneiform *huwa* with the Hebrew הוא.

[2] It must be observed, at the same time, that this is a solitary instance of elision; while the pronoun retains its full orthography in *huwamiya*, *huwatiya*, and *huwachiya*.

bination with other letters which have no aspiration, and, above all, the different orthography of the same word with the simple and aspirated form of the consonant in immediate connexion with it, are irregularities of structure which can only be accounted for, as the effects on the one hand of the exhaustion or the imperfect development of a principle of organization, and on the other of the tendency of a newly-invented character still further to confuse ill-defined, and perhaps already fluctuating, articulations. I will now follow the vowel *u* through its series of combinations.

In the class of gutturals we may perhaps consider the 𐎦, which I compare with the Greek χ and the Persian خ, to have been appropriated by the *u*. The third syllable in the name of Nabochodrossor is, it is true, frequently written *khad* instead of *khud;* but in that case the 𐎦 may very probably have still retained the odour of the *u*[1], which was to a certain degree inherent in it, in the same way as in the vicious orthography of *M'athra* and *Vashtaspa* for *Mithra* and *Vishtaspa*, the *m* and *v* certainly retained the odour of the *i*. In all other cases the 𐎦 is invariably followed by the 𐎥; but at the same time that the vowel had no repugnance to coalesce with the simple and unaspirated guttural is evidenced by the orthography of the word *kufa*, "a hill." In the sonant gutturals, also, there was a certain affinity of the *u* for the aspirated 𐎣 *gh*, but this affinity did not prevent it from combining freely with the simple *g*, 𐎣𐎥. The effect of the vowel is particularly evident in the name of Margiana, which is written *Marghush* and *Marghum* in the nom. and acc. sing., where the guttural opens directly on the *u*, but *Márgawa* and *Márgayibish*, in the nom. and implementive plural of the ethnic title, where the guttural is followed by an *a*[2]. That we also find the orthography of *Marguwa* is to be explained perhaps by the aspiration of the vowel being thrown back upon the *w*, when the two letters are brought into immediate contact, the relation of *Marghush* and *Marguwa* being in precise analogy with that of *Bábir'ush* and *Bábiruwa*, and the substitution of the simple for the aspirated form being thus shown to be the

[1] I adopt the expression of the Persian grammarians in their explanation of the power of the *vau-i-ishmâm* or *vau-i-ma'dulah*. See Borhâni Kati', page 8.

[2] The vowel in the first syllable is elongated to distinguish the ethnic from the local application. In the instrumental *Márgayibish*, the *y* is undoubtedly introduced to connect the dissimilar powers of *a* and *i*, but I do not understand on what principle the characteristic of the third declension has altogether lapsed.

effect of design rather than of accident[1]. It is not so easy, however, to detect the influence of the vowel upon the guttural in the word which stands for *Daruj*, "an evil spirit." We have *Darugha* in the nominative, but *Daruga* and *Darugá* in the acc. and abl.[2]; and as I cannot perceive any difference in the orthographical constitution of the words, I can only conjecture the two gutturals to have been respectively employed in order to mark a grammatical distinction.

In the class of palatals I do not find a single instance of combination with the *u;* but in the dentals the aspirates both of surd and sonant adhere exclusively to this vowel. These characters *th* and *dh* are the usual substitutes of the Sanskrit त and द, and we might infer, therefore, that the dental combining with *u* became necessarily aspirated, did we not also meet with terms, such as *tumá* and *dushtá*, where the consonants in this very orthographical position retain their primitive and unaspirated forms. The soft *th* unites with *u* indifferently with the other vowels; but we have no example of the coalition of the vowel with *tř*.

in the class of labials is inoperative; it unites freely not only with the *b*, which was perhaps inherently aspirated, but also with the *p*, which certainly did not possess an aspiration, and which accordingly grouping with the liquid *r*, became converted into *f*. The orthography of a word like *putřa* is alone sufficient to prove that the aspirative power of the *u* was but partially and irregularly exercised. In the class of nasals our means of comparison are exceedingly limited; as far as they extend, however, *m* would appear to be the only phonetic power of the Cuneiform alphabet, which, in assigning a distinct character for combination with the *u*, declined to admit the vowel into coalition with its own proper and unaspirated form. The group is thus unknown at present in the inscriptions; the *m*, wherever it is followed by the vowel being represented by that hitherto obscure character . The *n* has also a special form , which occurs only at Behistun, to meet the aspirative call of the

[1] Although *Marguwa* and *Bábiruwa* are used with a genitive application, they must be considered, I think, grammatically to be in the locative case, the termination being equivalent to the Sanskrit औ.

[2] For *Darugha*, see Behistun Inscription, col. I., line 34. *Darugá* and *Daruga* occur in Niebuhr. H. lines 18 and 20; and also in Behistun Inscription, col. IV., lines 34 and 37.

u, but this does not prevent the common 𐎠 from combining in some cases with the vowel.

In the class of liquids the same anomaly exists which we have observed in the dentals, of a special aspirated *r* being dependent on the *u* for articulation; while the character which represents the simple and unaspirated power of the letter will also combine directly with the vowel without repugnance.

There is nothing, I believe, calling for particular remark in the connexion of the vowel *u* with the class of sibilants[1], and of the aspirate it is sufficient to observe that where the 𐎠 is found in combination with the 𐎢, the etymology is probably Semitic.

If it be impossible to arrange these diversified relations of the letter 𐎢 into any orthographical formula, we may, at any rate, trace the principles from which they take their origin with some comparative degree of confidence. The combinations may be owing in some cases to the Scythic law of juxta-position. The irregularities may be assigned in others to the crudeness of a novel alphabet; but, unquestionably, the characteristic property which regulates the general employment of the vowel is its inherent aspiration, and that aspiration I shall now illustrate both in principle and practice.

III. It is well known that the Greek Υ, used as an initial vowel, was uniformly distinguished by the soft or rough breathing, according as it was employed in the Æolic or other dialects. The aspirative power on the preceding consonant of the semi-vowel *v* or *w* has also led M. Burnouf to conjecture the elementary) of the Zend language to have possessed the same inherent aspiration[2]. In Sanskrit, it is true, we perceive no trace of this singular orthographical property[3], and where the Cuneiform 𐎢 is thus required to represent the Sanskrit initial उ, it would be hazardous to apply the precedents of the Greek and Zend to the language of the inscriptions; but that the character

[1] I have explained in another place that the *u* preceding the *s* usually converts it into *sh*, precisely as the Sanskrit ष, under similar circumstances, is replaced by ष.

[2] I have mislaid my reference to this passage in Burnouf's Yaçna, and it is in vain to search for it again through the thousand pages of that elaborate and most valuable work.

[3] Except in the aspiration of the dental sibilant.

had also the power of expressing a strong aspiration, independently of the vowel sound of *u*, and that the two powers to be embraced in a single alphabetical sign must have been considered in a measure identical, is proved beyond dispute by the numerous cases in which 𐎢 replaces सु, and 𐎢 𐎠 is the substitute for स्व. Before proceeding to give examples, it is only necessary to premise that the regular correspondent of the dental sibilant of the Sanskrit is, in Zend, and in the language of the inscriptions, the letter *h;* and that this aspiration, acting on the letter *u*, and only, I believe, in that position, became, through the medium apparently of Semitic intercourse, converted in a very early age to a guttural[1], a change of power which, I conceive, originally to have been a vulgarism, but which has since been adopted as a permanent and universal type of Persian articulation. We thus find the particle signifying "good," which is सु *su* in Sanskrit, 𐬵𐬎 *hu* in Zend, and εὐ in Greek, universally represented in the inscriptions by the single character 𐎢, as in *'ubartam, 'ufrastam, 'umartiyá, 'uwaspá, 'ufráta,* &c. In its original form the initial power appears to have been a simple aspiration, unless the *u* were followed by a *w*, and the Greeks, therefore, in representing names which embraced this particle, wrote Ὀτάνης, Ὀτάσπης, Εὐφράτης, &c. We must explain the guttural development of the modern Persian in خوب, خوش &c., which are evidently connected with the primitive *hu*, by recalling the Pehlevi orthography of 𐬓, and by remembering that the initial letter of that form, in its substitution for the Hebrew א, brought the Arian aspiration into immediate connexion with the Semitic gutturals. There was no trace of aspiration even in the Latin *op-timum* of which the initial syllable was cognate with the Persian *khúb*.

To appreciate more fully the inherent aspiration of the Cuneiform 𐎢, we may also compare the orthography of *'Ushka*, "dry land," with its correspondents, शुष्क in Sanskrit; 𐬵𐬎𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀 in Zend; *Hushk* in Kurdish; and *khushk* خشک in Persian, and we may examine like-

[1] This must be understood to apply exclusively to the derivation of Persian from Sanskrit. The Sanskrit ह, usually preserved as an aspirate in the Latin, became converted to χ or γ in Greek. For examples, see Prichard on the Celtic Nations, page 57.

wise the first element in the compound name of Ormazd, which is *A'ura* in the inscriptions, असुर *asura* in Sanskrit; 𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀 *ahura* in Zend; 𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀 *auhra* in the lapidary Pehlevi, and which appearing in subsequent dialects as اور, هور, and خور, passed, as Dr. Müller well observes, through the entire Semitic gradation of development from the simple aspirate to the hard guttural. The most important verifications, however, of the power of the Cuneiform vowel, are to be found in comparing the groupe 𐎲𐎠 𐎢𐎴 with the Sanskrit *swa*, स्व. I have already mentioned, that the Devanagari *swa* would be necessarily represented in Persian by *hwa;* that the repugnant compound articulation would have produced the further development of *huwa;* and that the double power of the 𐎲𐎠 being sufficient to represent both the aspirate and the vowel, the employment of the letter 𐎲𐎴 would have been superfluous. It remains that I should add, that in a very early age, the aspirate in this position, and in this position only, must have been strengthened into a guttural, and that in process of time, the guttural became the leading or primary power of the compound articulation; so much so indeed, as to absorb the pronunciation of the semi-vowel, and to leave the single power of *kh* خ, as the representative of the original *hwa.*

In the following words, the initial *'uwa* appears to express the pronoun "self;" *'Uwámarshiyush, 'Uwak'hshatara, 'Uwáip(a)shiyam*[3]; and it is therefore the equivalent of the Sanskrit स्व; Greek σου; Latin "*suus;*" Zend 𐬵𐬎 *hw*, or 𐬵 *kh*; Pehlevi 𐬵 *hu;* and Persian خو *khu* in خود, خویش, *khud, kh'ísh,* &c. In several names, also, the Cuneiform *'uwa* answers etymologically to the Sanskrit *swa.* I may instance *Hara'uwatish* for सरस्वतिः *Saraswatis; Siktha'uwatish* for शिक्तस्वतिः *Siktaswatis,* and *'Uwárazm'ia,* where the initial element of the compound is, no doubt, the Sanskrit स्वार, *swár*[2]; and there are

[1] See Dr. Müller's excellent Essay on the Pehlevi, in the Journal Asiatique, for April, 1839, page 336.

[2] I translate *'uwámarshiyush,* "se impatientem habens," *'Uwak'hshatara* is "self-ruling," the Greek Κυαξάρης; but the etymology of *'uwáip(a)shiyam* is unknown to me, and I can only conjecture the initial particle to be the Sanskrit स्व.

[3] As in स्वाराज from स्वर, with the vowel elongated.

many other names, such as *'Uwajha*, *'Uwádidaya*, *Pishiyá'uwádá*, &c., in which we may infer, though we cannot prove, the same orthographical substitution. Now, it is sufficiently remarkable, that in every case where we can compare the Greek orthography with that observed in the inscriptions, we find the κ or χ replacing the initial aspirate of *'uwa*. We have thus, Κυαξάρης for *'Uwak'hshatara*, Χοάσπης for *'Uwaspa*, 'Αράχωτοι for *Hara'uwatish*, Χοράσμιοι or Χωρασμία for *'Uwárazm'ia*, and perhaps, Κισσία for *'Uwajha*. I may add also, that such names as Χοάθρας, Χοαρηνὴ, Αρτακόανα, &c., represent, undoubtedly, the same Persian articulation[1]; and I may infer, I think, from such an uniformity of expression, that the aspirate in connexion with the *w* must have undergone in vulgar pronunciation, as early as the time of the Achæmenians, a partial, and perhaps, a temporary guttural development.

It has been customary with Palæographers to verify this ancient guttural expression by a comparison with Zend orthography, but an analysis of the character which in the Zend alphabet represents the articulation, is, I submit, sufficient to disprove its possible antiquity. The true representation in Zend of the Sanskrit स्व and Cuneiform *'uwa* is 𐬵𐬎𐬎 *hw*, and wherever this form occurs it is undoubtedly ancient; but the guttural 𐬴, on the contrary, which too often replaces it, is to all appearance of modern origin, for it can be explained in no other manner than as a modification of the Pehlevi 𐬓, a groupe which was composed of two distinct characters, 𐬀 *a*, and 𐬎 *u*, and which merely derived its aspirative power from the connexion of the Pehlevi alphabet with those systems of Semitic writing where the א, although virtually a vowel and the first of the "matres lectionis," was also employed to express the soft breathing. It must be remembered that the 𐬀 in Zend, when used alone, never under any circumstances possessed an aspirative or guttural power; that in the earliest Pehlevi, that of the Sassanian Inscriptions, the type of this character, which was 𐬀, and which was of course derived immediately from the Hebrew ע[2], was employed as a vowel with the same exclusiveness; and that the aspiration therefore, which was subsequently developed

[1] Χοάθρας is the Zend 𐬴𐬀𐬌𐬚𐬭𐬀, *kháthra*, "shining." Χοαρηνὴ is probably from स्वर, and κοᾶνα is the Pehlevi 𐬵𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬥, *ahwán*.

[2] The Parthian 𐬀 was probably an intermediate form between the Sassanian, and the Hebrew ע.

in the cursive Pehlevi, and which in the Zend was strengthened to a guttural, must have been a comparatively late degradation of orthography[1]. I do not at the same time question the antiquity of the Zend vocables. I merely object to the character in which they were expressed, and I derive a further argument in favour of the recent substitution of 𐬔 for the primitive 𐬵𐬀 or 𐬵𐬀, from the pronunciation which is at present assigned to it of *kh*, in precise analogy with the degradation of modern Persian, where, although the *w* is expressed in writing, and although it was once articulated, it is now in conjunction with the خ entirely quiescent. Let us take for an example the name of *Khárizm*. Etymologically, I believe, the compound term to have signified "Heaven-land," and I thus refer the first element of which it was composed to the Sanskrit स्वर (with an elongated *a*, as in स्वाराज). In the inscriptions we have the form of *'Uwárazm'iya*. The Greeks expressed it by Χοράσμιοι or Χωρασμία. In the oldest Persian it was written خوارزم, and pronounced *Khŭwarazam*, but the Vendidad gives it as 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬰𐬆𐬨, that is, according to the strict orthography, *auáirizem*, but in virtue of a Semitic influence *huáirizem*, and by a degradation of the phonetic powers *kháirizem*, precisely as the *Khŭwárazam* of the Hamása is now pronounced in modern Persian *Khárazem*[2]. The same remark will apply to the name of Arachotia, which was *Saraswatis* in Sanskrit, *Hara'uwatish* in the inscriptions, 'Αραχωσία in Greek, but in Zend, 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬯, *Harakhaiti* for *Harahuaiti*, and in modern Persian, *Arrakhaj* الرخج. We have not the Zendic form of Susiana, but in the other dialects we remark a similar confusion of the aspirate and guttural, the latter being the evident degradation of the former power, and being peculiar in an antique form to the Greek orthography of the name. Thus, although the Greek rendered the Cuneiform *'Uwajha*, both by Οὔξιοι and Κισσία, that the primitive aspirate was used alone in the country until comparatively modern times, is shown by the orthographies of

[1] It has since occurred to me, that this guttural employment of the 𐬀, when prefixed to the 𐬥, must, nevertheless, be of considerable antiquity, for the *k* of the Sassanian Inscriptions, answering to the Semitic כ, is apparently the same character reversed, 𐬀 = 𐬣.

[2] I follow throughout this analysis the argument of Dr. Müller, in his Essay on the Pehlevi above quoted, page 302.

the Syriac ܗܘܙ, *Huz*, the Pehlevi *Havuj*[1], the Persian اهواز, *Ahwáz* and the Byzantine Βιζακος and Οὐζαΐνη[2]. The guttural development in حويزه *Haweizah*, and خوزستان *Khuzistán*, was probably unknown until after the Arab Conquest; yet, I have no doubt the Zend would have employed the character ص to express the initial groupe 𐎠𐎢𐎹 of the inscriptions. If we might venture to assign an Arian etymology for the name, (and its Median orthography renders such a derivation highly probable), we should perceive the primitive sibilant to have alternated with the aspirate in the different applications of the territorial title from the very remotest times. Thus, as the old Persians uniformly explain *sús* or *shúsh*, by "sweet," "agreeable," an etymology which is confirmed by Grecian tradition[3], and as the Median Inscriptions give the reading of *Havati* for the Persepolitan *'Uwajha*, we may perhaps refer for the origin of the name to the Sanskrit ष्वद् or स्वद्, and we may then trace the sibilant through the Hebrew שושן, the Greek Σοῦσα, and the modern *Sús* or *Shús*. This however is an obscure and somewhat irrevelant subject which I cannot pursue farther at present. The only other well-defined case in which the Cuneiform 𐎠𐎢 expressed the Sanskrit sibilant, is in the characteristic of the fem. loc. plural of the first declen. where *'uwa* stands for सु *su*[4].

[1] I take the form of *Havuj* from the هبوجستان واجار *Habujistán Wájár* of the *Mujm'al et-Tawárikh*, which, on the authority probably of *Hamzeh Isfaháni*, is stated to have been the name translated by the Arabs سوق الاحواز.

[2] For Βιζακος and Οὐζαΐνη, see Theophylact. Simocatta, lib. III. c. 5., and Procopius de Bello Goth. lib. IV. c. 10. Both of the notices are important, the one mentions the town of Βενδοσαβείρων, which is جنديسابور, *Jundísabúr*, the other preserves the name Βηλαπατὼν, or *Beth Lapet*, which was the Syrian title of *Ahwáz*. The terminations in *ák* and *án* follow the variety of Pehlevi and Persian orthography, and are precisely analogous to the double forms of عراق and ايران, *abasták* and *apastán*, &c.

[3] Athenæus, (lib. XII. c. 1) quoting from Aristobulus, says specifically, that the name was given, διὰ τὴν ὡραίοτητα τοῦ τόπου.

[4] We have thus the Cuneiform *aniyá'uwá* for the Sanskrit अन्यासु. See Behistun Inscription, col. 1. line 35.

I will now produce a few examples where the Cuneiform 𐎲𐎠 replaces the Sanskrit initial उ, and where accordingly, as far as etymology is concerned, the aspiration must have been wholly superfluous. These terms are *utá* for the Sanskrit उत, *upá* for उप; *upastám* compounded with the same particle and answering to the Zend [illegible], *upaçtãm; udapatatá*, where the first element is the Sanskrit उत्, or उद्, and a few other doubtful compounds, such as *uz(a)tayápatiya*, the name *Upadarma*, &c. In all such cases, I am inclined to think the aspirative power of the initial 𐎲𐎠 must have been quiescent; and in expressing the inscriptions therefore in the Roman character, I employ the orthography of *u* and *'u*, according as the character may represent the उ or सु of the Sanskrit.

It remains that I should notice a few instances of medial development, arising from the employment of the letter 𐎲𐎠. The old root तव which has produced the तविषः "strength" of the Vedas, and the توانا توان, &c., of modern Persian, signifying "power or ability," appears also to have given rise to the *tumá* of the inscriptions, which may be translated "seed" or "race;" the application of the word in this sense being apparently connected with the idea of generation. Now in the Pazend the primitive reading was retained of توم *túm*, but the Pehlevi gave utterance to the dormant aspiration of the vowel, and expressed the word by [illegible] *tuhm*, a form which received in Zend the further development of [illegible] *taok'hma*, "an offshoot[1]," and which has survived in modern Persian under the orthography of *tukhm*, تخم.

Perhaps, also, in the substitution of the Persian کوه, *kúh*, "a hill," for the Cuneiform *kúfa*, and in the modification of the ancient *gubata*, "said," into گفته, *guftah*, we perceive further evidence of this aspirative development; but whether we may attribute to the same cause the introduction of a sibilant, in the corruption of *Khurush*, (Κῦρος) into Χοσρόης, or خسرو *Khusrú*, is a subject which will be more conveniently examined hereafter.

[1] This word must not be confounded with [illegible], "strong," from the Sanskrit तक, "to carry."

I have only to add at the same time, that in a great number of words where the Cuneiform orthography can be compared with that of the modern Persian, passing through the Zend or Pehlevi, the aspirative influence of the vowel is not to be detected. I may instance amongst other terms, *gusha*, "an ear," *rucha*, "a day," *putŕa*, "a son," *dushtá*, "a friend," &c., &c., and I consider therefore that in assigning equivalents to the Cuneiform alphabet, I have sufficient grounds for identifying two distinct powers, as appertaining to the character 𐎺, which may be respectively represented by *u* and *'u*.

I have already observed that the Cuneiform alphabet does not admit of diphthongs, properly so called, by which I mean that the primitive vowels are not susceptible of any modification, either of form, or probably of sound. Instances, however, of the coalition of vowels, where in Sanskrit the double articulation would be expressed by a single letter, are far from uncommon, and we thus meet with *aita* for एतद् *etad*; *aiwam* for एवं *ewam*; *aisha* for एषत् *eshat*, and *fráish(a)ya* (contracted from *fra* + *aish(a)ya*) for the compound imperfect प्रेषत्, *preshyat*, "he sent." Although the *i* cannot open upon the *a*, there is no objection to the *a*, either long or short, falling on the *i*; this expanded reading *ai* being the true primitive orthography, which was contracted in the Devanágari alphabet into the single character ए, *e*.

With regard to the coalition of *a* with the vowel *u*, the difficulty of discrimination is increased by the latent aspirative power of the 𐎺 and by our constant uncertainty as to whether that power were exercised or not. Judging by analogy, the *a* should combine with the *u*, in the same manner as we have seen it combine with the *i*, and on the same principle as the Sanskrit applies the laws of *guna* and *vriddhi* indifferently to the two vowels. In the declension, indeed, of feminine themes in *u*, we may perhaps perceive the coalition with this power of the short as well as the long *a*; for I do not otherwise understand how the 𐎹𐎺 can be absorbed. The noun which makes *dahyáush* and *dahyáwa* in the nom. sing. and plural discards the long *a* in all other cases, and this at first sight would appear to be a perfect anomaly; but if we consider that the feminine inflexions were probably *aush* and *awa* in the nominative, and *um*, *uwá*, *unám*, and *ushuwá* in the other cases, and that these inflexions were uniformly

added to a theme ending in *a*, then the difficulty vanishes. *Dahyáush* and *dahyáwa* would stand for *dahya* + *aush* and *dahya* + *awa*, and the other cases might be read *dahyaum*, *dahyauwá*, *dahyaunám*, and *dahyaushuwá*. I have a strong suspicion that this explanation is correct[1], but nevertheless I have not considered myself authorized on such scanty evidence to adopt in the reading of the terms in the Roman character the introduction of a short *a* between the *y* and *u*. Orthographically considered, the *au*, of course, should stand for the Sanskrit *o*, as *ai* is the primitive and expanded form of *e*, and if we had a more extended field of comparison, the verification might perhaps be established in the former as well as in the latter instance. Our means of analysis are in this respect, however, extremely deficient, and although we may explain, on euphonic grounds, the secondary forms of *iya* and *uwa*, it seems impossible to discriminate the principle which regulates the respective employment of *ai* and *aya*, or *au* and *awa* in their substitution for the *guna* and *vriddhi* of the Sanskrit primitive vowels. The further prosecution of so intricate a subject I gladly leave to more experienced philologists; and with a full sense of the imperfect manner in which I have attempted to explain the Cuneiform vocalic organization, I now proceed to the investigation of the consonants.

The gutturals of the Cuneiform alphabet I represent as follows:— 𒅀, *k*; 𒌋𒌋𒌋, *k'h*; 𒌋, *kh*; 𒌋𒌋𒌋, *g*; and 𒌋𒌋𒌋, *gh*.

𒅀 *k*. The following names and well-defined words are amply sufficient to show the phonetic power of this character.

*K*atapat'hu*k*a, Greek Καππαδοκία.

Sa*k*a, Sans. शाक, Greek Σάκαι.

*K*abujiya, Greek Καμβύσης, Pers. کاووس کابوس; comp. Sans. काम्बोज.

*K*ára, *k*artam, Sans. कारः, कर्त्तं, Zend 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬆𐬨, Pers. کار and کرده.

*K*amana, "faithful," from the root कम.

*K*ám, "willingly," Sans. काम.

*K*ufa, Pehlevi واد, *kup*, Pers. کوه; comp. Κώφης, Κώφην, &c.

[1] In further support of this reading, I may notice the indifferent orthography of *dahy(a)um* and *dahyáum*, which is found for the accusative case, a variety which would be sufficiently intelligible if it depended merely on the quantity of the *a*, but which would be most irregular if that sound were entirely lost in the contracted reading of *dahyum*. R.—But see supplementary note.—Ed.

The Cuneiform 𐎠 was sometimes used apparently as a suffix of agency or attribution, in near analogy with the Sanskrit अक, but I question whether we may connect it in such a position with the Pehlevi 𐭪, which terminates so many of the nouns and adjectives of that language, and which appears to have been a mere dialectic development after an elongated vowel[1]. We have in the inscriptions *badaka*, "a servant;" *wazarka*, "great;" *Zaraka*, "Zarangia;" the Persian representations of which replace the guttural by a soft aspirate in بندہ *bandah*, and change it from a surd to a sonant in بزرگ *buzurg*[2], and in *Zarang*, the original form of the Arabic *Dharanj*.

The gutturals, like the dentals in the language of the inscriptions, repudiated probably a combination with the nasal; but on this subject we cannot speak with confidence, for *Zaraka* is a purer and more primitive form than *Zaranga*, and there is the name also of a Persian city, which may be read *Khuganka* as well as *Khuganaka*[3]. In regard to combination with the vowels, the letter 𐎠 was subject to no particular influence. I have already given several examples where it is followed both by the *a* and *u*, and for its union with the *i*, I may instance the adverb *adakiya*, which I believe to signify "only," and which I compare with the Persian اندک *Andak* and the Turkish *Anjak*[4]. In its combination, however, with the consonants it did, unquestionably, undergo a very marked and essential modification. It was, in fact, converted to its aspirate precisely in the same manner, and to an equal extent as we find the 𐬐 of the Zend to replace the 𐭪 in all compound articulations. I shall now bring forward numerous examples of this orthographical change in considering the aspirated guttural *k'h*.

[1] See Müller's Essay on the Pehlevi, p. 297.

[2] The *k* was retained in the Scythic *vezerka* (see Mos. Chor. lib. II. c. 84), and still remains in the Turkish *Buyúk*, but in the Slavonic dialects it became a sonant. Compare *Wolga*, &c. The Arabs, as usual, converted it to a palatal, naming the city of *'Akbara* بزرجسابور *Buzurj-sábúr* for the Persian title, according to Hamzeh, of وزرک شاپور *Wazark shápúr*. See *Yakút*, in voce.

[3] As we find, however, *daragam* for the Persian درنگ *darang*, I have placed the gutturals among those consonants which repudiate the nasal.

[4] It may surprise philologists to find Turkish and Persian vocables classed together. I believe, however, notwithstanding the great diversity of structure, that a very extensive affinity exists between the roots of the two languages, and I hope to substantiate this in my analysis of the Median Inscriptions.

𐎠𐎠𐎹 *k'h.* We find a very small proportion of words in which this character opens on a vowel. The names, indeed, of *Hak'hámanish* for Ἀχαιμένης, *Rak'ha* perhaps for Ράχα[1], *K'hamsapáda* or *K'hamaspáda* and *Viyak'h(a)na*, are, I believe, the only examples[2]; but, on the other hand, the cases in which the 𐎠𐎠𐎹 replaces the simple 𐎠𐎼 in combination with an aspirative consonant are exceedingly numerous.

M. Burnouf, in his observations on the Zend alphabet (Yaçna, P. CXLII.), would explain the almost invariable employment in that language of the 𐬑 for the simple 𐬐 when the guttural forms the first member of a compound articulation, as the result, in some measure, of ignorant or careless transcription; but as the same orthography is found in the tablets of the Achæmenian kings, and as the aspiration of the guttural in this position may be traced throughout the entire system of modern Persian pronunciation[3], it would be more appropriate perhaps to attribute it to a fixed law of euphony peculiar to the Persian branch of the great Arian family. In the inscriptions there is only one single term *Siktha'uwatish*, in which the *k* retains its unaspirated form in composition, and if the first element in that compound be as I suppose the Sanskrit शिक्त *Sikta*, the irregularity will be observed to be compensated in some degree by the aspirative development of the *t*[4]. In all other cases we find the groupes of the different classes represented by *k'ht*, *k'hm*, *k'hr*, and *k'hsh*, as may be seen by the following extensive list.

Bák'htarish, Greek Βακτρία, Zend Apákhitara or Bakhdhí.

Dhur'uk'htam, Sans. दुरुक्तं, Zend 𐬛𐬎𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬑𐬙𐬆𐬨, Pers. دروغ.

Chitratak'hma. The last element is the Zend 𐬙𐬀𐬑𐬨𐬀, "strong," from तक्, "to carry." See Yaçna, p. 40.

[1] The name of a town in Persia. See Ptolemy's Πασαράχα, lib. VI., c. 4.

[2] I must add the names of *Arak'ha* and *Saradk'ha*, or *Saruk'ha*.

[3] Compare the participles of all those verbs in the roots of which a terminal ز replaces a primitive palatal, such as *sáz*, *sákhtah*; *dúz*, *dúkhtah*; *amíz*, *amíkhtah*; *súz*, *súkhtak*; *afráz*, *afrákhtah*, &c. The rule is, I believe, constant in Persian, not merely for the dentals, but for all classes of letters preceded by a guttural.

[4] The aspiration of the dental in this case may possibly be in some degree analogous to the formation of the groupe *khdh* 𐬑𐬝 in Zend, on which M. Burnouf has a learned and elaborate note. See Yaçna, Notes et Eclair., P. XLIII.

Chak'hriyá. Probably a reduplicate verbal noun from कृ.

Chichak'hráish. The etymology of this name is doubtful.

Hamatak'hshiya, Sans. समतक्षे, 1st pers. sing. mid. imp. from तक्ष.

K'hshapa, "night"; compare Sans. क्षपा, Zend [illegible], Pers. شب.

K'hshanásátiya[1], Khshanás is the Pers. شناس, Latin "*gnos*,"

and the numerous derivatives and compounds which are referable to the Sanskrit क्षि *kshi*, e. g.

K'hsháyathiya, "a king," Zend [illegible], Pers. شاه.

K'hshatřam[2], "empire," Sans. क्षत्रं; comp. Greek κράτος.

K'hshatřapá, "a satrap," Pali khshatrapá, Greek Σατράπης.

K'hshayárshá, Greek Ξέρξης.

K'hshathrita. For this name we have no Greek equivalent.

Artak'hshatřa, Greek Ἀρταξέρξης, Sassan. [illegible]

In some of these examples the process by which the guttural becomes aspirated through its coalition with another consonant is marked with particular precision. In the compound participle *Dhur'uk'htam*, for instance, the last member is derived from a root ending in a palatal, वच *wach* in Sanskrit, *uj* in the inscriptions; and the aspiration of the *k*, therefore, which is the regular substitute of the palatal, and which preserves its simple form in the Sanskrit उक्त, *ukta*, is the indubitable effect of its combination with the *t*; while, if I have rightly defined the signification of *chak'hriya*, it also is formed from a root *kara* (Sans. कृ, Zend [illegible] *kĕrĕ*), which repeatedly occurs in the inscriptions with the unaspirated guttural, where that power opens on a vowel instead of being united with the *r*. I am not quite sure, however, that there may not be some inherent property in the vowel *i* which will admit of its being preceded by a compound articulation, unaffected by the regular aspiration; for there are a few words, imperfect in one passage and obscure in another, which may

[1] Professor Rosen has given several examples of the substitution in Greek and Latin of κρ and *cr* for the Sanskrit क्ष. (See Rig. Vedæ. Spec. Annot, P. XI.) In Γνως for *Khshanás* we perceive the sibilant to be lost altogether.

[2] *K'hshatram*, with the compounds derived from it, is probably to be referred to the root क्षद or छद (which seem to have been confounded in the Sanskrit) rather than to क्षि.

very possibly embrace the groupes of *kri* and *pri*, instead of *k'hri* and *fri*[1].

The only doubt that can attach to the identification of the Cuneiform 𒅆 is, whether it may represent a simple aspirated guttural, equivalent in power to the Sanskrit ख; or whether its articulation may more nearly resemble the rough breathing of the Persian خ; or whether, again, it may express these two powers in common. If we merely observed that, on the one hand, it replaced the Sanskrit क aspirated by a law of euphony peculiar to the ancient Persian; while, in the other, it was represented in the names of Achæmenes and Rak'há by the rough χ of the Greek alphabet; and while the modern Persian uniformly employs the خ in the orthography of terms, either cognate in origin or formed upon the same principle, we might certainly infer that the two powers were expressed indifferently by the character in question; or, in fact, that a distinction of the guttural powers was not duly discriminated in the age of the inscriptions; but when we remember that this double employment would be utterly destructive of all orthographical precision; when we find that it is supported by no precedent in the kindred language of the Zend; and when we perceive, moreover, that there is a distinct character of the Cuneiform alphabet which, if the two powers were assigned to 𒅆, would be unappropriated, we are constrained to prefer the attribution to the latter sign of the single and simple aspirative power of the guttural. That the Greeks expressed the character in question by the χ may be explained by the absence of the power of the Devanagari ख in their alphabetical system, and that the Persian exhibits a similar deficiency, and thus employs the rough gutturals خ and غ[2], where the Cuneiform alphabet, applying its peculiar law of aspiration to compound articulations, would replace the Devanagari क by the aspirated 𒅆, may be traced to the gradual process of phonetic degradation, and perhaps also, in some measure, to the Semitic influ-

[1] We have thus, I believe, *parikriyáhya*, in line 72, col. 4; and we have *apriyáya*, in line 23, col. 1.

[2] For the employment of the غ, compare the Persian دروغ, "a lie," with the Cuneiform *dhur'uk'htam*.

ence which a Pehlevi medium imparted to the modern language[1]. The observations which M. Burnouf, with his usual critical perception, has bestowed upon the employment of the Zend [Zend][2], are exactly applicable to the Cuneiform [Cuneiform]. It may perhaps answer in some cases etymologically to the Sanskrit ख; but its general condition is that of substitution for the simple क; the language of the inscriptions, as well as the Zend, requiring the guttural to undergo aspiration as the first member of a compound power. There is, at the same time, a curious discrepancy between the elemental construction of the Zend character and its phonetic employment, which escaped the notice of Burnouf, and which is even imperfectly indicated by Dr. Müller[3]. The Zend, as I have frequently observed, appears to have derived its character, with some modification, and with considerable addition, from the cursive Pehlevi. To express the simple surd guttural it employed the same character as the Pehlevi, the form being derived, to all appearance, immediately from a Hebrew type, ק reversed, equal to و. To represent the hard guttural خ *kh* (or perhaps originally خو *khw*) it adopted the Pehlevi [Pehlevi] *au* or *hu*, which had merely obtained its faint guttural power by following the double employment of the Semitic א, both as a vowel and an aspirate. To denote the aspirated surd guttural, a power that was perhaps peculiar to the Sanskrit and Pali, the Zend, and the ancient Persian, it appropriated another Pehlevi compound of the same class, namely, the double *a*, which was the only method acknowledged in that alphabet of representing the hard aspiration, the character [Zend] being evidently derived from [Pehlevi], as [Zend] was a modification of [Pehlevi]. The discrepancy, then, to which I have alluded is, that this character [Pehlevi], which, according to its elements, should have expressed *ah* or *akh*, and which, in the Persian correspondents of Pehlevi words which contain the character [Pehlevi], is thus

[1] The articulation of ख was peculiar to the Indian dialects. In Western languages the gutturals became inevitably strengthened to the rough sound of the Persian خ.

[2] See his admirable Treatise on the Zend Alphabet; Yaçna, P. LXXI.

[3] See Essay on the Pehlevi, p. 302.

represented by ﺥ or خ[1], should nevertheless have been appropriated in the Zend to the Sanskrit ख, or rather to the क, undergoing an aspirative process by the Zend and Cuneiform law of euphonic combination.

Dr. Müller, while he has established and well defined the fluctuation of the gutturals in the languages Pazend and Parsí, which immediately preceded the formation of the modern Persian, has questioned if that fluctuation existed in the primitive Pehlevi[2]. That it must have existed, however, is shown by the employment of the cursive ﻡ (which should elementally express the sound of *hu*, and which was indifferently rendered in Zend by »ﻭ and ﻭ, according as an Arian or Semitic influence predominated) to represent in the Sassanian Inscriptions the כ of the Semitic dialects, the Hebrew מלך being written in the lapidary Pehlevi 𐭬𐭫𐭪, where the terminal letter only differs in direction from the cursive form 𐭪 = ﻡ.

I may remark, in conclusion, the usual lapse of 𐎢𐎢 before the *sh* in the orthography of the modern Persian. That the guttural in this position had been softened to an aspirate as early as the third century of our era, is shown by the inscriptions of the early Sassanian kings, where the name of *Artak'hshatŕa* is uniformly written *Artahshatra*, and that the power was soon after altogether lost, is rendered probable by the orthography of 'Αρτασάρης, employed by the later Byzantines, to express the 'Αρταξάρης of a preceding age[3]. In Pehlevi words which etymologically contain the Sanskrit क्ष, and the Cuneiform 𐎢𐎢 𐎶, the ﺵ is used sometimes to express the aspiration, but more usually the sibilant is employed alone[4]. The orthography, indeed, appears to be determined by the occurrence of the groupe as a complemental or initial articulation, and perhaps the same rule applies in Persian; for although the correspondents of all these words which I have given in the preceding list replace the *k'hsh* by a single ﺵ,

[1] Compare آخر for the Pehlevi ﻫﺮ ; ﺭﺍ for ﺍﺭﺩﻫﺮ, &c. See Essay on the Pehlevi, p. 345.

[2] Essay on the Pehlevi, p. 336.

[3] Compare Agathias with George of Pisidia. 'Αρτασάρης is for اردشير *Ardashír*; as, 'Αρταξάρης or 'Αρταξέρξης is for *Artak'hshatra*.

[4] Compare ﻫﻮﺗﻮﺷﻦ *hutuhshan*, *paduhsha*, &c., with *shid*, "shining," *shab*, "night," *shatún*, "a city." Anquetil du Perron's Vocabulary, however, is a very unsafe Pehlevi guide, and I have not the text of the Bun-Dehesh.

there are many terms, such as رخش, *Rakhsh;* بخشش, *bakhshish;* بدخشان, *Badakhshán*, &c., &c. in which the compound articulation is retained with the further development of the hard breathing, so much affected by the modern language.

𐎧, *kh.* The terms in which this character occurs are not numerous, but they are of considerable interest; inasmuch as they show on the one hand, that the letter clearly represents a guttural, while on the other, they present as its equivalent the dental sibilant of the Sanskrit. I offer the following examples, which I believe to include all the words in which the 𐎧 has been hitherto discovered.

*Kh*urush, Greek Κῦρος, Hebrew כורש; comp. Sans. सुर, Zend 𐬯𐬎𐬭, Persian خور.

Nabu*kh*udrachara, Greek Ναβουκοδρόσσορ or Ναβουχοδονόσορ, Hebrew נבוכדראצר.

*Kh*ushiya, Greek Κουσσαῖοι or Κοσσαῖοι, Hebrew כוש (?)

S(a)*kh*udra. I hesitate at present to identify this name.

*Kh*uganaká. The name of a town in Persia, of which the etymology is doubtful;

and a variety of derivates from a root *khu*, or with the conjugational suffix *khunu*, which was probably cognate in origin with the Sanskrit, सु or षु, and which in modern Persian was apparently degraded into *Kun*, کن[1].

It can hardly be doubted from the orthography of the name of Cyrus, and from the tradition which the Greeks preserved of the true signification of that name[2], that the Persian language, as early as the sixth century before our era, although it usually represented the Sanskrit sibilant by an aspiration, had also in some peculiar cases

[1] From this root we have *akhunush, akhunawa, akhunawam, akhutá, akhumá, akhunawatá, akhunavyatá*, and *khunawáhya*. Professor Lassen has remarked this probable deviation of the Persian *kun*, "do," in his last Cuneiform Essay, Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. VI., p. 84.

[2] "*The sun*," for the Persian خور. See Ctesias, cap. 49. Plut. in Artaxerxes, and Hesychius *in voce*. Ctesias, who lived in Persia for twenty years under Artaxerxes Mnemon, should be good authority on a question of native pronunciation.

strengthened that aspiration into a hard guttural, to which, accordingly, a special character was assigned in the distribution of the Cuneiform alphabet. From the subsequent alterations which the orthography of that name underwent in the successive phases of the language, we also perceive that the guttural frequently gave way to the primitive aspiration; but we are certainly not authorized by these mutations to place the respective antiquity of the terms, in the regular phonetic series of *s*, *h*, and *kh*. The corrupted form of Chosroes, where the medial sibilant was developed by the aspiration of the *r* opening on the vowel *u*, and was afterwards transposed by a metathesis, first occurs, I believe, under the lower Arsacide dynasty[1]; subsequently it appears as 𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬱 *Huçrava* in Zend; 𐭧𐭮𐭫𐭥 *Husrub* in the cursive, and *Huslu* in the numismatic Pehlevi, هوسروب, *Husrub* in Pazend, and خسرو, *Khusru* in Persian. It is impossible, I conceive, to compare the antiquity of the artificial Zend *Huçrava* with the *Khurush* of the inscriptions[2]. The true Zendic form which will alone admit of comparison is 𐬵𐬎𐬭𐬀, *hwarĕ*, and that term was doubtless taken directly from the Sanskrit सुर without passing through the Cuneiform *khur*. If, at the same time, the hard guttural power of the 𐎧 had been unequivocally developed under the Achæmenian dynasty, it appears singular that the Greeks, having the exact representative of that power in the χ of their own alphabet, should in the names of Κῦρος, Κοῦρος, or Κόρος, Κοσσαίοι, or Κουσσαίοι and Ναβουκοδρόσσορ[3], have expressed it by the *k*; and it is even still more singular, that in the geographical application of the name of Cyrus, the modern Persian should employ the same orthography[4]. We are hardly in a position

[1] I allude to the Parthian king who was contemporary with Adrian, and who is named by Dion Cassius, lib. 58. c. 17, Ὀσρόης; by Ælius Spartianus, c. 13, *Cosdroes;* and by Arrian in Parthicis, Χοσρόης. See Suidas in voc. *ἀπείραστον* and *γνωσιμαχῆσαι*: the geographical name of Ὀσροηνη, however, which is apparently of kindred etymology, had been long before in use.

[2] M. Burnouf, nevertheless, appears inclined to consider *Khurush* or Κῦρος, the degradation rather than the type of *Khusru* or *Huçrava*, which he compares with the *Suçravas*, "the good hearer" of the Vedas; and relying on this etymology, he believes its coincidence with the Persian خور, *khúr*, signifying "the sun," which was remarked by the Greeks, to have been accidental. See Mem. sur deux Inscr. Cuneif. p. 175. I cannot subscribe in any way to this opinion.

[3] In Ναβουχοδονόσορ, however, the 𐎧 was duly represented by the χ.

[4] I refer to the river Cyrus of Persepolis, named according to Strabo, lib. XV.

to clear up these difficulties at present, but the following grounds, upon which the identification of the 𐎠 reposes, are probably sufficient to overrule the orthographical disagreement both of the Greeks and of the modern language.

First. The powers of *k* and *k'h* having been assigned to the two characters 𐎡 and 𐎢, there is no other Persian modification of the guttural which could be applied to the 𐎠 of the inscriptions, but the rough breathing of the خ ; for the ق of the modern alphabet is a strictly Semitic articulation .

Secondly. The 𐎠 has an unquestionable affinity for the vowel *u*, which is equally observable in the Persian خ, and in the Zend 𐬐; the latter character, which I consider to be the exact phonetic equivalent of the Cuneiform 𐎠, including that vowel, indeed, in its elemental construction. And,

Thirdly. The substitution of a guttural for the Sanskrit sibilant, as in کن for सन्, involving a succession of *h*, *kh*, and *k*, the Cuneiform alphabet may be reasonably supposed to present that development of the class which is the earliest of the series, that is, it will rather replace the Devanagari स with *kh*, than with the degraded *k*. I have only to add, that the particular power of the 𐎠 may be considered to have been peculiar to the Persian branch of the Indo-Arian family. It appears in the inscriptions occasionally. In the Zend it is more common. In the modern Persian it is universal; but neither was it known in the Sanskrit or Pali, nor even in the Pehlevi; while in the Pazend and Parsí we observe the fluctuation between the two systems, the powers being used more rarely in the one, more frequently in the other.

p. 401, after the king (*Kόρος* in Dionysius, v. 1073), and written by the Arabs کر, *kur*, as well as to the more celebrated Cyrus of Georgia, which still retains the name of کور, *kúr*. For the various Greek orthographies, see Cellarius, tom. II. pages 311, 665 and 681.

[1] I am inclined, moreover, to appropriate the power of ق to another character 𐎢, which I shall subsequently examine, and which I suppose to have been of foreign origin.

𒀀, *g*. The following names and words contain ample evidence of the power of this character.

*G*adára, Sans. गान्धार, Greek Γανδαριδαι or Γανδαρίοι.

As(a)*g*arta, Greek Σαγαρτίοι. The termination is probably the Persian گرد.

Ha*g*matána, Greek Ἀγβάτανα. I suspect a Sanskrit etymology सङ्गम, "meeting."

*G*umáta, Latin *Cometes;* perhaps, Sanskrit गोमन्तः, "possessing cattle."

*G*ubar'uwa, Greek Γωβρύας; perhaps from गो and भृ, "to nourish."

Ra*g*á, Greek Ῥαγαῦ or Ῥάγα. The great Median city of that name.

Ti*g*ra, Greek Τίγρις, signifying "rapid" or "sharp," from तिज; compare Persian تیر, تیغ, تیز.

*G*ushá, Zend 𐬜𐬎𐬱𐬀, Persian گوش, "an ear," from Sans. घुष, "to emit a sound."

Ba*g*a, Sans. भग, Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬜, Pers. بغ or فغ, Slav. Bog, &c., "God."

*G*ithá, Sans. गीतिः, "a chaunt."

*G*uba, Sans. गुप, Persian گُفت, "to say." The term was not used in Zend.

*G*uda, Sans. गुह. I am not sure if this root was preserved in Zend.

*G*raba, Sans. गृभ, Zend 𐬜𐬭𐬀𐬨, Pers. گرفت; comp. Eng. *grip*, *grab*, *gripe*.

The Cuneiform 𒀀 appears to be independent of any immediate or special orthographical laws; it combines freely with all the vowels, and admits even of combination with the *r* and *m* without undergoing aspiration. At the same time, it possesses very close relations with the rough aspirate of its class, interchanging with it even in the terminal inflexions of nouns, as I have already observed in citing the examples of *Marghush*, *Margáwa*, and *Darugha, daruga*. It may be questioned, I think, if the language of the inscriptions acknowledged the simple aspiration of the Devanagari घ, or the substitution of *Gúshá* for the Sanskrit घुष could hardly have taken place. I would rather suppose the 𒀀 to represent the Devanagari ग and घ indifferently, and I would assign to the 𒄩 the strong and hard guttural pronunciation which belongs to the غ of modern Persian, and to the

[Zend] of the Zend. From what particular source the Zend derived the character [Zend] to express the Cuneiform [Cuneiform], I am at a loss to determine. The cursive Pehlevi did not apparently find the power in the Semitic alphabet, from whence it adopted the greater number of its phonetic signs[1], and it replaced it therefore by the Arabic ق (ق=ق); but there is a character in the Sassanian Inscriptions, hitherto unidentified, [Zend], which may very possibly have been equivalent to the unaspirated sonant guttural[2].

[Cuneiform], *gh*. This character is not of frequent occurrence, but its power is marked with sufficient exactness in the following examples.

Mar*gh*ush, Greek Μαργιάνη or Μαργος, Zend [Zend], Pers. مرو and مرغاب.

Su*gh*da, Gr. Σουγδία, Zend [Zend], from Sans. शुक्ल, Pers. سغد *sughd*.

Thata*gh*ush, Greek Σατταγύδαι. The etymology is obscure.

Ma*gh*ush, Greek Μάγος, Heb. מג, Pers. مغ, from Sans. मह, "to worship."

Daru*gh*a; compare Zend [Zend][3], Pers. دروج (Latin *trux*), from Sans. द्रुह, "to wound."

There is an evident affinity for the vowel *u* inherent in this character. In two of the above examples it follows that vowel, in the other three it precedes it, but at the same time we can hardly apply any fixed orthographical rule to the connection; for as far as phonetic construction is concerned, the forms of *Darugha* in the nominative with the aspiration, and *daruga* in the accusative without it, are absolutely identical. The Indian alphabet did not possess this power, (nor, indeed, did the Semitic languages until a comparatively recent

[1] The Arabs, as it is well known, did not admit the sound of *g* into their alphabet. They replaced the Hebrew ג by a palatal.

[2] This identification is of much importance, for it enables us to read the epithet [Zend], which answers to the Θεος, *Baga* instead of *Beh;* and it is singular that De Sacy with his admirable critique and extensive learning should have overlooked it. Very possibly the Zend [Zend] may be a mere modification of the Sassanian character.

[3] *Drujĕm* is the accus. of [Zend] *drukhs*. See Yaçna. Not. et Eclair. p. 28.

period). It was a guttural articulation peculiar to the Persian branch of the Arian family, and may be observed in the above examples to have been developed from the उ, च and ह of Sanskrit roots[1].

The character which represented the power in Zend and Pehlevi is apparently of very modern construction, it is, in fact, the Arabic *ain* or *ghain* (ع = ġ), which, according to Klaproth, was itself derived through the Cufic from the Estranghelo[2]. Neither in the lapidary nor numismatic Pehlevi does there appear to be any equivalent[3].

I now proceed to the Palatals, which are three in number; 𐎧 *ch*, 𐎩 *j*, 𐎪 *jh*.

𐎧 *ch*. As the power of the surd palatal was unknown to the Greek or to the Semitic dialects, a comparison of the names in which the Cuneiform character occurs, with their classical correspondents, affords very insufficient grounds for identification. Thus for the *Chishpish* of the inscriptions we have Τεΐσπης in Herodotus; for *Nabukhudrachara* we have Ναβουκοδροσσορ; while the names of *Chitŕatakhma* and *Chichak'hráish* would have appeared probably in Greek characters, as Σιτραταίχμης and Σισίκρης. The assimilation at the same time of the Hebrew נבוכדראצר to the Cuneiform *Nabukhudrachara* is to a certain degree satisfactory; for the Jews, to the present day, in writing Persian in the Hebrew character, frequently adopt the צ for the palatal *ch*, and the Arabs usually employ the ص, which was the equivalent of the Hebrew *Tsáde*, in the same position[4]. But we are fortunately independent of Greek or Semitic indications; the Cuneiform 𐎧 is of very frequent occurrence, and may be compared in almost every instance with the च of the Devanagari, or with the چ of the Zend alphabet. I give the following examples.

[1] To explain this, I must observe, that Burnouf compares 𐎧𐎹𐎢𐎽 with मह्, and that 𐎧𐎢𐎽, *pure*, whence *Sughda*, is the participle of 𐎧𐎢.

[2] See Aperçu sur l'Origine des diverses Ecritures.—P. 83.

[3] Subsequent investigations have induced me to question the correctness of the powers which I have assigned to the letters 𐎨 and 𐎫, 𐎪 and 𐎬, and to propose as an amended reading the values of *g* and *gh* for the two former, and *r* and *r'* for the two latter; but I reserve for the present the adoption of any definite opinion on the subject. R.—See supplementary note.—Ed.

[4] For examples of this change, see Müller's Essay on the Pehlevi.—P. 294.

Ha*ch*á, "from," Zend [illegible], Pazend اج, Persian از.

*Ch*á, "and," Sans. च, Zend [illegible], Greek *και*, Latin *que*.

*Ch*iya, indef. particle, Sans. चित्, Zend [illegible], Latin *ce*, French *ci*.

*Ch*artaniya, "arraying," from a root answering to चृत.

Ru*ch*a, "a day," Pers. روز, Kurdish روژ; comp. Zend [illegible], from रुच, "to shine."

*Ch*ish, "every one," Zend [illegible], Latin *quis*.

*Ch*itá, probably the Sans. चित्त and Zend [illegible]. See Yaçna, p. 472.

*Ch*ak'hriyá. The palatal is here the reduplicate of the dental.

Ta*ch*aram, from तक्ष, "to build," perhaps the Persian *tijr*, "a wall[1]."

It is remarkable that none of the palatals are ever found in combination with the *u*, and as the field of comparison is sufficiently extensive, the circumstance may hardly be attributable to accident; though at the same time it appears impossible to draw from it any sound orthographical conclusion. The language of the inscriptions certainly did not acknowledge the aspirated surd palatal छ of the Devanagari alphabet. That power in the ancient Persian, as in the Zend, was usually replaced by the palatal sibilant, and it is possible, therefore, that the want of an aspiration may have given rise to the disaffection of the [illegible] for the vowel in question; but the same principle will not apply to the sonant palatals, for of that class we have in the Cuneiform alphabet both the unaspirated and the aspirated form, and yet the vowel *u* is equally disaffected in both cases. In modern Persian the surd palatal of the Sanskrit has been but imperfectly preserved. The immediate source of the very numerous class of pronouns and adverbs where the Persian چ replaces the Latin *qu* is hardly apparent[2]; but the cognate element must have been, in Sanskrit, the pronominal स, which probably passed through the aspirate and guttural

[1] The Persian تَجَر means a winter residence. The explanation in the Borhani Kati is: خانهٔ زمستانی که در آن تنور وبخاری باشد.—Ed.

[2] Compare *quum* with چون; *quantum* with چند; *quâre* with چرا; *qui* with چه. In the terms, *chish*, *chiya*, and *chá*, answering to *quis*, *quæ* or *ce*, and *que*, we find the palatal to have been employed even in the inscriptions.

stages before it took the form of a palatal. Where we are enabled to compare the orthography of the modern Persian with that of the inscriptions, we find the Cuneiform 𐎶 degraded to a *z*, as in روز *rúz* for *rucha*, and ازْ *az* for *hacha*.

𐎹 *j*. I have already observed that this character requires to be followed by the vowel *i* in order to render it articulable, but I am totally unable to assign the grounds for so curious an orthographical affinity. We do not find the letter in any considerable number of Cuneiform words; but as it occupies in those words an intermediate place between the sibilant and guttural; as it interchanges even with the latter power in verbal inflexions in near analogy with the Zend and Sanskrit; and as it is sometimes the direct substitute of the Devanagari ज, there can be but little doubt as to its value. The following examples furnish, I believe, our entire ground of analysis.

Bájim, Pers باج or بازْ, from Sans. root भज, "to serve."

Kabujiya, Gr. Καμβύσης; compare Sans. काम्बोज, Persian کابوس.

Adhur'ujiya, aorist of a verb compounded of दुर् and वच, "to speak."

'Uwajiyá, nom. plur. of ethnic title, from *'Uwajha* for *Habúj*, *Húz* or *Khúz*.

Jiwá, optative, from जीव, "to live" } Compare the Persian زیست

Jiwahyá, genitive case of जीवः, "life" } "life," where the palatal becomes a *z*.

Limited, however, as is the list, it embraces some terms which are particularly valuable; for we find in them the character in question alternating both with a guttural and with the aspirate of its own class. From elements which correspond with the Sanskrit दुर् *dur*, "bad," and वच *vach*, "to speak," we have thus the aorist *adhur'ujiya*, the participle, *dhur'uk'htam*[1], and the verbal noun *darujhana*; while the ethnic title of *'Uwajiyá* is referable to the proper name *'Uwajha*. The 𐬎 *j* in Zend replaces very frequently the Devanagari ग *g* as the 𐬐 *jh* is the substitute for घ *sh*. These commutations were certainly unknown in the language of the inscriptions; but the same principle of connexion may be traced between the aspirate and the palatal, which rendered the ज the reduplicate letter of the Devanagari ह, and

[1] From *dhur'uk'htam*, "false," is derived the Persian دروغ *durugh*, "a lie."

which caused the latter power to be represented in Zend both by [illegible] and [illegible]. Examples of this change will be given in discussing the following character. It is here sufficient to observe, in reference to the form of the letters adopted by the Zend and Pehlevi, that the latter alphabet (cursive), which followed the Arabic type more nearly than that of the Syriac or Hebrew, and which thus substituted the *Koph* for *Gimel*, employed for the expression of the sonant palatal the diacritical pointing of the modern *Neskhi* [illegible] = [illegible]; while the former distinguished between the surd and sonant palatals ([illegible] *j* and [illegible] *ch*) by a mere modification of the same character[1].

[illegible] *jh*. I have been led to attach this character to the palatals rather than to the sibilants, and to represent it by *jh* instead of *zh*, from observing its interchangeability with the [illegible] in the examples already cited. The articulation, which I consider to have been equivalent to the French *j* in "*jour*," or English *s* in "pleasure," was unknown to the languages of India; but it was represented in Zend by the character [illegible] (a compound, of which the elements are obscure), and it has been discriminated in modern Persian from the *z*, which, however, under all circumstances, may be optionally employed for it, by a peculiar diacritical pointing ([illegible] and [illegible]). The [illegible] occurs in the inscriptions in the following examples.

'Uwa*jh*a, "Susiana"; compare particularly Pehlevi Havúj. See p. 80.

A*jh*am'iyá, a very difficult compound word, which may, perhaps, be analogous in form and sense to the Sanskrit आजिक्रिया, "making war."

Awa*jh*am, awa*jh*ata, &c., awajham appears to be the 1st pers. sing. imperf.

[1] On further examination, I am inclined to reject this identification of the [illegible] and [illegible]. I find the *j* under its own form in the Sassanian Inscriptions, [illegible] which De Sacy and all subsequent palæographers have read as two distinct characters [illegible] *z* and [illegible] *n*; but which is, I think, a modification of the *Gimel* of that Semitic alphabet, published by Adler from a MS. in the Vatican, and named by Klaproth the Hierosolymitan. See Aperçu, &c., Pl. XI., where the character is figured as [illegible] = [illegible] *ch*, on the other hand, is manifestly the [illegible] or [illegible] of the Sassanian Inscriptions, which is again an exact copy of the Nestorian *Tsadé* [illegible]. I have, at the same time, failed to discover the origin of the [illegible] of the cursive Pehlevi. The Arianian [illegible] is probably for the [illegible] of the Hebrew, or Palmyrene [illegible].

of वह्, "to transport" or "carry off"; but awajhata is probably the 3d pers. imp. of वञ्च्, "to deceive."

Jhat'iyám'iyá. It is doubtful whether the termination of this word be ániya or ám'iya. I compare it with the 1st pers. imperat. or pot. of हा, "to leave," conjugated in the 3d class.

Awá*jh*aniyá, "he proclaimed"; perhaps compounded of आङ् and वह् in the causal form, and with the characteristic of the 9th class; compare Sans. आवाहन, "calling," and Pers. آواز, "voice."

Daru*jh*ana, "a liar," from दुर् and वच्, connected with adhur'ujiya and dhur'uk'htam.

And a very numerous class of words which are derived from the root *jhana*, "to strike or kill," as *jhatiya, jhatá, ajha, ajhanam, awájha, awájhanam, frájhanam, patiyajhatá*, &c. The etymology of many of these terms is exceedingly obscure, and it is unsafe, therefore, to discuss the orthography of their Sanskrit correspondents: *jhana*, "to strike or kill," however, may be examined with some confidence. M. Burnouf considers the form of 𐎶𐎭 *zan* to be the true representative of the Sanskrit हन् *han*, and he supposes the palatal in *jainti* for *hanti*, *jata* for *hata*, &c., to be a subsequent degradation[1]; but to me, I confess, it appears more probable that the Devanagari aspirate passed through the palatals in its transmutation to the rough sibilant *z*. The order would seem to be *h, jh, j*, and *z*, as in the Sanskrit *han*, Cuneiform *jhan*, Zend *jan*, and Persian زن *zan;* and in the name of Susiana, Cuneiform *'Uwajha*, Pehlevi *Havúj* or *Habúj*, Persian *Khûz*. That the Sanskrit, indeed, itself acknowledged the affinity of the aspirate and palatal is proved by the reduplicate connexion of the powers and by the employment of जहि *jahi* (Cun. *jhat'iya*) in the second pers. imperative sing. of this very verb, for the regular *hadhi* or *handhi*.

We must be careful, at the same time, that the aspirative palatal of the Cuneiform alphabet, 𐎫, be not confounded with the Devanagari झ *jh*. The former articulation was peculiar to the Persian branch of the Arian family; it was admitted into the language of the inscriptions in modification of the Sanskrit ह and ज, and perhaps even as a substitute for the च and द; while in the Zend it replaced the ज, य, ह, and in some instances also the य[1]. In the early Per-

[1] See Yaçna—On the Zend Alphabet, p. 71.

sian, before a Semitic influence had overspread the language, the sound was much affected, and a vast number of words, therefore, which are written and pronounced at present with the rough *z*, are found in the old authors with the ژ, an articulation which is still, indeed, generally preserved in such cases in the Kurdish, Pashtú, and other primitive dialects, and which was the connecting link between the palatal and sibilant. The Pehlevi admitted two different forms to represent the *z*, ز and ט; but founded on a Semitic type, it does not seem to have discriminated between the aspirated and unaspirated powers. The sound, indeed, of the Cuneiform 𐎵𐎹 appears to have been entirely unknown in Pehlevi, and it is very rarely used in the pronunciation of modern Persian.

I am not aware that the Cuneiform palatals can be compared under any circumstances with the Devanagari य, although the contrary substitution takes place perhaps in a few instances, and although in modern Persian the ج *j* replaces the Sanskrit *y*, as often as the ى usurps the functions of the ज: our field of comparison, at the same time, is too limited in the inscriptions to admit of any safe conclusions.

The dentals of the Cuneiform alphabet are more extensively developed than any other class of consonants. I represent them in the following order: 𐎠𐎹 *t*, 𐎠𐎹 *t'h*, 𐎠𐎹 *th*, 𐎠𐎹 *t'*, 𐎠𐎹 *tř*, 𐎠𐎹 *d*, and 𐎠𐎹 *dh;* and I proceed to examine each character in some detail.

𐎠𐎹 *t*. For the identification of this character we have ample and unequivocal grounds. In the following examples its power is certainly that of the surd dental of the Zend and Sanskrit, and where the Greek or Hebrew, or modern Persian, replaces it by the sonant *d*, the latter orthography is degraded.

Tigrá, Τίγρις; compare Pers. تير or تبغ from तिज, "to be sharp," Heb. הדקל, Arabic دجلة.

[1] In Zend, however, the ܣ may rather be classed as a sonant sibilant than as a palatal. It is, in fact, the aspirated form of ز, for the two characters uniformly replaced the surd sibilants *s* and *sh*, when the latter happen to fall upon a sonant power.

Nabuni*t*a, Αβυνήτος, the *l* replacing the *n*, according to Scythic usage.

Vish*t*áspa, Greek Υστάσπης, Zend 𐬬𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬱𐬀, Pers. بیستاسب or کشتاسپ.

As(a)gar*t*a, Greek Σαγάρτιοι; compare Sans. त्रिगर्त्त for the locative suffix.

Bák'h*t*arish, Greek Βακτρία, Persian باختر, Zend Apákhtara.

Hara'uwa*t*ish, Greek 'Αραχωτοί, Sans. सरस्वतिः, Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬵.

Hagma*t*ána, Greek Αγβατάνα, Heb. אחמתא, Persian همدان.

Frawar*t*ish, Greek Φραόρτης; compare Sanskrit प्रवृत्त or प्रवर्त्त.

Gumá*t*a, Latin *Cometes*.

Stá, Sans. ष्ठा or स्था, Zend 𐬯𐬀 or 𐬵𐬀; compare Pers. ستان.

*T*umá, Zend Taokhma, Pers. تخم from Sans. तव.

Pa*t*iya, Sans. प्रति, Zend paiti; Pali pati; Greek προτί.

Mar*t*iya, Sans. मर्त्यः, Persian مرد, "a man."

We find it also in the adverbial suffix *tá*, as in *yatá*, "when;" *thakatá*, "then;" in the nom. of Sanskrit themes in तृ, *tri*; as in *pitá*, "father;" *mátá*, "mother;" *brátá*, "brother;" in the third pers. sing. of the present and middle imperfect; in the second pers. plural of the imperative; in participles, and in a multitude of grammatical inflexions, where its power is not to be mistaken. We may, I believe, assert for the letter 𐎠 the same necessity of aspiration, when united with a liquid or semivowel, that we have already observed to apply to the guttural 𐎣 *k*; and as we shall subsequently find the letter 𐎡 *p*, in the class of labials, to undergo a similar modification in connexion with the *r*, we may perhaps detect in these instances the operation of an orthographical law which affects the surd, and leaves untouched the sonant powers. That the Cuneiform palatals were exempted from its influence may be attributed also to an imperfection of structure, of a kindred nature with that which in the Devanagari alphabet neglected to provide companion sonants for the sibilants, or companion surds for the semi-vowels. It must be admitted, at the same time, that our means of verification are far from sufficient. We have, certainly, the forms of *Parthwa, Gáthwá, Thrada, Mithra, K'hshathrita*, &c., to support the aspiration of the surd dental when brought in contact with a liquid or semi-vowel; but as I have noticed a possible exception to the rule in the Cuneiform groupes of *kri* and *pri*, so also in the names of Bactria and Cyaxares it is difficult to decide whether the *t* may

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immediately coalesce with the *r*, or whether it may be separated from it by the unexpressed short *a*. I have rendered the names in Roman characters, with a view to orthographical precision, as *Bák'htarish* and *'Uwak'hshatara*, and in the former case the reading is further supported by the Zend orthography of *apákhtara*, but in the latter the etymology is apparently that of the Sanskrit क्षत्त्र *kshattra*, a term in which the dental and liquid are united, and of which the compound articulation is represented in every other instance by a special character, that I shall presently have occasion to analyze.

The surd dental also appears to be provided with particular signs destined for combination with the *i* and *u*; but the existence of these signs does not in any way prevent the letter in its primary form from coalescing immediately with the vowels in question. In some cases it is used indifferently with the character 𐎠, appropriated to the *i*[1]; and the example of *tumá* is sufficient to show that the hard aspirated 𐎡 was not necessarily employed when the dental power was required to combine with the aspirative vowel *u*.

𐎡 *t'h*. This character is of very limited employment, and it has been usually assigned to the sonant, rather than to the surd class of dentals. As it can be shown, however, to represent the Sanskrit त, both in the pronoun of the second person and in the third person of the imperative, I prefer the latter identification, explaining the substitution for it of the Greek δ in the name of Cappadocia by the same process of degradation, which has replaced the surd by the sonant dental in the names of Ὑδάσπης, Σμέρδις, Ναϐοννίδος, &c., &c., and which has penetrated the entire orthographical structure of the modern Persian. The following examples are given of the Cuneiform 𐎡.

Katapa*t'h*uka, Καππαδοκία, of doubtful etymology.
*T'h*uwam, Sans. त्वं, Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬨, "thou," nom. case,

and the imperatives *pát'huwa* for पातु *pátu*, *barath'uwa* for भरतु *bharatu*, *danut'huwa*, *dadát'huwa*, &c.

I suppose the character to have possessed something of the power of the hard *t'h*, such as belongs to the थ of the Devanagari alphabet; but it is necessary to observe that the two letters will not admit of etymological comparison. The 𐎡 is strictly the representation

[1] Examples of this loose orthography will be given presently.

of the Devanagari ठ; and as it only occurs in combination with the *u*, we are justified, perhaps, in attributing its aspirative development to the peculiar influence of that vowel. There is, at the same time, some difficulty in defining the exact phonetic power of the 𐎸, owing to the anomalous employment of the true aspirated surd dental 𐎧. The latter character was certainly pronounced, on the one hand, like the Greek Θ, for it is not only represented by a sibilant in the cognate or derivative languages, but it actually answers in a few cases to the Devanagari श; while, as it replaces, on the other hand, the ठ and थ, it may also be conjectured to have exercised the power of the hard aspirated dental, performing, in fact, the double functions of the Zend 𐬭. But were this twofold power admitted, were the Cuneiform 𐎧 to be recognized as the equivalent at once of the Devanagari थ and the Greek *θ*, we should be altogether at a loss to account for the employment, or to discriminate the value of 𐎸. The two powers were undoubtedly connected, for in the pronoun of the second person singular, where the Sanskrit alone employs the त, we find the orthography of 𐎸 𐎠𐎼 𐎹𐎢 𐎸𐎼, *t'huwam*, in the nominative, and 𐎧 𐎠𐎼 𐎹𐎢 𐎺𐎼 𐎸𐎼, *thuwám*, in the accusative; but still there is no reason to suppose that they were used indifferently. The characters, indeed, are obviously, I think, distinguished in power as in form; and although, therefore, the 𐎧 replaces very frequently the hard dental of the Sanskrit, I suppose it, nevertheless, to have possessed in the inscriptions exclusively the value of *θ*, and I assign to the 𐎸 the cognate, but still independent, power of थ.

𐎧 *th.* Before I examine in any detail the orthographical relations of this power, I produce the following examples to support its identity with the sibilant of the Greek alphabet.

A*th*ûra, Greek Ἀσσυρία or Ἀτουρία, Heb. אשור, Chaldee אתור, Arab. أثور.
Par*th*wa, Greek Παρθυαία, Παρθυηνή, Παρθυαῖοι, and Πάρθοι.
Mi*th*ra, Greek Μίτρα or Μίθρα, Sans. मित्र, Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬹, Persian مهر.
*Th*ataghush, Greek Σατταγύδαι.

In these names it certainly occupies a middle place between the

sibilant and dental, illustrating the passage of one power into the other, which was remarked by Dion Cassius[1], in regard to the Syriac pronunciation of the Hebrew אשור. Etymologically, also, I will now show that it answers occasionally to the Sanskrit श, as well as to the dental त or थ; and that this anomalous employment can only be explained by its intermediate position between the two adverse articulations. In the following terms it is the substitute for the sibilant.

Vitha. It is doubtful, I think, if we may compare this word with वंश or वीज; probably, however, with the latter; for [illegible] in Zend will alone conveniently represent it. In my preceding remarks I have supposed it to be equivalent to वंश, "a family."

Thaha, "to speak," which is identical with the Sanskrit शस and Zend [illegible] *ças;* and its numerous derivatives, such as *thátiya, athaha, athaham, athahya, thahyámahya,* &c. Perhaps also in those obscure terms, *athagina* and *athaganám,* the [illegible] replaces a Devanagari श[2]. The sibilant power, moreover, is sufficiently marked in the superlative *Mathishta,* which connects the Sanskrit महिष्ठ *Mahishta* with the Zend [illegible] *Mazista;* which, as a proper name, was written by the Greeks Μασίστιος; and which probably gave rise to the title of *Májistán,* the Μεγιστάνες of the Septuagint and of profane history[3]. Unquestionably, however, the proper and legitimate functions of the [illegible] are to express the surd dental of the Sanskrit, as may be seen by the following examples.

Ya*th*á, Sans. यथा, Zend [illegible], "as."

Awa*th*á', Zend [illegible] or [illegible], "thus."

Am'u*th*a, Sans. अमुतस्, "from thence."

*Th*akatá, Sans. तक्, with adverbial suffix; Latin *tunc.*

[1] Lib. LXVIII., c. 26.

[2] I consider these words as difficult of explanation as any that occur in the inscriptions, and will defer, therefore, for the present, attempting to give their etymology.

[3] The corruption of *Mathishtam* into ماجستان is a further argument in favour of the connexion of *Vitha* with the Zend *Vaéjó* and Pehlevi *Vij;* for the Persian title of *Majistán,* Greek Μεγιστάνες, see *Mas'udi* in Extraits des Man., tom. VIII., p. 163, and the various authorities, sacred and profane, collected by Brisson, De Reg. Pers. p. 173.

*Th*uwám, Sans. त्वां, Zend [illegible], 2d pers. pron. acc. sing.

Gi*th*ám, Sans. गीतिं, "chaunt," "singing," acc. sing. fem.

K'hsháya*th*iya, from क्षि, "to rule"; compare Zend [illegible].

*Th*astaniya, "standing," Sans. तिष्ठन्, Zend [illegible].

Sik*th*a'uwatish, a name of which the first element is शिक्त.

In many of these terms the 𐎹𐎼𐎹 has been developed from a primitive aspiration, or it has subsided to that power in later languages; the connexion of *Mahishta* and *Mathishta* has been already noticed. The adverbial suffix also, which has been strengthened into *ta, tha, da,* and *dha,* was originally *ha*[1]; *K'hsháyathiya* became *Shahya,* in Pehlevi[2], and *Shah* شاه in Persian, and *thastaniya* appears to occupy a middle place between the Sanskrit तिष्ठन् *tishtan,* and the Zend *histan*[3].

The etymology of other words, such as *Gáthwá, Gáthum,* (probably from गाढ, "firm," "strong"), the names of the months *Thuráwáhara, Tháigarchish,* &c., is too obscure to afford any useful evidence; and I will only remark, therefore, that if the above identifications be admitted, if the Cuneiform 𐎹𐎼𐎹 can etymologically replace both the sibilant and the dental of the Sanskrit alphabet, so remarkable a deviation from the rules of Arian orthography can be explained only by the attribution to it of the power of the soft *th,* unknown to the Indian organs of speech, but which was preserved in the Greek and in many of the dialects of the Germanic family. In the Zend and Pehlevi there was some confusion both in the employment and configuration of the surd dentals. Burnouf considers the [illegible] of the Zend alphabet to have possessed the double power of the थ and θ, but the form of this letter was apparently derived from the Semitic *Teth* ([illegible] from ט), which through the Syrian ܛ gave rise to the Arabic ط; while the unaspirated surd dental ܬ was modified from the *Thau,*

[1] See Burnouf's Yaçna, p. 12.

[2] The word which De Sacy reads as *Vohia,* in the inscription of *Ták-i-Bostán,* is, I believe, in reality *Shahya,* "a king." This identification, however, cannot be considered to be proved.

[3] Burnouf (Yaçna, Not. et Eclair, p. 54) gives many cognate forms, such as *hista, histĕnti, histois,* &c.; but I am not sure if the present participle *histan* is found in the Zend Avesta. The Cuneiform *thastaniya,* also, is far from being determinately identified.

which, with a particular pointing, was employed in Arabic to express the soft *th* ث (Phœnician 𐤈, Parthian 𐤈, Sassanian 𐤈 or 𐤈[1], Zend and Pehlevi 𐤈). The Pehlevi alphabet did not acknowledge the power of the Cuneiform 𐤈𐤈. It expressed the hard surd dental exclusively by 𐤈, and where the Zend, by its euphonic laws aspirated the power in combination with a liquid, the Pehlevi carried the principle still further, and replaced the dental by a simple aspiration; as in *puhr* for *puthra*, 𐤈𐤈𐤈 *chihr* for *chithra*, 𐤈𐤈𐤈, *spihr* for *spithra*, &c.[2] The modern Persian, also, was subject to the same imperfect organization, and substituted a sibilant or an aspirate for the *th* in combination with a liquid, as it approached an Arian or Pehlevi type; the sibilant power in پسر *Pisar*, "a son," سه *sih*, "three," &c., answering to the Sanskrit dental softened in Zend to a *th;* while in مهر *mihr*, "the sun," شهر *shahar*, "a city," چهر *chihr*, "the face," سپهر *spihr*, "the spheres," &c., the dental has altogether lapsed, and merely left in its place the euphonic aspiration which was developed by its union with a liquid.

𐤈𐤈 *t'*. I have now to examine the property and application of a fourth modification of the surd dental, for which we may hardly find a suitable equivalent in any other system of palæography. The peculiar characteristic of the Cuneiform 𐤈𐤈 is its dependence on the vowel *i* for articulation, a restriction of employment which equally applies to the 𐤈𐤈 *j*, 𐤈𐤈 *m*, 𐤈𐤈 *v*. In the following examples, I shall bring forward ample proofs of its dental value; but for its identification as a surd, rather than a sonant, of that class, I must rely, in a great measure, upon being able to show that, in certain words, it is used indifferently with the common 𐤈𐤈. If we were guided by Greek orthography, or by Sanskrit and Persian analogies, we should certainly represent the letter by a *d*, and we

[1] I have the impressions of a series of Sassanian gems, containing the sacred legend "*Apastán ul Yazdán*," which prove beyond question the gradual change of 𐤈 into 𐤈.

[2] See Essay on the Pehlevi, p. 345. I do not remember to have seen *spithra* in Zend, but that it must have existed I infer from the Greek Σπιθραδάτης.

might conjecture it even to possess something of a cerebral articulation, but, on the other hand, indications of this nature are not, I think, to be weighed against the direct evidence afforded by the inscriptions of its interchangeability with the 𐎡; particularly when we remember that the adverbial suffixes in Sanskrit, whether written with a surd or sonant dental, were equally developments of a primitive aspiration, and when we know the substitution of the *d* for *t* to have been in modern Persian an undoubted orthographical degradation. I now give a list of all the Cuneiform words in which the character occurs.

Bar*t'*iya, Greek Σμέρδις, or Μάρδος, or Μαρδίος; compare Sans. भरतः or भरथः.

Artawar*t'*iya, a name, in which wart'iya is probably connected with वृत, "selected."

Atriyá*t'*iya or Atriyátiya, the name of a month; compare Sans. अत्रिजातः.

Na*t'*itabira, a Babylonian name. Perhaps Nat'i is the same prefix which occurs in Νηριγλισσοορ, Νεργαλ, &c.

*T'*ipim, *t'*ipiyá, acc. and gen. case of a noun identical with लिपिः, "a tablet or writing."

Ya*t'*iya, "if," Sans. यदि, Zend 𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌 *yézi*.

Pá*t'*iya, "protect," probably 2d pers. imp. answering to पाहि for पाधि.

Jha*t'*iya, "strike,' 2d pers. imperat.; compare जहि for हन्धि from हन्.

Atifrashtá*t'*iya. I conjecture the termination to be the Vedic तातिः in the ablative case.

*T'*itam, á*t*ina, á*t'*inam. The root is probably धि, "to possess," conjugated in the 9th class.

*T'*idá, "a fort," perhaps from the same root. The Persian correspondent is دز.

Ha*t'*ish, acc. neut. sing., signification doubtful, but apparently allied to सन्धिः.

Tiyá*t'*ish
Niya*t'*ish
Visnáha*t'*ish
Parikaráha*t'*ish

The termination in a*t'*ish in all these words is the acc. neuter of the subjoined pronoun of the 3d person. I am not aware, however, of any correspondent for this term in Sanskrit, Zend, or Persian.

*T'*i*t'*iya (?), a doubtful word, but apparently 2d pers. sing. imperat of धि.

Ya*t'*ipa*t'*iya (?). The orthography is doubtful, and I cannot venture at present to give the etymology.

Awahyaráťiya, "eâ ratione;" ráťiya is from the root राध, "to accomplish," hence Latin ratio, German rath, Pehlevi ﻫﺎﺗ, Persian ﺭﺍﺗ and ﺭﺍﻱ. See Essay on the Pehlevi, p. 313.

Priťiya or Pritiya, 2d pers. sing. imper. of प्री.

In this list it will be seen that there are two words, *Atriyáťiya* and *priťiya*, in which the dental is expressed indifferently by 𐎡 and 𐎢; and the confusion may be admitted as evidence that the phonetic powers of the characters were, to a certain degree, identical, or, at any rate, that they assimilated so nearly as to lead the artist into error with regard to the discrimination of their employment. One of these terms also, *priťiya*, is unquestionably the second person imperative sing., for it is modified to *pritá* in the plural, as under precisely the same circumstances *jhaťiya* is modified to *jhatá;* and we perceive, therefore, in the inflexion *ťiya*, which occurs in these words as well as in *páťiya*, the characteristic of the imperative, which in the Vedas is represented by धि *dhi*, but which in the classical Sanskrit has usually been corrupted to हि *hi*[1]: now this inflexion, I believe, in several other cases, such as *nirasátiya, khshanasátiya, bawátiya*[2], &c., is written with the 𐎢; which appears to furnish further evidence of the indifferent orthography of *priťiya* and *pritiya*.

It is not necessary, I imagine, in every instance to analyze the employment of the 𐎡. Wherever the Cuneiform orthography can be compared with that of the Sanskrit or Persian, the character is found to represent a dental, with the exception of the word *Ťipish* for *Lipis*, where the Devanagari substitutes a liquid; but the *l*, a power unknown to the Cuneiform alphabet, was itself connected very closely with the dentals, through the class of cerebrals. In the rock inscriptions of *Asoca* the Pali repeatedly confounds the dentals and cerebrals[3].

[1] See Rig Vedæ Spec. Adnot., P. VIII., and Bopp's Grammar, pp. 151 and 331.

[2] I am not sure, however, that in these terms *atiya* may not be the third person of an optative, the Vedic *let*. See Professor Rosen's note to the Vedic *vakshaṭ* Rig Vedæ Spec. Adnot., P. IV.

[3] See Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VI., p. 471, and Vol. VII. p. 277. See also for the rule in Pali, Essai sur le Pali, p. 87; and for the same in Prakrit Instit. Praç., s. 38, p. 204.

The same confusion prevails in the numismatic Bactrian[1], and includes the liquids; while the Rig Veda also uniformly employs the *l* for the *d*, if it be preceded or followed by a vowel[2]. In those Indian dialects, moreover, which employ the Persian character for their transcription, the cerebrals are almost invariably represented by the liquids, and we have only to compare ἀδάμας, and الماس *almás*, بدخش *Badakhsh*, and بلخش *Balakhsh*[3], &c., to be assured that the permutability of the powers is of great antiquity.

The only question that can possibly arise from the assimilation of *t'ipim* with the Sanskrit *lipim* is, whether the Cuneiform 𒌋𒁹𒁹 may not be supposed to have possessed a cerebral rather than a dental articulation, and whether that articulation may not have been preserved, to a certain degree, in the Zend alphabet, where the 𐬙 is distinguished from the common 𐬙, both as a final and in combination with the *k*, *ch*, and *b*[4]. The following reasons, however, appear to me to be conclusive against this hypothesis. Firstly, If the language of the inscriptions had acknowledged a class of cerebrals, it could hardly have failed to possess surd and sonant forms and their aspirates; whereas 𒌋𒁹𒁹 is the only single character which will in any way answer to that peculiar Indian articulation. Secondly, With the exception of *t'ipish*, the 𒌋𒁹𒁹 uniformly answers to a dental in Greek and Sanskrit. Thirdly, The names of *Bart'iya*, *Nat'itabira*, and *Atriyát'iya*, are written in the Median with the same character which, under other circumstances, answers to the Persian 𒌋𒁹𒁹𒁹; and, Fourthly, Although the variant dental 𐬙 of the Zend alphabet may possibly be a relic of the Cuneiform 𒌋𒁹𒁹, there is nothing whatever to show that it possessed a cerebral value, or even to indicate that the latter phonetic power was known to the Persian branch of the Arian family. Notwithstanding, therefore, the undue extension of the class of dentals, and the difficulty of finding representatives in that class, as they exist in other languages, for the characters 𒌋𒁹𒁹 and 𒌋𒁹𒁹, I must

[1] See Cunningham on the Names of Apollodotus, Diomedes, and Undopherres, Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. IX., p. 888.

[2] "Per totam enim Rigvedam mutam lingualem *d*, si vocalis eam præcedit, et vel in eodem, vel in proximo verbo vocalis eam sequitur, semper in *l* mutatam esse videmus." Rig Ved. Spec. Adnot., p. 3.

[3] *Yákút*, in the *Murásid-ul-Itilá'a*, gives the double orthography; hence our Balass ruby for the ruby of Badakhshan. See Marsden's Marco Polo, p. 132.

[4] See Yaçna—sur l'Aph. Zend, p. 76.

still decline to admit a special and distinct classification of Cuneiform cerebrals; and I must suppose the 𐎠 to express a peculiar articulation, which may be represented in the most convenient manner by *t'*, and which only differed from the common *t* by requiring to be pronounced in union with the *i;* whereas the regular dental combined without repugnance indifferently with all the vowels.

𐎡 *tř*. There is no difficulty whatever in showing the Devanagari equivalent of this sign, but the exact expression of the Cuneiform phonetic power requires a very nice analysis. We shall find the 𐎡 uniformly replaced in Sanskrit by the त्र *tr*, an articulation which became in Zend, by the application of the law of euphonic aspiration, 𐎢 *thr*, and which, as I have already observed, in modern Persian either degraded the dental to a sibilant, or aspirate, or expunged it altogether.

In the language of the inscriptions we have observed the operation of the same law of aspiration in the orthography of *Mithra, K'hshathrita*, &c.; while the apparent irregularity of the forms of *Bák'htarish* and *'Uwak'hshatara* has been overcome by the introduction of a short *a* between the dental and the liquid. How, then, are we to account for a single character also representing the Sanskrit त्र? The employment of compound signs was unknown to the early alphabetical system of the inscriptions, and if the *tr* had required to be expressed in its full integrity, it would, we have every reason to believe, have been represented by 𐎠𐎢𐎡. Can we, then, suppose that, as in the Pali, the liquid was altogether dropped[1]? There are, certainly, examples of this in the inscriptions in the substitution of *p* for *pr*, *w* for *vr;* but in the case of the dental compound we find the liquid re-appear in every language that has prevailed in Persia from the time of the Achæmenians downwards; we find the *r* etymologically required in the oblique cases of themes in तृ, where the Cuneiform employs the 𐎡; and we further observe in the orthography of the Greek Σατράπης, which was unquestionably taken from the vernacular dialect of Persia in a very early age, that the dental and liquid are preserved in the full development of the Sanskrit. There seems, therefore, no resource but to believe the power of the liquid to have existed in the articulation which replaced the Sanskrit त्र; but to have

[1] See Essai sur le Pali, p. 91.

been, at the same time, so imperfectly pronounced, that it was inoperative in regard to aspiration, and that it was even independent of expression by a distinct character. In this view I have represented the 𐎹 in the Roman characters by *tř*, but I would suppose the dental to be pronounced with a peculiar lisp, in which the power of the liquid was hardly discernable. The following list comprises all the words in which the character occurs.

Artak'hsha*tř*á, Artaxerxes; compare the Sassanian 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬯, Artahshatri.

K'hsha*tř*am. Rosen translates kshatram by "robur."—Rig Vedæ Spec. Adnot. p. XI. Compare Zend 𐬯𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬙𐬀, "a king." I believe छत्रं and क्षत्रं to be cognate terms. Kshatra in Pali was written ch'heta. See Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng., Vol. VII., p. 564.

K'hsha*tř*apá, Greek Σατράπης. Khshatrapa of Surashtra. See Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng., Vol. VII., p. 345.

A*tř*ina, a name perhaps allied to the Sanscrit अत्रिन्.

A*tř*iyátiya, the name of a month; compare Sanskrit अत्रिजातः.

*Tř*itiyam, "the third," Sans. त्रितयं, Zend 𐬚𐬭𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬨𐬀, Greek τρίτον.

Pu*tř*a, "a son," Sans. पुत्रः, Zend 𐬞𐬎𐬚𐬭𐬀, Pehlevi puhr, Pers. پسر or پور.

Ham i*tř*iya, "confederate or rebellious," probably from सं and मित्र or मिथ.

Pi*tř*a, "father," probably instrumental case for पित्रा; compare Zend acc. 𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬆𐬨𐬀.

Chi*tř*atak'hma, a name signifying perhaps "the strong leopard," chitra= चित्रक, and takhma=𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬨𐬀[1].

Niya*tř*árayam, a very difficult compound verb, of which the first element may be allied to नियत्र, "checking."

In these examples *ham'itřiya* is the only word in which the etymological necessity for a liquid in combination with a dental is not a matter of demonstration, (and even then it is doubtful if the derivation be not from *mitřa*, "a friend," rather than from *mitha*, "to unite:") but we may at the same time suppose that by an imperfection in the Persian organs of speech, an imperfection arising from foreign intercourse, it was but faintly articulated. Whether so remarkable a defect

[1] The epithet *tak'hma*, "strong," occurs in many Greek names. Compare Ὑσταίχμης, Τριταίχμης, Τριτανταίχμης, &c.

is to be traced to a Scythic or Semitic influence must be examined hereafter. I will only observe at present, that the langnage of the so-called Median inscriptions rejected the compound articulation of *tř* altogether and substituted for it a simple sibilant; the names of *Atřina, Atřiyátiya, Chitřatak'hma* and *Artak'hshatřa*, being read *Assina, Assiyátiya, Chissadák'hma* and *Artak'hsassa;* while on the same principle the more expanded pronunciation of the Persian *Bák'htarish* was even corrupted to *Baghsis.* We perceive also, perhaps, something of a kindred defect, or at any rate of a kindred repugnance to the compound articulation, in the alterations which *Artak'hshatřa* and *Khshatřapa* underwent in Hebrew, the one being written ארתהששתא *Artáhshasta,* and the other אהשדרפן *ahashdarpan.*

𐎠 *d.* The following names establish the power of the sonant dental of the Cuneiform alphabet with sufficient preciseness.

*D*ár(a)yawush, Greek Δαριαύης, or Δαρειαῖος, or Δαρεῖος, Heb. דריוש.

Má*d*a, Hebrew מדי, Greek Μηδια, &c.

Ga*d*ára, Sans. Gándhára, Greek Γανδάριοι.

Sugh*d*a, Greek Σόγδια or Σουγδία, سغد of the Arabs.

Nabukhu*d*rachara, Ναβουκοδρόσσορ or Ναβουχοδονόσορ.

A'uramaz*d*á, Zend [illegible], Greek Ὠρομάσδης, Pers. اورمزد.

Vi*d*arna, Greek Ὑδάρνης.

In other examples, however, such as *Fráda,* answering to the Greek Φραάτης, *Vidafrana* the original of Ἰνταφέρνης, *Vidafra* for Ἰντάφρης, and *Sparda,* probably for Σπάρτα, we perceive the same confusion between the *d* and *t* as has been noticed in the examination of the different forms and correspondents of the surd dental of the inscriptions. Etymologically the Cuneiform 𐎠, like the Zend و, answers to the Devanagari ध as often as to the unaspirated द; but it likewise occupies a conspicuous space in the language of the inscriptions as the equivalent of the Sanskrit ह, and sometimes it replaces the त. The following words will exhibit its relations under these several conditions of employment.

Corresponding with the Devanagari द.

*D*ahyáush, Zend 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬨𐬌𐬎𐬱 ; comp. Sans. दस्युः and देश, Pehlevi 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬱 and Pers. ده , دشت , &c., &c.

A*d*a, a*d*adá, *d*átá, *d*a*d*áthuwa, &c. I refer all these terms to the root दा, "to give," rather than to धा, "to place," and I believe the Zend 𐬛𐬀 to have had the same signification; compare Latin "do," Pers. دادن and the multitude of Persian names which end in δάτης.

*D*arugha, Pers. دروج from the Sans. द्रुह.

Patipa*d*am, "recovered," apparently from प्रति, "back,' and पद, "to go."

In substitution for the ध.

Derivatives from the root *Darsh*, answering to the Sanskrit धृष, and Zend 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬱 *darsh*, such as D*ádarshish*, a*darshiya*, a*darshanush*, &c.

Derivatives from *Dár* (Sans. धृ, Zend 𐬛𐬀𐬭 *dere*, Pers. دار *dár*), such as a*dár(a)ya*, a*dáriya*, d*ár(a)yathiya*, D*ár(a)yawush*, &c.

Ba*d*aka, "a servant" or "subject," from Sans. बन्ध or बध, Persian بنده.

Upa*d*arma, a name compounded of उप and धर्म.

*D*anuthuwa, 3d pers. imper. of a verb connected with the Vedic धन.

Replacing the Devanagari ह.

A*d*am, "I," Sans. अहं, Zend 𐬀𐬛𐬌𐬨𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀.

Ha*d*á, "with," Sans. सह.

*D*araya, "the sea," Zend 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬌𐬌𐬀 from Sans. हरि, Persian دریا.

I*d*á, "here," Sanskrit इह, Zend 𐬌𐬛𐬀.

Awa*d*á, "there," Zend 𐬀𐬬𐬀𐬛𐬀, dá being for the adverbial suffix ह.

*D*astaya, "reduced," apparently allied to हस्त; compare Zend 𐬛𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬌𐬌𐬀, Persian دست.

Gu*d*a, "to conceal," Sans. गुह.

and perhaps, also, in the doubtful words *nishida*, *azdá*, &c

Modified from the Surd dental of the Sanskrit.

*Ud*apatatá, 3d pers. mid. imperf. of verb formed of उत् and पद्.

War*d*anam "a city." I know not whether the derivation be from वृत्, "to be," or वृ, "to surround;" probably the latter, as *gard* and *ward* were used indifferently in Persian, and *gard* was always connected with the idea of surrounding[1].

Aya*d*ana } I hesitate at present to give the etymology of these words[2], but
Ar*d*astána } believe the *d* will be found to replace a Sanscrit त and थ.

Thra*d*a, probably from अत्.

If *adána* also signify "knew," as I am inclined to believe, (being the original of the Persian دان *dán,*) the dental in this case must be developed from the palatal, for the cognate root in Sanskrit will be ज्ञा *jna;* while it is observed to perform a function of a somewhat similar nature in replacing the Semitic *Tsadé* in the name of Egypt, *M'udráya* being apparently a corrupt orthography for the Hebrew מִצְרַיִם *Mitsraim,* and Greek Μεσραιμ[3].

I have already remarked that the law of aspiration which affects the surds in combination with other consonants, particularly liquids, appears to be inapplicable to the sonants, and it need not therefore surprise us to find the unaspirated *d* coalescing with the *r* in *Nabukhudrachara, M'udráya,* and perhaps *Dádrashish,* as we have seen the unaspirated *g* to unite with the same liquid in *agrabáya, Tigrá,* &c., and as we shall presently observe a similar labial compound in the orthography of *brátá* and *Gubr'uwa.* The sonant *d,* at the same time, possessed an aspirated form which required to be employed in com-

[1] Compare the names of *Suhriward* and *Abiward* with *Lásgard, Dastagard,* &c. I suspect, indeed, an etymological connexion between the Cuneiform *Asgarta* and *wardanam,* and it is very remarkable that both of these Arian terms, referring, as I suppose, to a walled city, should have been adopted by the Semitic nations. Compare Phœnician *karth* (Greek κερτα or καρτα,) and Arab. بلد. Bard is given in the lexicons as "a city," in the dialect of Kerman.

[2] The identifications which I have in view for these terms are आयतन "an altar," and अर्थस्थान "a treasury," (perhaps the Greek name of 'Αρτεμισία;) but I consider both of them to be very doubtful.

[3] Stephen de Urbibus says, that the Phœnician name for Egypt was Μίαρα. May not this be a corrupt reading for Μίδρα? See Steph. in voce Ægyptus.

bination with the vowel *u*, in exact accordance with the aspirated dental of the surd class 𐎼𐎼𐎼; and we may, perhaps, even trace the employment of these two forms 𐎭 and 𐎮, in the orthography of the same particle, according to the influence of the vowels, upon a similar principle, although not in such a satisfactory manner, as we have perceived the gutturals to interchange in *Marghush*, *Márgawa*, *daruga*, *daruga*. The permutation to which I allude appears to take place in the orthography of the compound term answering to the Persian دژوش, and formed of a root वच् *vach*, "to speak," and the prefixed particle of "evil," दुर् *dúr*. In the aorist and participle of this verb we have the regular orthography of *adhur'ujiya* and *dhur'uk'htam*; whilst the verbal noun, (which being represented in the Median by a modification of the same word that answers to *adhur'ujiya* and *dhur'uk'htam* in other passages, we may refer with some confidence to the same etymology,) appears under the form of *darujhana*[1]. If the etymological identity of these terms be established, we must regard the substitution of the *a* for the *u* in the particle दुर्, which led to the change of the dental, as a corruption; and relying on the indication thus afforded, we may further, perhaps, detect and authenticate a similar instance of degradation and change in the adverse orthography of *dhushiyára* and *dash(a)bárim*[2], where the same particle, under another form, would seem to be employed as a prefix of depreciation.

It remains to be considered if the Cuneiform dental, where it replaces the Sanskrit aspiration, may be an earlier or later form than the sibilant of the Zend; if, in fact, the series be *h*, *d*, *z*, or *h*, *z*, *d*. That the sibilants have a very close connection with the aspirate is unquestionable, and that the 𐎶 in many cases is derived from the Devanagari स, without any trace of an intermediate form, may also with safety be conceded; but on the other hand, we find the aspirate and dentals to be positively interchangeable within the insulated range of Sanskrit orthography, as in the substitution of हि for धि, in the characteristic of the second person sing. of the imperative and

[1] See Col. 4, Lines 62 and 67.

[2] *Dash(a)bárim* occurs in Col. 1. Lines 86, 87, and appears to be the acc. case of a noun, signifying "difficulty," being in fact identical with the Persian دشواری. In Persian, however, the particle uniformly retains the *u* in composition, and we thus read, *dushman* "an enemy," *dushnám* "abuse," *dushwár* "difficult," *durúgh* "a lie," &c., &c. *Dush* of course is the Greek δυς.

in the adverbial suffix which appears under the double form of *ha* and *dha;* and notwithstanding, therefore, that the dental is preserved in modern Persian, I can perceive nothing illogical in comparing the orthographies of *adam, daraya,* and *dasta* immediately with the Sanskrit *aham, hari,* and *hasta,* (the connecting link being the द *dh* or *th*), and in supposing the *azĕm, zaraya,* and *zasta* of the Zend, to be derived from the Persian, rather than from the Devanagari forms[1]. It is of course, at the same time sufficiently possible, that the Zend and Cuneiform orthographies may have been adopted independently of each other. The only inference that I am prepared decisively to reject, is the necessity of the Cuneiform 𐎶 having passed through the sibilant stage (ز = z) in its transition from the Sanscrit ह, an inference which, if admitted, would prove the language of the inscriptions to be posterior to that of the Zend Avesta.

𐎷 *dh.* The peculiar characteristic of this sign is its affinity for the vowel *u;* an affinity, probably resulting from the inherent aspiration of that sound. As, however, we have observed, the orthography of *tumá* to invade the universality of the law of aspiration in its applicability to the union of the surd dental with the vowel in question, so also do we find a similar anomaly in the orthography of *dushtá,* where the sonant of the same class combines with the aspirative vowel without undergoing modification. Possibly in both of these cases the aspirative influence follows instead of preceding the vowel, for *tumá* is strengthened into *tukhm* تخم, as *dushtá* is the representative of دست *dúst*[2]. At any rate they are exceptions rather than examples, and in regard to *dushta,* it must be further remembered, that the 𐎶 being, as a sonant, exempted from the euphonic law of aspiration in combination with a liquid, may, perhaps, without any great orthographical violence unite with the *u.* In all other instances where

[1] The dental, of course, whether it be *dh, th,* or *d,* must become a palatal *dj* or *j* before it can subside into the rough sibilant. We have, I think, a good example of the order of these changes in the successive forms of *mahishta, mathishta, májistán,* and *mazista.*

[2] *Dushtá,* in the inscriptions, would appear to be the nominative of a noun in तृ, but I know of no Sanskrit root that will answer to *dush.* Perhaps, however, there may have been some such root, from which we have دوش "back."

the Devanagari sonant dental falls upon the vowel *u*, whether the etymology require the employment of the द or ध in Sanskrit, the unvarying correspondent in the inscriptions is the character 𐎧. The following list of examples is sufficiently copious:

Hi*dh*ush, Sans. सिन्धुः, "India."

Mar*dh*uniya, Greek Μαρδόνιος. The etymology is doubtful.

*Dh*uvitiyam, "second," Sans. द्वितीयं, Zend. 𐬛𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬨, b standing for dw.

*Dh*uwartam; *dh*uwariya; *dh*uwarthiya; from the root द्वृ dwri, "to cover" or "build." *D*huwarthiya is "a door," Sans. द्वार, Greek θύρη, Pers. در or دروازه. Dhuwartam is the neuter participle "built" or "executed," and Dhuwariya may be "a palace."

A*dh*ur'ujiya; *dh*uruk'htam. Dhur is the Sanskrit दुर्, Greek δυσ, Zend 𐬛𐬎𐬭𐬀 or 𐬛𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵.

*Dh*uriya, probably the Sanskrit घुर्य्यः, "carrying a burthen," and by extension, "a ruler."

*Dh*ur'usa, "entire, right," Pers. دُرُست durust. I know not the etymology.

*Dh*uwishtam, "farthest," Sans. दविष्टं. Superlative of दुर्.

*Dh*ushiyára, a compound probably of दुर or dush, "evil," and जारः, Pers. یار, "a friend."

Ga*dh*utawa, the name of a district in Arachosia, of which the representative is unknown.

The only other word in which the character occurs is the name of Γεδρωσία or Καδουσίοι, represented in the inscriptions under the form of *Ghu*dh*r'ush*[1]; and here we perceive that the vowel does not immediately coalesce with the dental, but that although the liquid be interposed, its influence remains the same. The examples, at the same time, of Dh*uvitiyam*, dh*uwartam*, and dh*uwishtam*, show that the Cuneiform dental disaffects combination, for in all those cases, the

[1] *Ghudhr'ush* is stated to be a Median city, the capital, I suspect, of the Cadusii, who were named قادوس by the Arabs, and are known, at present, in their ancient seats as *Garús*. I hope ultimately to show sufficient grounds for supposing Gedrosia to have been colonized by Scythic Cadusii, and to have received its name from them.

vowel *u*, which leads to the aspiration of the initial, is introduced for euphony, and the same remark also will apply to the orthographies of *t'huwam* and *thuwám*, employed for त्वं and त्वां.

I have already observed the probable connexion of *darujhana* and *adhhur'ujiya*, dh*ushiyára* and *dash(a)bárim;* but we are unfortunately without any positive example in which we can show the permutation of the 𐎠 and 𐎡. If we had at the same time the plural form of *Hidhush*, it would, I have little doubt, present the orthography of *Hidawa*.

It remains that I should notice the universal lapse of the Devanagari nasals before the dentals in the language of the inscriptions, a peculiarity of structure, arising from a repugnance to compound articulation, which it partakes in common with the Bactrian Pali, and which it applies to the gutturals and labials, (and probably also to the sibilants,) as well as to the dentals. Of these various abbreviations I give the following examples:—Gutturals, *Zaraka* for Ζαράγγαι, or *Zaranj; daragam* for *darang* درنك, (Zend, 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬆𐬑 *daregho*[1]); *Hagamatá* for सङ्गताः *Sangatah*[2], &c. Dentals, *atara* for अन्तर् *antar; t'itam* for *t'intam; akhutá* for *akhuntá; badaka* for *bandhaka; Hidhush* for सिन्धुः *Sindhus; Gadára* for गान्धार *Gándhára*. Labials, *Kabujiya* for Καμβύσης; *Akhumá* for *akhunma*. Sibilants, *vitha* for वंशः *vansah; hashitiyá* from संसिट *Sansita*(?)[3] &c.

The configuration of the sonant dentals in the alphabets which prevailed in Persia between the extinction of the Cuneiform and the introduction of the Arabic writing is sufficiently obscure. It is probably with the Palmyrene 𐎴 (*d*) that we are to compare the Parthian 𐎵 (*dh*), the Arianian 𐎶 (*dh*), and the Sassanian 𐎷 (*d*), but the Arianian and Parthian[4] adhered to the primitive Hebrew type

[1] The derivation of *daragam*, "long," is of course from the Sans. दीर्घ or द्राघ, which has produced in Persian دراز *daráz*, "long," دير *dir*, درنك *darang*, "late, &c."

[2] The Sanskrit *sangata*, should of course, according to its etymology, be *sangamata*.

[3] *Víja* is, I think, after all, preferable to *vansa*, as a correspondent to *vitha*, and the etymology moreover of *hashitiya*, is exceedingly doubtful. The lapse of the nasal therefore before a sibilant requires verification.

[4] I may observe, that whenever I quote the Parthian alphabet, I follow the well-executed bilingual inscriptions of the fire temple of Shahrizor, copied by

in representing the unaspirated *d* in both alphabets by ר; while the Zend appears to have followed a Sabean model in substituting 𐬛 for 𐬟. The origin of the aspirated character of the Zend 𐬜 is to be sought, perhaps, in the alphabets of India; for the articulation was unknown to the Semitic languages, and the cursive Pehlevi accordingly employed a single character 𐬛̂, (which appears to be the Arabic د, or the Syriac ܕ with the pointing reversed) to express the double power of the sonant dental.

The labials present the next subject for consideration. In the Cuneiform alphabet they are represented as follows:—

𐎠 *p*; 𐎡 *f*; 𐎢 *b*.

There is the same imperfect organisation of the labials that we have already observed in the palatals, with this difference, however, that in the one class the surd is deficient in the aspirated form, and in the other the sonant.

𐎠 *p*. The power of this character is sufficiently established by the following examples, selected at hazard from the inscriptions.

Vishtás*p*a, Ὑστάσπης, "Hystaspes." The Zend and Persian forms have been already given.

Chish*p*ish, Τεΐσπης.

Kata*p*at'huka, Καππαδοκία.

*P*ársa, Gr. Πέρσις, Heb. פרס, Pehlev. 𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬀, Per. پارس.

*P*arthwa, Παρθυαία, "Parthia."

*P*itá, Sans. पिता, Gr. πατὴρ, Latin pater, Pers. پدر.

*P*utřa, Sans. पुत्र, Zend puthra; comp. Gr. ΓΕΟΠΟΘΡΟC for Gío puthra.

*P*atiya, Sans. प्रति, Zend paiti, Pali pati, perhaps Greek προτὶ.

U*p*á, Sans. उप, Zend upa, Greek ὑπὸ.

*P*ara, Sans. पर, Greek παρὰ.

*P*ariya, Sans. परि, Greek περὶ.

*P*á, Sans. पा, "to protect"; compare Persian پاس and the suffix پان Pán.

myself. The Parthian writing contained in Plate I. of De Sacy's Mem. sur div. Ant. de la Perse, is exceedingly faulty and corrupt.

The only peculiarity attaching to the 𐎱 which requires to be specially explained, is the aspirative modification that it undergoes in combination with a liquid, followed by the vowel *a*. We thus find the Sanskrit प्र *pra*, to be uniformly expressed in the inscriptions by *fra;* while the particle पर *para*, where the coalition of the powers is avoided, retains its primitive form; and we perceive a further and indubitable proof of this orthographical change in the different formations from the root *paras*, which are written with the 𐎱 or 𐏁, according as the liquid unites with, or is separated from, the labial. In *aparasam* and *parasá*, the labial preserves its unaspirated form, but in *'ufrastam* and *atifrashtát'iya* it is converted to an *f*[1].

There is a particular exception, apparently, however, in the language of the inscriptions, to the aspirative power of the liquid if it be followed by the *i*, an exception which is unknown in Zend, but which appears to be allied to the influence exercised in that language by the vowels *i* and *u* upon the sibilants. We have no instance of the Cuneiform groupe *fri;* the primitive form of *pri* is preserved in *apriyáyá*, *prit'iya*, *pritá*, &c., and, perhaps also, on the same principle, less determinately established, we have the groupe *kri*, in *parikriyákya*, as well as *k'hri* in *chak'hriyá*.

The Cuneiform 𐎱 replaces occasionally the Sanskrit श्व, and is itself again replaced by the same power in modern Persian. Of the former change, we have an example in *aspa* for अश्व *asva;* of the latter in نوشتم, *nawishtam* for *napishtam*.

𐏁 *f*. The articulation of the *f*, although unknown to the Indian dialects, was common to most other languages of the Arian family. It was precisely that of the Greek φ, the Zend and Pehlevi 𐬐, or the ف of the modern Persian, being the softened aspiration of the surd labial, which, expressed by the Devanagari फ, retained in Sanskrit the hard and double articulation of *p'h*.

We have examples of the Cuneiform 𐏁 in the following names.

[1] *Aparasam* is the 1st pers. sing. act. imperf., and *parasá*, the 2nd pers. sing. of the optative, while *'ufrastam* is a compound participle from the same root, and *atifrashtat'iya*, perhaps a verbal noun in *táti*.

*F*rawartish, Φραόρτης, signifying, probably, "the very celebrated."

*F*ráda, Φραάτης. Burnouf translates 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎹𐎢, "the giver of abundance."

Vida*f*rana, Ἰνταφέρνης. } The term Ἰντα which occurs in so many Persian names is probably विन्द्, from विद्, "to know," "be intelligent."
Vida*f*ra, Ἰντάφρης, }

Etymologically, perhaps, in all these names, the *fra* of the inscriptions answers to the Sanskrit प्र, and Zend 𐎠𐎼𐎹, the particle of "progress," "abundance," or "excess;" and in a variety also of compound words the identification is even less subject to doubt, *e. g.*

*F*ráishaya, *f*ráishayam. The Sanskrit प्रेष, "sending," from प्र before इष, "to go," in the causal form. The *a* in the inscriptions is elongated by the Sandhi of fra with the temporal augment of aisha. The Persian preserves the form in فرستادن, "to send."

*F*rájhanam, fra or pra and ajhanam, 1st pers. sing. act. imperf. of jhana, for हन.

*F*rábara, fra or pra and abara, 3d pers. sing. act. imperf. of bara, for भृ, "to bear."

*F*raméná, *f*ramatáram. Framáná is the nom. sing. of a fem. noun answering to the Sanskrit प्रमाण, Persian فرمان, Hindustani پروانہ. Framatára is the original of the Persian فرماندار, "possessing authority."

*F*rataram, apparently an adverb, formed from प्र, with the suffix taram, Zend 𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎲.

*F*raharawam, an adverb, formed of प्र and सर्व, and signifying "altogether," "in toto."

In other cases, the *fra* of the inscriptions is employed for a radical *pr*, as in *'ufrastam, atifrashtát'iya,* from the root *paras*[1], *fratamá* for the Sanskrit प्रथमः *prathamah,* &c.

Kufa, a "hill," from whence we have the Greek Κώφης, Κώφην, Κωφηνή, &c., is, I believe, the only word occurring in the inscriptions in which the 𐎠𐎼𐎹 appears in any other position than in combination

[1] *Paras* may, perhaps, be allied in origin to the Sanskrit पृच्छ, Zend. 𐎱𐎼𐎹𐎲, but in the inscriptions it evidently signifies "to destroy," or "annihilate;" 𐎱𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎲 has the same signification in Zend, but the root is there stated by Burnouf to be *pere,* and not *pereç.* See Yaçna, p. 531. sqq.

with the *r*, and this term is probably of foreign origin; for although it was continued in the Pehlevi *kup*, and Persian *kúh*, the cognate terms are chiefly to be sought in Scythic languages, as in the Hungarian *koe, köv;* the Finnish *ku;* Turkish *qaya*, &c.

Our means of ascertaining whether the surd labial would be aspirated in the language of the inscriptions, in combination with other powers than the liquids, are of too limited an extent to be in any way conclusive. The adverb of distinction may probably be rendered *apataram* rather than *aptaram*, (compare, however, Eng. "*after*,") and the compound term *'uwáipshiyam* or *'uwáipashiyam* is of doubtful etymology. In Zend, the groupes of *pt* and *py* were admitted by the laws of orthography; but, in modern Persian, the *p*, in almost every case where it occurs in combination, has been degraded to an *f;* compare افکن *afkan;* افتادن *uftádan;* افرین *afrín;* افشان *afshán*, &c. In a few instances, the Cuneiform alphabet, like the Pali and the Zend, replaces the *pr* by a simple *p*, as in *patiya* for प्रति *prati*, (compare Pali *pati*, and Zend 𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌 *paiti*,) and *patish* allied to the Greek προτὶ; (compare Zend 𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬱 *paitis*, and Persian پیش *písh*); but this substitution must be considered as a peculiarity of language, rather than the effect of an orthographical law.

It only remains that I should notice the configuration of the surd labials in the other Persian alphabets. The Arianian ח and Parthian ח approach the Greek form rather than any other Semitic type; but the Sassanian writing appears to have borrowed the shape of 𐬐 from the Hebrew פ; and to this source must we undoubtedly refer the corresponding characters of the Zend and Pehlevi, which exhibit in the first instance the elongation of the primitive form in order to admit of union with the preceding letter, as in the 𐬀𐬐 *ap*, that is so frequently met with upon Sassanian gems, and which subsquently enlarged the sign into the more developed and complete shape of 𐬞. The elongation of the aspirated 𐬞, which is common both to the Zend and Pehlevi, has been evidently added to the primitive form, in order to mark the modification of phonetic power.

𐬠 *b*. The sonant labial of the inscriptions may be compared in all its relations with the Zend 𐬠, which replaces the Devanagari भ *bh*, rather than ब *b;* and which may be accordingly conjectured to

represent the former more nearly than the latter articulation. As M. Burnouf, nevertheless, relying on Persian and Germanic analogies in preference to those of the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, has assigned to the Zend sonant labial the power of *b*, rather than *bh*[1], so, in giving to the Cuneiform characters their Roman equivalents, I have omitted to express the aspiration which the 𐎼 not improbably possessed inherently[2].

The following examples are given of the employment of 𐎼 in the inscriptions.

*Bá*b*ir'ush*, Gr. Βαβυλών, Heb. בבל, Pers. بابل.

Bák'htarish, Gr. Βακτρία, Pers. باختر.

Na*b*ukhudrachara and Na*b*unita. Ναβουκοδρόσσορ and Ναβόννηδος of Josephus.

Ara*b*áya, Gr. Αραβία, Arab. عرب.

Ar*b*ira, Gr. Ἄρβήλα, Pers. اربل.

Gu*b*r'uwa, Gr. Γωβρύας.

Ka*b*ujiya, Gr. Καμβύσης.

*B*aga, Sans. भग; compare بفپور, "the son of God," the Persian name of the Chinese Emperor.

*B*adaka, Sans. बध or बन्ध, Pers. بنده, "a slave," or "one bound."

*B*asta, Zend 𐬠𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀, Pers. بسته, "bound," participle from the same, or a kindred root.

*B*ájim, Pers. باج or باژ, "tax," from भज, "to serve," as indicative of subjection.

A*b*awa, a*b*awam, *b*awátiya, from bawa, "to be," Sans. भव, Zend 𐬠𐬀𐬬𐬀, Pers. بو, Gr. φύω, Latin fuo, &c. There appear, however, to have been two roots employed in the Inscriptions, bawa and biya, or bu and bi, as in the Latin fuo and fio, and Celtic Bôd and Bydh.

*B*arathuwa, a*b*ara, *b*artam, and numerous other derivations from the root bara, corresponding with the Sanskrit भृ, Zend 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀, Greek φέρω, Latin fero, and Germanic bear, bring, &c.; compare Pers. بر and آور.

[1] See Yaçna, Sur l'Alphab. Zend, p. 69.

[2] The ब in Sanskrit is not considered to be a primitive letter. It is a modification of the व, with which, according to some grammarians, it is at all times in roots, optionally interchangeable.

Brátá, Sans. भ्राता, Zend 𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀, Pers. برادر, Latin frater, English brother, &c.

Bum'ish, "the earth," Sans. भूमिः, Latin humus, Pers. بومي, "belonging to the land."

Gubatiya, *agubatá*, from guba, "to speak," Sans. गुप, Pers. گُف guf.

Agrabáya, &c. from graba, "to seize," Sanskrit ग्रभ्, Zend 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬹, Persian گرف.

Asbára, "a horseman," from अश्व, Pers. اسوار; compare Arm. Sbarabied and Georgian Sparsalar [1].

Abiya, Sans. अभि, Zend 𐬀𐬠𐬌 or 𐬀𐬠, Pers. به, "to."

In those terms where we can compare the Sanskrit with the Persian etymology, the 𐎁 is generally found to replace the Devanagari भ; the exceptions are *guba*, "to speak[2]," which in its substitution for प, exhibits the adoption of the sonant for the surd labial *badaka*, "a slave," and *asbára*, "a horseman." The modern language softens the two powers indifferently before a dental, and we have thus گفت *guft*, and گرفت *girift*, where the labial is sonant, as well as هفت *haft*, "seven," *uftád*, &c., where it is surd; but I am not aware that we have in the inscriptions any example of this combination by which we can verify the practice of the ancient language.

The sonant labial is well known to have interchanged with the *v* and *m* in many languages; in Celtic, the permutation is regular and constant in every noun commencing with a *b*[3]. The Greeks did not distinguish between the articulation of the *b* and *v*, and we perceive the same confusion in comparing *Kabujiya* with کاووس *Kávús*, *abara* with اور *áwar*, *asbára* with اسوار *aswár*, and perhaps *abiya* with 𐬀𐬠𐬌 *avi*, as well as 𐬀𐬠𐬌 *aibi*. On these grounds then are we to explain the Greek orthography of Σμέρδις or Μάρδος for the Cuneiform *Bartiya*, and the reading of Ἀγβάρανα for the *Hagmatána* of the snscriptions; although upon what particular orthographical principle

[1] For an excellent note on the word *aswár*, see Saint Martin's Armenia, tom. I., p. 298.

[2] *Haft* is for सप्त, as *uftád* or *aftád* is from पत "to fall."

[3] See Pritchard on the Celtic Languages, p. 30.

Herodotus employed the initial sibilant in Σμέρδις I do not rightly comprehend[1]. In the Median translation of the inscriptions at Behistun, the labials are so thoroughly intermingled, that it seems impossible to distinguish between the *p, f, w,* and the *b, v, m;* and as this proof of an entire want of orthographical precision in one of the principal dialects of the Achæmenian empire makes it hazardous to trace the etymologies of the Persian names which are preserved to us in the writings of the Greeks, I refrain from citing other cases where the *μ* of classical authorities may be compared with the 𐎲 of the inscriptions.

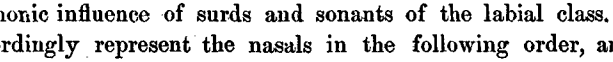
The Parthian, Sassanian, Pehlevi, and Zend alphabets, with an uniformity, restricted I believe to this single instance, employ the same character 𐬩 to express the sonant labial, the form of which is probably derived from the Hebrew ב with the upper stroke elided; but the numismatic Bactrian departs altogether from a Semitic type, and exhibits moreover, in the employment of the labials, something perhaps of the confusion, which is so remarkably displayed in the orthography of names in Medic[2].

Exception may perhaps be taken, on the ground of strict orthographical propriety, at the detachment of the various forms of the letter *m* from the labials, and at their union with those of *n* in a distinct class. We must remember, however, that the language of the inscriptions did not acknowledge the attribution of a nasal to each class of consonants, nor the mutability of such nasals by the operation of the laws of Sandhi, and that it would be evidently improper therefore to classify the Cuneiform power, as the nasal of any particular class whatever. The *m,* it must be admitted, possessed in the language of the inscriptions a certain relation to the labials, for I have already shown it to interchange with the Greek *β,* but as it is usually in grammatical inflexions represented by an *n* in modern Persian, and as it is equally subject with that power to elision in compound articulations, it is I consider more truly a nasal; and if a nasal, it would seem deserving of being placed with the cognate forms of *n* in an independent class. Whether at the same time we may be justified in assigning to the *m* and *n* the respective conditions of the surd and sonant nasal I am not prepared to say. The *m* certainly admits of

[1] M. Burnouf has a special note (Yaçna—Notes et Eclair., p. 67,) to illustrate the suppression in Zend of the *s,* in the initial groupe *sm* of the Sanskrit.

[2] See Cunningham on the name of *Abdagases.* Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal vol. IX., p. 882.

combination with the surd labial in *hampita*, while it is elided before the sonant of the same class in *Kabujiya*, for the Greek Cambyses; but this solitary example is hardly perhaps sufficient to establish its power as a surd, or even to support a distinction between the euphonic influence of surds and sonants of the labial class. I shall accordingly represent the nasals in the following order, and leave untouched the question of their surd or sonant conditions.

 *m*; *m'*; *m'*; *n*; *n'*; *ñ*.

 m. The following examples of the employment of this character are as complete and satisfactory as could be well desired.

*Má*da, Μηδία.

*Mar*ghush, Μάργος, applied to the Murgháb, the river of Margiana.

*Ma*ghush, Μάγος, "a Magian."

Hakhá*m*anish, Ἀχαιμένης, "Achæmenes."

Gu*m*áta, Cometes.

Arshá*m*a, Ἀρσάμης. This name was used by the Armenian kings as late as B.C. 43. See Saint Martin's Armenia, tom. I. p. 411.

Ariyárá*m*na, Ἀριαράμνης.

A'ura*m*azdá, Ὡρομάσδης.

*Mar*tiya, Sans. मर्त्यः, Pers. مرد.

*Ma*ná, *mám*, *m*iya, मम, मां, मे; Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬨, 𐬨𐬀; Pers. من.

Ná*m*a, Sans. नाम, Pers. نام, "name."

*Má*hyá, Sans. मासः, "a month," Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀, Pers. ماه.

Má, Sans. मा, Zend 𐬨𐬀, Greek μη, prohibitive particle.

Tu*m*á, Persian تخم, tukhm, "race," "seed."

As*m*ána, Persian اسمان, "the sky" or "heaven."

The list might be indefinitely prolonged, but I consider the above names and well defined words to be sufficient for the purpose of identification. We also meet with the Cuneiform in every line of the inscriptions, either in the inflexion of the accusative case singular, or genitive plural, the first person of verbs, the neuter participle or

the indeclinable adverb; and in all these cases it answers exactly to the Sanskrit *anuswára.*

In the names of *Amák'hma* and *Chitřatak'hma,* it appears to aspirate the preceding surd guttural; but it exerts no influence on the sonant of that class in the title of *Hagmatána.* As the first member of a compound articulation, it appears particularly to affect the palatal; the particle of conjunction *chá,* which is uniformly added to accusatives in *m,* being replaced by *wá,* when the inflexion ends in a vowel[1], and the indefinite particle also *chiya,* which coalesces freely with nouns in *m,* requiring when it is appended to a word ending in a vowel, to be usually preceded by a euphonic sibilant[2].

The employment of the particle *ham,* which answers to the Sanskrit सं, and Persian هم, affords many valuable examples of the elision of the *m,* both as a reduplicate letter and before dissimilar powers; we have thus in *hamátá* and *ham'itřiya,* the substitution of *ha* for the Sanskrit *sam* before roots commencing with the *m,* and the same abbreviation is observable in *hagamatá* and *hashitiya* before a guttural and a sibilant, while the full orthography is preserved in *hamaranam* and *hamatak'hshiya* before a vowel, and also, perhaps irregularly in *hampitá* before a labial[3].

The degradation of the 𐎠 to an *n* in modern Persian, is peculiar perhaps to terminal articulation. We have thus شان or يشان *shán* or *ishán,* for the subjoined pronoun of the 3d pers. plural, which is *ashám* in the inscriptions, and we have *in* for the demonstrative *im* or *iyam;* while there can be no doubt also, but that the substitution of the infinitival suffix دن *dan,* or تن *tan,* for the Sanskrit तुं *tum;* چون *chun* for *quum,* &c., are analogous corruptions which crept into the Persian through the influence of the Pehlevi.

But the most remarkable property which attaches to the Cuneiform *m* is its employment of distinct characters for combination with the different vowels. The 𐎠 is especially, I will not say exclusively,

[1] Compare *githámchá, maniyamchá, Parsamchá, Mádamchá,* &c. with *khshapawá, imiwá, patiwá, k'hshatrapáwá,* &c.

[2] Compare *par'uwamchiya* with *awashchiya, aniyashchiya,* &c. The introduction of *sh* before the palatal will be subsequently further explained.

[3] The significations of these terms are as follows: *hamátá,* "of the same mother," *ham'itriya,* "conspiring together," *hagamatá,* "collected," *hashitiya,* "confederate" or "rebellious," *hamaranam,* "war, battle," *hamatak'hshiya,* "I labored," and *hampitá,* "of the same father." The only etymology that is at all obscure is that of *hashitiya.*

appropriated to the *a;* where the vowel *u* occurs and an aspiration is probably developed, the character takes the form of ; and although in the suffix *miya*, and the demonstratives *imiya, imiwá*, &c., we perceive the *m* to be expressed by the same sign which appertained to the etymon, and which could not therefore be conveniently changed, still in every other case the power in combination with an *i* is replaced by . This peculiarity, indeed, is carried so far, that in the name of Armenia, where the accumulation of the vowel *i*, and semi-vowel *y*, in the inflexional characteristic causes the power of *i*, which exists in the body of the word to be replaced by *a*, the at the same time, which was employed in the original orthography, is exchanged for in the secondary form. The word, in fact, which was written *Arm'ina* and *Arm'inam* in the nominative and accusative with the groupe , is found in the locative case as *Armaniyiya*[1]; the substitution of *a* for the radical *i*, which in exact opposition to the genius of the Zend appears to have arisen from a desire to avoid, instead of courting the reiteration of the same vowel power, having produced a corresponding change of to . It is impossible, I think, to conjecture any variation of phonetic power between the two characters, or they could not have thus been employed indifferently in expressing the same name,—a name, moreover, which was probably of Semitic etymology; and I class therefore the relationship of the and in precisely the same category, as that of the and .

 m'. Little more is required in order to complete the explanation of this character which is given under the preceding head, than to produce examples of its employment in the inscriptions. I append the following list then without further observation.

Arm'ina, Greek Αρμενία, Pers. ارمينيه.

'Uwárazm'iya, Greek Χωρασμία, Pers. خوارزم, "Kharizm."

Wum'isa, a proper name of which I know not the etymology.

[1] Several examples of this change occur in the account of the Armenian wars contained in the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th paras. of the 2nd column.

Ha*m*ʿitřiya, "confederated," already compared with Sans. मित्र or मित्य.

A*m*ʿiya, "I am," Sans. अस्मि, Zend 𐬀𐬵𐬌.

Jhatiya*m*ʿiya,—á*m*ʿiya is apparently the characteristic of the 1st pers. sing. answering to the Sanskrit आमि.

Bu*m*ʿim, "the earth," Sans. bhûmim, acc. case sing., also written bumám.

Ajha*m*ʿiya. I cannot venture to give the etymology of this word at present.

*M*ʿithra, Mithra.

In the Cuneiform *am*ʿ*iya*, "I am," there is certainly some reason for supposing an aspiration between the *a* and *m*, but in none of the other etymons could such a power have possibly existed; and even in the case of the substantive verb, although the primitive sibilant is to be traced in all the old cognate forms, with the exception of the Greek, still that the aspiration had lapsed in the language of the inscriptions in the 1st person, as it has also lapsed in modern Persian, is, I think, placed beyond dispute by the orthography of *amahya* for the first person plural, where *ama* with the primary form of *m* (𐎼) expresses the root, and where the subsequent aspirate is the numeral characteristic[1].

There is an anomalous instance however of the employment of the 𐎼 which requires a brief explanation. The name of *Mithra* in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes Ochus, although written with an initial 𐎼, has no character for the expression of the *i*, but this I think may be legitimately considered as a vicious and corrupt orthography; for we know in the first place, that the vowel was etymologically existent in the word, and the coalition in the second place of the 𐎼 with any power but the *i* is opposed to all other experience. Perhaps, indeed, in reference to *Mĭthra*, as well as in the terms of *Vĭtha* and *Vishtaspa*, which I shall subsequently examine, we may conjecture that the letters 𐎼 and 𐏁, being exclusively employed in combination with the vowel *i*, came to be regarded as possessing that power, or, as the grammarians term it, the odour of that power, inherently in themselves; and that they were consequently, in the cases above cited, independent of its expressions. As a matter of convenience, I have marked the peculiar orthography of the dormant *i*, by placing a brief accent over the vowel.

[1] I have shown in a subsequent passage, that the aspirate is probably suppressed before the *m* by the effect of an orthographical law.

In the Zend alphabet there was a secondary form of *m*, which was expressed by a slight modification of the original letter (from) and which represented an aspiration preceding instead of following the labial. The character was used in the substantive verb *ahmi* for the *am'iya* of the inscriptions, but still it must not be confounded, I think, with the Cuneiform . That power I regard as absolutely identical with the common *m*, and as indebted for its peculiar form to the mere accident of its coalition with the vowel *i*[1]. I will now proceed to consider the character which represents the aspirated *m*.

 m'. Our means of identifying this letter are exceedingly limited; they are confined, in fact, to the orthography of two solitary words, the name of Egypt and an adverb of place; but if at the same time we are certain of these words, the indication afforded by them, although scanty, will be sufficiently distinct.

I consider then the allusion to the expedition and death of Cambyses, which is preserved at Behistun, to be determinative evidence of the appropriation to the kingdom of Egypt of the name of and I read the word therefore without hesitation as *M'udráyá*, comparing it with the Phœnician Μύδρα[2], Hebrew מצרים *Mitsraim*, and Greek Μεσραία. The other word also which appears under the form of unquestionably signifies "from thence," and may be referred accordingly with equal confidence to the Sanskrit अमुतस् *amutas*, represented in the language of the inscriptions by *am'utha*. But if the power of *m* can be thus shown with tolerable certainty to attach to the Cuneiform , there will be no means of distinguishing its employment from that of the other signs and , but by supposing it to express an aspiration.

[1] I may add as a further proof of the identical power of the and , that in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes Ochus, where *Bum*, "the earth," is declined according to the first instead of the second class, the accusative appears as *Bumám* with the for the usual *Bum'im* with the .

[2] Μύδρα is an emendation that I propose for the Μύαρα of Stephen (de Urb. in voce Αἴγυπτος,) which he states to be the Phœnician name for Egypt. Vossius read Μισορα, and other commentators have proposed Μεσραία, after Eusebius and Suidas.

The primary form of the letter 𐎴 we may observe, indeed, to be employed in no instance in the inscriptions in combination with the vowel *u*, and with the aspirative examples before our eyes of the 𐎴; 𐎴; 𐎴; 𐎴 and 𐎴 we may infer, I think, without much chance of error, that a special character having been invented to suit the combination of the labial nasal with this power, an aspiration, more or less distinct, must have been necessarily developed in such cases by the peculiar influence of the vowel. At the same time, I have preferred expressing the aspiration by a common *m'*, rather than by the letter *h*, for it is euphonic, not etymological.

I need hardly add, that this remarkable classification of the labial nasal was unknown to any of the Persian alphabets which succeeded the Cuneiform. In all these systems, (with the exception of the Zend which acknowledged a preceding aspiration), one single and well defined character was employed to express the power. The most ancient form that we possess, that of the Arianian 𐎴 is peculiar. The Parthian 𐎴 is the Phœnician 𐎴 or Aramæan 𐎴; the Sassanian lapidary 𐎴 is from the Hebrew מ. On the gems of the same age we have the degraded form of 𐎴, and from this character reversed, for the convenience of cursive employment, must we derive the 𐎴 of the the Zend and Pehlevi.

The class of letters which in the inscriptions replace the dental nasals of the Zend and Sanskrit need not detain us long, for there is little requiring comment beyond their immediate identification.

𐎴 *n*. I proceed at once to give examples of the employment of this character.

Yu*n*á, Ἰωνία[1], Ionia, Hebrew יון, Pali Yuna.
*N*abukhudrachara, Ναβουκοδρόσσορ.
Arm'i*n*a, Αρμενία.
Ariyárám*n*a, Ἀριαράμνης.
Hagmatána, Ἀγβάτανα or Εκβάτανα, Pers. همدان.
Hakhámanish, Ἀχαιμένης.

[1] Lassen, in his last Cuneiform Essay, has given a variety of Greek forms for this name. See Zeitschrift, &c., vol. VI., p. 51.

Warkána, Greek Ὑρκανία or Βαρκανίοι, Zend [illegible], Pers. گرگان.
Vidafrana, Ἰνταφέρνης.

*N*áma, Sans. नाम, Pers. نام, "name."

*N*awam, Sans. नवं, Pers. نوم, "ninth."

*N*apá, Sans. नप्ता, Zend [illegible], Sass., [illegible], Pers. نوه, Lat. nepos, &c.

*N*iya, Sans. नि, "not."

Asmána, Pers. اسمان, "heaven."

A*n*iya, Sans. अन्य, "other." An in Anirán, Zend [illegible].

Stá*n*am, Sans. स्थानं, Zend [illegible], Persian ستان, "place."

Ma*n*á, Pers. من, "mine."

Wi*n*a, Pehlevi [illegible], Pers. بين, "see," unknown I believe to the Zend or Sanskrit.

Khsha*n*ása, Pers. شناس, "know."

Amá*n*aya, "he remained"; compare Zend [illegible], Pers. مان, Greek μένειν, Latin man-eo.

We find the character also in the inflexion of the plural genitive, which is *ánám* in the inscriptions, आनां in Sanskrit; in the present participle which ends in *niya* for the Sanskrit न, *n*, as in *thastaniya*, "standing," *chartaniya*, "arraying," *yaniya*, "going," &c.; in the characteristic of the fifth and ninth conjugations; and in a variety of other grammatical conditions where its power is not to be mistaken.

I need not multiply examples of the absorption of the nasal, as the first member of a compound articulation; for I have already, as far as argument is concerned, abundantly verified the existence of such an orthographical law; and it is one, moreover, with which the identical construction of the numismatic Bactrian[1] has long ago familiarized Orientalists. Of more interest is it to inquire if the effect of the nasal can be traced in the inscriptions upon the surd consonant which precedes it. In Zend the *m* and *n* aspirate in combination, equally with the liquids and semivowels[2], and in regard to the former letter, I have observed that the orthography of *Amak'hma* and *Chitřatak'hma* may

[1] Remark the orthography of the names of *Menander*, *Antimachus*, *Antialkidas*, *Amyntas*, &c. In Indian Pali the nasal is preserved before the consonants of all classes. See Essai sur le Pali, p. 80.

[2] See Yaçna, Sur l'Alph. Zend, p. 140.

be explained on the same principle; but the influence of the dental nasal is, I think, hardly to be recognized. We have, certainly, in the inscriptions the name of a month which may perhaps be read *Viyak'hna*[1] rather than *Viyak'hana*, and in which the aspiration may be owing to the nasal; and we have also *washná* and *us(a)tashnám*, where a similar influence is more clearly developed; but, on the other hand, we have *visna* with the unaspirated sibilant, and perhaps we have *ayadná* and *wardnam*[2], where the only modification that can arise from the combination of the powers is the conversion of the surd dental to a sonant.

The Cuneiform 𒁹𒀀 coalesces indifferently with all the vowels; yet it nevertheless possessed a secondary form, especially appropriated to the *u*, which I proceed briefly to examine.

𒀀𒀀𒁹 *n'*. The grounds for identifying this character depend exclusively on the particle 𒁺 𒀀𒀀𒁹 𒀀𒁺, which occurs occasionally in composition, with the signification of "following," and which, in its application in one passage to a river locality (*an'uwa 'Ufrátuwá*, "along the Euphrates"), nearly answers to the employment of the Sanskrit अनु[3]. The compounds to which I have alluded are *an'ushiyá*, a word of very frequent occurrence, which evidently signifies "followers," "dependants," or "assistants," and an imperfect noun commencing with *an'u*, that appears to indicate "posterity." These, it must be allowed, are scanty grounds for assigning a determinate phonetic power to the letter in question, yet they are such as may be received with some confidence, when we remember the aspirative power of the *u*, and when the example of the double form of *m* 𒈠𒌋𒌋 and 𒁹𒀀 naturally leads us to expect a secondary character for the other nasal. The only embarrassment which attends the iden-

[1] *Viyákhna* occurs in Zend. See Journal Asiatique, IV. Series, tom. V., No. 23, p. 295. I have not however the earlier number of the Journal Asiatique, in which M. Burnouf has explained this difficult term; III. Series., tom. X., p. 266 and 277.

[2] It is impossible to ascertain from the Cuneiform orthography whether these terms should be read as I have here given them, or whether they should have the more expansive forms of *visana, wardanam*, and *ayadana*, which I have adopted in other passages.

[3] The only difference is, that the preposition governs the locative or ablative case instead of the accusative.

tification is the proof afforded by other passages of the inscriptions, of the *n* coalescing with the *u* under its primary form of , as in *akhunush, adarshanush, danut'huwa*, &c.; but, as we have already seen in the reading of *tumá* and *dushtá*, instead of *t'humá* and *dhushtá*, an instance of the same variation in regard to the employment of the dentals, the objection is not entitled to any particular consideration.

I regard, then, the relationship of and to be exactly similar to that of the and , and as I have expressed the half-developed aspiration in the one by using a comma, rather than the letter *h*, so I represent the other by the respective equivalents in the Roman character, of *n* and *n'*.

There still however remains a third character which appears to belong to the dental nasal, and to which I must devote a few words before making any general observations on the class.

 ñ. The employment of this letter is confined to the orthography of two proper names in the incriptions of Behistun, to the identification of which, in Greek or Persian, I have no clue whatever; and the determination of its power must be therefore necessarily obscure. As we perceive, however, that it is absolutely identical in form with one of the best defined of the Median characters, we may suspect it to have been borrowed from that alphabet, in order to express an articulation which was foreign to the Persian organs of speech, and which was consequently unprovided with a native sign for its representative. There can be no doubt of the nasal power of the Median , for it replaces the Persian in all the following names:—*Atřina, Ariyárámna, Anámaka, Viyak'hna, Patigina, Hagmatána, Vidafrana, Yuná;* and I believe also we may be justified in saying, that it is a complemental sign (that is, *an* rather than *na*), when we perceive that it never occurs in the correspondents of such names as *Nabukhudrachara, Nabunita, Hak'hámanish, 'Umanish, Arm'iniya*, &c., where the power of the nasal commences a syllable. But this particular complemental employment of the *n* was evidently unknown to the Persian alphabet; the power was elided in that writing, both in composition with another letter and as a Sanskrit terminal, and therefore to express with precision the foreign names of *Nañ'ita* and *Dhubáñ*, it could apparently have adopted no other method than the employment of a foreign character. Such is the only

explanation I can give of the anomalous introduction of the character in question in the Persian orthography of these names. Whether at the same time the explanation may be verified, or whether the 𐎑, although identical in form with a Median character, may be found to have a distinct, and possibly a totally different value in Persian, must depend upon the chance of other Achæmenian records being discovered, which shall present examples of the employment of the letter in positions more favorable for comparisons or analysis.

The organisation as well as the configuration of the nasals in Zend bears evident marks of Devanagari relationship; but the systems, nevertheless, are sufficiently distinct to show that the Persian language retained much of its primitive Cuneiform simplicity in adopting refinement from an Indian source. There is certainly a rich variety of nasals in the language of the Zend Avesta, for independently of the primary forms of *m* and *n* (𐬨 and 𐬦), which may be compared with the 𐎢 and 𐎣 of the inscriptions, we have the complemental characters 𐬩, 𐬪, 𐬬, and 𐬫, and of these M. Burnouf remarks that 𐬩 resembles the Vedic ऍ, while 𐬫 is the Devanagari ङ without the Matra[1]. But the Zend is at the same time far from acknowledging the attribution of a nasal to each class of the alphabet; the characters 𐬬 and 𐬫, which are employed indifferently, exercise a function peculiar to the language, in forming a groupe with the aspirate which replaces the dental sibilant of the Sanskrit between two vowels; while the other forms 𐬩 and 𐬪[2], (which could have only been distinguished in their origin by the quantity of the vowel *a*, (𐬀 and 𐬁) elementarily contained in them) represent the true complemental nasal that occurs in all compound articulations, without reference to the class to which its adjunct belongs. With this character, then, which M. Burnouf represents by *ñ*, must we compare the Cuneiform 𐎑, and I have accordingly followed the authority of

[1] See Yaçna. Obs. sur. l'Alph. Zend, p. 124, sqq.

[2] These characters are constantly confounded in the Zend MSS., but M. Burnouf distinguishes clearly between them; the 𐬩 he considers to be a nasal vowel, which he accordingly represents by *ã*, while he admits the 𐬪 alone to be a complemental nasal consonant, expressing it by *n̄*.

that eminent critic, in marking its composite power by the same Roman equivalent.

I may add, that the duplication of the terminal nasal which is so frequently met with in the Zend and Pehlevi , and which was equally foreign to the Sanskrit and to the Achæmenian Persian, will, I think, be found to have been adopted from the language of the Median Inscriptions, where I remark the fusion and consequent strengthening of the nasal powers to be a prevalent euphonic artifice.

There is sufficient resemblance probably in the forms of the *n* in all the old Persian alphabets to warrant their being included in a common category and referred to a Semitic type. We may thus, I think, connect together the Arianian , the Parthian , the Sassanian , the Pehlevi , and, the Zend ; and we may further compare these forms with the Hebrew , the Estranghelo or , the Palmyrene ; or, in fact, with almost any variety of the character which is met with in the different systems of Semitic writing.

I now proceed to the class of letters which answer to the semivowels of the Devanagari alphabet, and which I represent in the following order.

y[1]. The power of this character cannot of course be established with any certainty by the comparison of Greek corresponding names, for the alphabet of that language did not acknowledge the development of the vowel *i* into a consonant; but the Semitic orthography of such names is more satisfactory, and when we refer to Sanskrit equivalents the evidence is conclusive. The following list, exhibiting a few of these names, and such words as can be determinately compared with the Sanskrit, may encounter the severest scrutiny with success.

[1] I must here observe, that the form which I have adopted for this character is peculiar to Behistun. At Persepolis, Ván, and Hamadan it is figured as , and by this shape accordingly has it been alone hitherto known in the Cuneiform alphabets that have been published in Europe.

*Y*uná, Ἰωνία, Heb. יון, Sans. यवन. Yona in the edicts of Asoca.
Dár(a)*y*awush, Δαριαύης of Strabo, Lib. xvi. P. 785.
Ari*y*árámna, Ἀριαράμνης. Ariya is the Sans. अर्य्य.
Mardhuni*y*a, Μαρδόνίος.
*Y*átá, "when," "whilst," from यत् with adverbial suffix in tá.
*Y*áwá, "as long as," "if," Sans. यावत् or rather यावान्.
*Y*at'iya, "if," "that," Sans. यदि, probably Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬰𐬌 yézi.
*Y*athá, "when," "that," Sans. यथा, Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀.
T*y*am, acc. case masc. sing. of relat. pronoun, Sans. त्यं from त्यद्.
Ani*y*a, "other," "enemy," Sans. अन्य, Zend 𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬌𐬋.
Marti*y*a, "man," Sans. मर्त्त्य, Pers. مرد.
Dara*y*a, "the sea," Zend 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬋, Pers. دریا.

In my observations on the vowel *i* I have so fully examined the euphonic employment of the Cuneiform 𐎹 in connecting two dissimilar vowel sounds, of which the former is homophonous with the character in question, that I need not recur to the subject at present, farther than to indicate all those examples as additional proofs of its phonetic power. The grammatical positions in which it replaces the Devanagari य may be classed as follows:—1stly, The genitival terminations of the 1st declension where *hya* and *yá* replaces the Sanskrit स्य and याः 2dly, The adjectival suffix. 3dly, The various inflexions of the relative pronoun; and 4thly, The characteristics of the passive voice, and of the 4th and 10th conjugations.

In the languages of all nations of the Arian family there is an intimate connexion between the *y* and *j*. The Devanagari य, indeed, although a semi-vowel, is considered by the Indian grammarians to be of the palatal class, and it is actually pronounced like an English *j* in many of the dialects of the peninsula[1]. We need not be surprised, therefore, at finding the Cuneiform 𐎹 replacing not unfrequently the Sanskrit ज; as in *Atriyát'iya* for अत्रिजात, *Atrijáta; dhushiyára*

[1] Wilkins (Grammar, page 9) says that in Bengal they pronounce the य as *j*, confounding it with ज, and the same remark applies to the Mahrattah.

from दुर् *dush*, and जार *jara; shyátish* from ष *sha*, and जातिः *jatis; ayasta* perhaps from अञ्जस *anjasa* with a suffix[1], &c. &c. In modern Persian the *y* replaces the palatal of the Sanskrit or cognate languages, almost as often as the *j* is substituted for the य; for the one change compare یار "a friend," with जार, یاد "memory," with ज्ञात, یاقوت with *Zάκυνθος*, *Ὑάκινθος*, &c.; for the other جو "barley," with यव, جوان with यवन, (Latin *juvenis*, &c.), جم with यम *yama*, جفت, a "yoke, or "pair," from युज् "to join," &c., &c.

In Zend, the semi-vowels or liquids *y*, *w*, and *r*, are the powers which principally exert their aspirative influence on the consonant that precedes them in a compound articulation; and in the language of the inscriptions the same functions are undoubtedly exercised by the 𐎹 and 𐏁; but we may hardly, I think, claim a similar property for the 𐎺. The letters which particularly affect combination with the *y*, are certainly the aspirate and the liquid *r*, but we also meet with the groupe *ty* in a considerable number of examples, and there are instances in which we may perhaps detect the compound forms of *py*, *ny*, *vy*, and *shy*[2]. It is impossible, I consider at the same time, to analyze the Cuneiform groupes with that exactitude which is indispensable to the establishment of orthographical rules; for the disjunction of every character, whether its articulation be simple or compound, and the want of any sign to express the short *a*, render us almost entirely dependent on etymological comparison for the fusion or separation of the different syllables.

In the Arianian orthography of the names of Diomedes, Heliocles, Hermæus, Dionysius, Archerius, &c,, we perceive the same introduction of the euphonic *y* between dissimilar vowels of which we have verified the employment in the inscriptions; and a still further resemblance between the two alphabetical systems is observed in the adoption of the semi-vowel to express the palatal in the names of Azas and Azilisas[3]. The form of the character upon the Bactrian coins

[1] *Ayastá* is used in the inscriptions as a preposition indifferently with *patiya* for *prati*. In form it nearly approaches the Latin *juxta*, but I doubt if they are etymologically connected, for the prosthetic *a* appears to have been unknown to the ancient Persian.

[2] For these groupes, see the doubtful readings of patip(a)yuwá, an(a)yatá, akhunav(a)yatá, and fráish(a)ya.

[3] I follow the legends given by Cunningham in his excellent lithographed

𐎠, is almost identical with the Palmyrene 𐎠, while the Sassanian 𐎠 and Zend 𐎠 approach more nearly to the Hebrew י. The Zend alphabet, nevertheless, contrasting in a remarkable way with Semitic usuage, employed the 𐎠 exclusively as a vowel, and reduplicated the sign in order to express the power of the homophonous consonant (𐎠𐎠=*y*). That it also possessed two variants for the character when used as an initial 𐎠 and 𐎠 is an orthographical peculiarity, of which it is difficult to explain either the origin or the use. In the cursive Pehlevi, the sign is distinguished by a diacritical pointing (ۏ) which is probably of recent adoption, and which can hardly be doubted to have been borrowed from the Arabic.

𐎼 *r*. I have already explained myself so fully on the employment of this character in combination with other letters, and have given so many examples, both of its power and of its secondary influence, that it is unnecessary to pursue with any detail the subject of its immediate identification. The annexed brief list of corresponding orthographies, may, indeed, be deemed sufficient.

*R*agá, Ῥαγαῦ or Ῥάγα, the city of Rhages.
Dá*r*(a)yawush, Δαριαύης, "Darius."
A*r*bira, Ἄρβηλα, the modern Arbel.
A*r*iya, Ἀρία, "Arian."
*R*ucha, Pers. روز, "a day"; conf. روشن from रुच, "to shine."
Ká*r*a, Pers. کار, Sans. कार.
A'u*r*a, Sans. असुर, Zend 𐎠𐎢𐎼𐎠.

In the absorption of the nasal as the first member of a compound articulation, I have shown that the language of the inscriptions is opposed to the Indian, but in accordance with the Bactrian Pali. In its retention of the liquid *r* in the same position it assimilates to neither one of those alphabetical systems nor the other. It is at variance

plates, in all of which I perceive the 𐎠 to follow the *i*, unless the next syllable commence with a consonant, and I believe this orthographical law to be of consequence in determining the letter 𐎠 to be an aspirate, rather than a vowel.

even with the usage of the Zend, which in most cases intercalates a *sheva* between the liquid and the following consonant; for it employs the character 𐎼 under every possible condition of orthographical combination, and apparently in immediate contact with the succeeding power. I give the following examples then of the coalition of the liquid with the consonants of each alphabetical class, and almost of each grade, and I derive some satisfaction from observing the exact identity in this respect of Cuneiform and Devanagari usuage.

W*a*z*ar*k*a*, "great," Pers. بزرك. The r lapses in the Turkish buyúk.

M*árg*a*w*a, M*arg*hush, Greek Μάργος for the Murgháb river.

Thá*ig*a*rch*ish, the name of a month of obscure etymology.

Ka*rt*am, Sans. कृतं, Persian كرده, "done."

P*arth*wa, Παρθυαία, "Parthia."

Bar*d*iya, Σμέρδις, the younger son of Cyrus.

A*rd*astána, Ἀρτυστώνη: this identification is very doubtful.

Ma*rdh*uniya, Μαρδόνιος, son of Gobryas, one of the seven conspirators.

A*rb*ira, Ἄρβηλα, the Modern Arbel.

Gar*m*apada, the name of a month, probably connected with घर्म, "heat," Pers. گرم.

Arm'ina, Αρμενία, "Armenia."

Vida*rn*a, Ὑδάρνης, "Hydarnes," one of the seven conspirators.

Dhu*r*ya. This word occurs in line 46 of the Nakhshi-Rustam inscription, and is apparently a variant for the common dhuriya, Sans. धुर्य. In line 12 of the same inscription we have dhuriápiya in one word, for the usual dhuriya apiya. The formation of the compound is sufficiently intelligible, but the suppression of the euphonic y is altogether irregular and must be considered, I think, as an error of the artist.

Tárwá, a town of Persia, perhaps the Ταρουάνα of Ptolemy.

Ata*r*sa, 3d pers. act. imperf. from त्रस, "to fear," Pers. ترس.

K'hshay*árshá*, Greek Ξέρξης, "Xerxes."

A*rsh*áma, Greek Ἀρσάμης.

For the aspirative quality of the *r* when it is preceded by a surd consonant, I need only refer to the examples already given of *Chak'hriyá*, *Mithra*, *Frawartish*, &c.; while the exemption from its influence of the sonants is equally marked in the orthographies of

Tigra, M'udráya, brátá, &c. I am not aware that it is ever found attached to the palatals, nasals, or sibilants, unless, indeed, relying on Sanskrit analogies we adopt the readings of *tachram*[1], *amriyatá,* and *asriyatá,* rather than *tacharam, amariyatá,* and *asariyatá*[2]. If the former reading be correct, we should expect to find in *asriyatá* the aspiration of the surd sibilant which has converted *wasná* into *washná,* but we may perhaps explain the orthography by the influence of the vowel *i,* already noticed in the retention of the groupes of *pri* and *kri* for the more regular forms of *fri* and *k'hri.* We have a few words in the inscriptions where the *r* as a second member of a compound is undoubtedly absorbed, as in *patiya* for *prati,* (compare the Doric ποτὶ for πρὸς,) *patish* probably from προτὶ, and I think also we may perceive the same degradation of form in comparing *wazarka* with वृहत्, &c.; but at the same time these alterations can hardly be referred to any orthographical law, for the regular representative of the Sanskrit प्र is in the inscriptions *fra,* and वृ or व्र should be properly expressed by *war,* as in *Frawartish, wardanam,* &c.

It remains that I should notice the connexion of the liquid *r* with the vowels. M. Burnouf has well observed, that the liquid in Zend possesses within itself an inherent aspiration, and that the ῥ in Greek partakes to a certain degree of the same character[3]. In the former language this aspiration exerts its influence on the sonants as well as surds, of the guttural, dental, and labial classes, where they precede the *r;* and although in the language of the inscriptions its application is confined apparently to the latter grade, still the power undoubtedly exists, and can only be sufficiently explained as an inherent property of the liquid. Perhaps, then, we may discern in such a property the reason of the greater aptitude which the 𐎼 presents for coalition with the vowel *u* than is exhibited by the unaspirated letters of other classes.

With the vowel *i* the 𐎼 combines as freely as with the *a;* the

[1] *Tacharam* is probably from तक्ष "to build," or "carve," (Zend 𐬙𐬀𐬉𐬭𐬀𐬨) which has produced many terms in Persian, such as *takht,* "a throne," *takhtah,* "a plank," *tabar* (quasi *takbar,*) "an axe." Perhaps, *tijir,* "a tent-wall," may be allied to the Cuneiform *tachar.* See page 96, note 1.

[2] *Amriyatá,* "he died," is from मृ, as *asriyatá* is probably from शृ, but the latter word is in a mutilated passage, (col. 3, line 91) and cannot therefore be explained by the context.

[3] See Yaçna. Observ. sur l'Alph. Zend, p. 78.

only peculiarities that I observe in the union of the powers being, that the affinity of the liquid for the *y* sometimes dispenses with the introduction of the euphonic vowel[1], and that in groupes the influence of the *i* appears to absorb the aspirative power of the liquid on the preceding consonant; but, notwithstanding the examples which I have given of the occurrence of the vowel *u*, when it requires to be preceded by the liquid, generally prefers the secondary form .

r'. This character, like the , , , , and , is used exclusively with the vowel *u;* and the means exist of showing with a high degree of probability that it was marked with an aspiration. Before proceeding to the analysis of this secondary property, I shall produce a sufficient number of examples to establish its primary power as a liquid.

Khur'ush or Khurush, Greek Κῦρος or Κοῦρος, "Cyrus,"

Bábir'ush, Βαβυλῶν, *r* substituted for *l*.

Par'uviyat, ablative case of a word signifying "the olden time"; compare Sans. पुरा.

Gubr'uwa, Γωβρύας, "one of the seven."

Ghudhr'ush, compare Greek Γεδρωσία.

Par'uwa, par'unám[2], &c., from the Sans. पुरुः (Greek πολὺς, Lat. plus,) "much," "many."

Adhur'ujiya, dhur'uk'htam, दुर् and वच as already explained.

Dhur'usa, دُرُست, "right."

Har'uwa, सर्व, Zend , "all."

Par'uwam, "formerly," and par'uwá, "former." I refer to a root of which the Sanskrit correspondent is पुर्, "to precede."

[1] In all these derivatives from the root पृ conjugated in the 10th class, we should perhaps read *dárya* rather than *dáraya*, yet we have the form of *adárit* for the 3rd pers. of the passive Aorist, answering to the Sanskrit अधारि.

[2] The proof that *par'unám* signifies "of many," or "of the people," (*populus*, from plus or πολὺς,) are, that it is translated in the Median by the same word which answers to *wasiya* (وسيي) in other passages, and that it also interchanges with *vispa*, "all;" compare *Par'uwazanánám* with *Vispazanánám*.

The interchangeability of the 𐎹, and 𐎼 in the name of Cyrus, in *Bábir'ush*, *Bábiruwa*, and in *adhur'ujiya*, *darujhana* is alone sufficient to prove the near connexion of the characters; and when we remember that the *l*, a sound unknown to the Zend, may be presumed to have been equally unknown to the language of the inscriptions, there will be no means of observing this connexion, and at the same time of marking a phonetic distinction, but by discriminating between the degrees of aspiration that the letters may respectively possess. The aspiration of the 𐎹 which I suppose to have been the soft breathing, has been sufficiently verified by the effect which it produces on the surd powers that combine with it. That of the 𐎼 may be conjectured to have been more strongly developed, from our finding that at a very early period it took the form of a sibilant or a dental, under which shapes, or as an aspirate expressed by a distinct character, it has remained in use until the present day. There can be no doubt whatever from the consentient and almost contemporary orthography of the Greek, Hebrew, and Cuneiform, that the name of Cyrus was originally written with a single medial *r;* yet as early as the age of Trajan it had become degraded into the form of Χοσρόης, which it has ever since preserved, and in which the sibilant unknown to the original etymology (सूर *sur;* 𐡇𐡅𐡓 *hwar;* or خور *khúr*, "the sun,") could only have been developed from an orthographical property of the liquid. In the name also of the great founder of the Persian monarchy, a personage whose individuality has been first established by the inscriptions of Behistun, we find a similar instance of this development of the sibilant or aspirate. As in the inscriptions we have merely the name in the ablative case, it depends on a nice grammatical analysis whether in the nominative it may be *Par'ush* or *Par'uvish;* but whichever may finally prove to have been the native form, it was certainly the same title which, from a nearly identical pronunciation, the Greeks confounded with the Περσεὺς of their own mythology, and which has been preserved in native tradition, under the orthography of پهلو *Pahlav*[1]. I shall devote some pages in a future stage of the inquiry

[1] I have allowed this passage to remain in the text, as it may still possess some interest in showing the origin, and the extensive application of the name of Pehlevi; but a severer scrutiny has convinced me since it was written, that I have been pursuing an empty phantom in seeking to establish in the inscriptions the identity of the Greek Περσεὺς. *Hachá Par'uviyat*, ("from Perseus," as I at first translated it,) I now believe to signify nothing more than "ab antiquo," as *par'uwam*

to the elaboration of the many intricate, but interesting, questions connected with the employment of this title; and I will therefore content myself, at present, with observing that, although the original form of the Sanskrit पर्: *Parus*, "Heaven," from which I think the name was certainly derived, exhibits no trace of aspiration, and although the Cuneiform represents the liquid by a single letter 𐎼, yet in every subsequent modification or application that the name has undergone, the aspirative influence of the vowel *u* is clearly and unequivocally developed. The Persian language, indeed, in a very early age, must not only have acknowledged its aspiration, but according to its peculiar genius it must have strengthened the aspirate to a dental, for we have the Greek Παράδεισος from the Persian فردوس *Firdus*, which, again was a mere modification of *Parhus* or *Parus* (पर्:). I must also refer to the same etymology,—1. The Armenian *Balha*, which not only applied to the particular race of Pehlevis, or "Heaven-born," who gave the name of *Balkh* to the capital on the Oxus, but which sometimes also designated Heaven[1]. 2. The 𐭯𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭤 *Pahalum*[2] of the Pehlevi writings which uniformly replaced the *Vahista* of the Zend (Persian بهشت *bihisht*). 3. The *Palhura* or *P'halhura*[3] of the Bactrian coins. 4. The वाह्लि or वाह्लिक, *Válhi* or *Válhika* of Sanskrit history. 5. The *Balharà* of Northern India, and perhaps even the *Valhalla* of Scandinavian fable. The *Pallawa-bhago* of the Mahavanso, and the *Vallabhi-pura* of Guzerat, are the only cases, indeed, in which the secondary development of the aspirate appears to have been merged in the derivatives from पर्:

signifies "formerly," and *par'uwá*, "preceding." The Pehlevi *Pahalum*, and Armenian *Balha*, show that one of the original significations of *Par'us* पर्: was sometimes revived; but I believe the more legitimate signification of the Persian "Pehlevi," to have been "the old (that is the primitive) race."

[1] See History of Vartán, by C. T. Neumann. Note 3, to page 51.

[2] Dr. Müller, (Essai sur le Pehlevi, p. 323 and 341,) notices the Pehlevi *Pahalum*, and promises to explain it, but he has omitted to do so.

[3] Perhaps we have this element in all those compounded names which Cunningham reads *Spalhores*, *Spalygis*, *Spalagrames*, and *Spalirisas*. See his lithographed coins, Plate II. The initial 𐭯 is probably *p'h*, and the prosthesis of the Greek Σ is analogous to that in Σμέρδις for *Bart'iya*.

It may admit of question at the same time whether the aspiration of the 𐎿 preceded or followed the expression of the liquid power. If we were guided by Zend analogy which frequently introduces an aspirate before the liquid, (as in *vehrka*, a "wolf;" *kehrpa*, "body;" *mahrka*, "death,") but never after, we should certainly pronounce the names already cited as *Khu'rush* and *pa'rush*, rather than as *Khur'ush* and *par'ush*, and the analogy of the modern correspondents would be in favour of the former reading; but on the other hand, we must remember that we have Χορσόης as well as Χοσρόης, we have Περσεὺς, and we have also the aspiration succeeding the liquid in all the old forms connected with the name of *Pahlav*. An argument, moreover, which I consider to decide the question is, that if the original aspiration be attributed to the influence of the *u*, it must necessarily immediately precede the vowel, instead of being transferred to an intervening consonant. I have accordingly represented the Cuneiform 𐎿 by *r'*, and I explain the modern forms of *Khusrú* and *Pahlav* by the effect of an irregular metathesis.

It may be as well perhaps to notice another instance of the interchangeability of the 𐎼 and 𐎿 in the orthography of *har'uwa* for the Sanskrit सर्व. The *u* in this case appears to be introduced in order to meet the Devanagari duplication, but it was not of uniform employment, for we have the compound adverb *fraharawam*, "in all," in which the euphonic vowel is omitted, and in which accordingly the liquid falling on an *a* is expressed by the 𐎼 instead of the aspirated 𐎿.

The impossibility of articulating the *l* was, I believe, peculiar to the early Persian branches of the Arian family. It continued as a striking orthographical defect in the Zend, as well as in the language of the inscriptions, and it was owing probably to the influence of Semitic intercourse alone that it was eventually overcome. I have shown that the Sanskrit liquid was replaced in *t'ipish* by a Cuneiform dental, but unquestionably the true representative of the power in Persian was the liquid *r*; for although in the inscriptions the substitution of *Bábir'ush* for *Bábel*, is the only case in point, we find the orthography of *Airán*, *Anirán*, and *Manuchatri*, employed indifferently with *Ailán*, *Anilán*, and *Manuchatli*, on the Sassanian tablets; we have also the reading of *Huslu* for *Khusru*, on the coins of *Parwíz*[1], and we perceive an almost universal confusion of the two powers in

[1] See Marsden's Num. Orient., p. 443.

comparing the Greek orthography of Persian Geographical names with the titles which are now in use.

The forms of the letters, moreover, adopted in the old Persian alphabets for the *r* and *l*, afford additional proofs of the intimate connexion of the powers. The Arianian and Parthian distinguishing between the forms while they confounded the use of the letters[1], employed the Hebrew 𐎗 to represent the *r* (𐎗 and 𐏁); and although the 𐎼 *l* of the former alphabet may be of doubtful origin, the 𐏂 of the latter is also decidedly a Semitic character. The Sassanian, in the same way, adhered to a Hebrew type in adopting the respective forms of 𐭓 and 𐭥 ; but the Zend and Pehlevi to express *r* abandoned the true sign, and appropriated the *l* with a slight modification, (𐬭 from the Parthian 𐏂 or Sassanian 𐭥); while in a later age the cursive writing merely added to the new character thus formed, a sort of diacritical mark (𐬯 from 𐬭), in order to represent the lingual, which the introduction of Semitic terms had rendered indispensable to the language.

The permutability of the *n* with the *l* and *r* is a subject which will be more appropriately discussed in the examination of the Median alphabet; for it is the distinguishing characteristic of that species of writing, and was probably adopted by the Pehlevi from that source. I have not detected a trace of it in the language of the inscriptions, and in the Zend even, wherever it is perceptible, (as in *Kheng*, "Heaven," for the Sanskrit स्वर्ग *Swarga*, it is probably to be referred to a Pehlevi medium[2].

𐎺 *w*. I have endeavoured to mark a distinction between the employment of the two forms of the labial semi-vowel by expressing them severally by *w* and *v*; but I am by no means prepared to say that this distinction marks with any exactness their relative gradations of phonetic power. M. Burnouf has certainly established with some success a phonetic distinction between the *v* and *w* in the

[1] The name of *Undopherres* is thus written indifferently with the cerebral *d*, 𐎭, pronounced as *r*, and with the 𐎼 *l*.

[2] I have not the text of the *Bun Dehesh*, from which I might ascertain the Pehlevi orthography of the Zend *khèng*; Anquetil de Perron always writes *keng*, and in modern Persian we have كنگ, as in the famous *Gangdiz* of fable.

alphabet of the Zend[1]. He has shown that the primary form (𐎺 as an initial, » as a medial), is a mere duplication of the vowel *u*; that it is identical in employment with the Devanagari व, and that according to the French system of pronunciation it may be most appropriately rendered by *v*; while to the secondary form of the character 𐎹, partaking more of the power of a labial consonant, and corresponding in some cases with the Sanskrit भ he has assigned the value of *w*. An Englishman, probably, guided by Burnouf's reasoning, would have reversed the application of the signs; that is, he would have considered *w* as the semi-vowel, and *v* as the labial consonant, but this reversion, depending entirely on the constitution of the organs of speech, is of no consequence to the argument. The question is, if we are authorized by the illustration of Zend orthography to introduce a distinction between the powers of *w* and *v* into the alphabet of the inscriptions; and, I think we may with some confidence answer in the negative; for in the first place, in Sanskrit the two powers are represented indifferently by the same character, the व having the sound of *v* when it commences a syllable, and the sound of *w* when it is subjoined to another consonant; (compare वृह *Vriha* and द्वै *dwau*[2]): and in the second place we appear to have a precisely similar instance of this double value of the Cuneiform 𐎺 in the respective orthographies of *Parthwa*, where as the second member of a compound articulation it must have the open sound of *w*, and of *akhunavyatá*, where coalescing with the *y*, it can only be articulated as a consonant. Premising, then, that I conjecture the 𐎺 and 𐎹 to be almost identical in phonetic value, (the latter being a secondary form analogous to the 𐎼 and 𐎽, and exclusively designed for combination with the vowel *i*,) and that I have assigned to them different equivalents in the Roman character for the mere convenience of distinction, I proceed to the illustration of the respective characters. The following words, in which the Cuneiform 𐎺 is elemental, may be satisfactorily compared with their correspondents in other languages.

[1] See Yaçna. Sur l'Alph. Zend, p. 104, sqq.

[2] See Wilkins's Sanskrit Grammar, p. 10.

*W*arkána, "Hyrcania"; compare Zend [illegible].

*W*ayam, "we," Sans. वयं, Zend [illegible].

*W*arna*w*atám, &c., 3d pers. mid. imperat. from वर्ण, "to show or point out" (Eng. warn).

*W*ashná, from was, "to wish," Sans. वश, Zend [illegible]; compare volo, vis (see Yaçna, pp. 99. & 408.).

*W*inatiya, *w*ináhya, a*w*ina, *w*iniya, &c., from the root, win, "to see," Pehlevi [illegible] vin, Pers. بين bin. The Median translations enable us determinately to refer all the above terms to a single root.

The prefixed particle a*w*a. Sans. अव. I am not sure that this particle occurs in Zend.

The demonstrative pronoun a*w*a, whence *awathá, awadá,* &c. Zend. [illegible]. Pers. او.

(See Burnouf's elaborate note on this pronoun, marked A in the Yaçna.)

'U*w*a, Sans. स्व, Zend [illegible], Latin suus, Pers. خود, خويش, &c., "self."

*W*á, Sans. व, "and."

Na*w*am, Sans. नवं, Pers. نوم, "ninth."

Aba*w*a, &c., Sans. भव, Zend [illegible]; compare Pers. بوم "bawam," substantive verb.

Yá*w*á, Sans. यावान्, "as long as."

T'hu*w*am, Sans. त्वं, Zend [illegible], pronoun of the 2d person, nom. case.

If further proof were required of the value of the Cuneiform [illegible], it might be found in the euphonic employment of the letter to connect its cognate vowel with a dissimilar sound, of which I have given numerous instances in my observations on the vowels; in the plural terminations also of themes in *u*, where the semi-vowel replaces the original [illegible], as in *dahyáush, dahyáwa; Marghush, Márgawa,* &c.; in the characteristic of the 8th conjugation, as in *ashiyawa, warnawa,* &c., and in several forms of the 5th conjugation, where it is developed from the suffix in *nu*.

The Indian grammarians consider the Devanagari ब to be a secondary or inferior form of व, and it need not surprise us therefore

to find the Cuneiform 𐎺 degraded in modern Persian into ب, as I have shown the 𐎹 to be replaced occasionally by the ز. Of the latter change sufficient examples have been already given; for the former, we may compare *wazarka* and *wasiya* with بزرگ *buzurg* and بسی *basi* (from Sans. बीह or बृहत्); *wina*, "seeing," with Pehlevi 𐭥𐭩𐭭 *vin* and Persian بین *bín*; *ward(a)nam* with the old form of برد *bard*, &c. The interchange however of the *g* and *v*, although common to many languages of the Arian family, and acknowledged by philologists as a legitimate permutation[1], is not so immediately susceptible of explanation. It probably arises from the influence of the vowel *u*, which in the first place developes an aspirate, and is subsequently strengthened to a guttural, and is in fact analogous to the substitution of خ or *kh* for स्व. We may thus in comparing Sanskrit, Zend, and Cuneiform orthography with the modern Persian, usually pronounce the labial semi-vowel to be the original, and the guttural to be the degraded form, as in گشتاسپ *Gashtásp* for *Vishtáspa*; گرگان *Gurgán* for *Warkána*; *guráz*, "a hog," for वराह *varáha*[2]; گناه *gunáh*, "a fault," for the Pehlevi *vinák*, &c.; but at the same time it would be hazardous to assert that مروارید *Murwárid*, "a pearl," is a more ancient form than the Greek μαργαρίτης, or that مرو *Marv*, (Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬎 *Mouru*, Sans. मरुः *Marus*) is the original of the Cuneiform *Marghush*.

I have conjectured in a preceding passage that 𐏁 is the secondary form of the semi-vowel *u*, designed expressly for combination with the *i*; but it must not be inferred from such an observation that the primary character absolutely refuses to coalesce with that vowel. Undoubtedly where the vowel *i* requires to be united to a preceding *u*, it prefers the euphonic employment of the 𐏁 to that of the 𐎺, and we have thus *par'uwá*, *par'uviyat*; *Bábiruwa*, *Bábir'uviya*, and in substitution for the Sanskrit ु we have *dhuvitiyam* with the *i*, but *dhuwartam* with the *a*; yet, at the same time, neither does the 𐎺

[1] See Yaçna, p. 149.

[2] The ancient form is still preserved in the Kurdish *beráz*, and that it is a genuine old word we learn from the translation of "the wild hog," given by Abulfaragius to the Sassanian royal name Σαρβαράζας.

require to be altered when it happens to be elemental, as in *Parthwiya* and *awiya* from *Parthwa* and *awa*, nor when it is, in the Devanagari correspondent, disjoined from the preceding consonant, as in *dhuwishtam* for the Sanskrit द्विष्ठं, *davishtam*.

The only examples, I believe, in which the Cuneiform is subjoined to a consonant, are those already cited of *Parthwa* and *gáthwá*. In all other cases where the Sanskrit employs a compound character, the language of the inscriptions divides the syllables and interposes the euphonic . I now proceed to the verification of the secondary form .

v. The following list presents in a general view the words containing this character, most of which have been already separately cited for the purpose of other orthographical illustration.

*V*ishtáspa, Ὑστάσπης.

*V*idarna, Ὑδάρνης.

*V*idafraná, Ἰνταφέρνης.

*V*idafrá, Ἰντάφρης.

*V*iwána, perhaps the Persian گیو, preserved at Behistun in the word Γεοποθρος.

*V*iyak'hna, compare the Zend viyákhna.

*V*itha, &c., "a family," Sans. vija, Zend vacja. See Journ. Asiatique, IVme. Ser. Tom. 5., p. 288.

*V*isam, "entirely," adverb, from विश्, "to pervade"; compare विश्व, "all," "entire."

*V*is(a)dahyum, vis from Sans. विश्; the word probably signifies "public," but vis may have the meaning of "entrance."

*V*ispazanánám, vispa is the Sans. विश्व, Zend , "all."

*V*is(a)náhya, *v*is(a)náhat'ish. I cannot at present give the etymology of this word.

*V*iyaka or *v*iyasa. The particle here is certainly the Sans. वि, but the root is doubtful.

Par'*u*viyat } In these words the is interposed by the law of euphony
Bábir'*u*viya } to connect the dissimilar sounds of *u* and *i*.

Dhu*v*itiyam, dhu*v*itâtarnam; compare Sans. द्वि in द्वितीयं, "the second."

*V*iyatara (?), viya is for the Sans. वि, but the orthography of the verb is doubtful.

In the name *Vĭshtáspa* and in the term *Vĭtha*, "a house" or "family," the *i* is irregularly suppressed at Behistun, although preserved at Persepolis, from which I infer that the character 𐎥 appropriated exclusively to that vowel had come to be used to a certain extent syllabically; that is, that it was admitted to express the sound of the vowel as well as the labial consonant; and I have accordingly, in the cases above cited, continued to represent the *i* in the Roman character, but have marked the peculiar Cuneiform orthography, by placing a brief accent over the letter.

The detailed observations which I have made on the preceding character 𐎦 render it altogether superfluous to dwell on the orthographical rules that affect the 𐎥; for the two letters equally answer to the Devanagari व. They are interchangeable, indeed, with each other, in derivatives from *par'ush* and *Bábir'ush*, and they must be placed, I think, in the same phonetic relationship as the 𐎦 and 𐎧 or the 𐎦 and 𐎧, the one being the primary and proper form of the semi-vowel, adapted to every variety of alphabetical employment, while the other was designed for special combination with the vowel *i*, in accordance with the syllabic usage of the Median, and perhaps also, of the Babylonian writing.

It is not very safe to speculate on the form or origin of the labial semi-vowel of the Arianian or Parthian alphabets. If the one were 𐎥 and the other 𐎦, as I am inclined to believe, they may be compared respectively with the Hebrew and Sabean equivalents (ו and ـ); but the identifications are far from being established. In the Sassanian Inscriptions the character is better defined and is unquestionably Semitic. It is figured as 2 from the Palmyrene 2, and with hardly any visible distinction the same form is also employed in that alphabet for the *r*, a confusion of type which appears to have caused the subsequent degradation 𐎦 to be used in Zend for the vowel *o*, and in cursive Pehlevi for the final *r*[1], and it is not impossible that to the same

[1] Dr. Müller has established, beyond dispute, that the true power of the Pehlevi 𐎦 is *r*, and that the Parsis have been deceived in attributing to it the sound of *u*. See Essai sur le Pehlevi, p. 318, sqq.

confusion may be partly owing the indifferent employment in the latter alphabet of the character 𐎥 to express the *u*, (both as a vowel and a consonant,) and the *n*; which, I have already more than once observed, was the almost universal substitute in Pehlevi for the Arian *r*. The *u* of the Zend alphabet which was reduplicated to form the *w* (𐬅) is nearer to the Parthian form than to any other; but it would be hazardous to assign a derivation for the 𐬝, which expresses the semi-vowel in its condition of a labial consonant.

The only remaining letters of the alphabet are the sibilants and aspirate, which I class as follows:—

𐎱 *s*; 𐎲 *sh*; 𐎳 *z*; and 𐎴 *h*.

The discrimination of the powers and the relations of the sibilants and aspirate is I consider the most difficult portion of Cuneiform orthography. There is certainly a general resemblance between the laws which regulate the organisation of the class in the inscriptions and those which prevail in Zend, and it may be supposed, therefore, that we have an established basis for inquiry; but M. Burnouf, perhaps, on the one hand has carried refinement to an excess in his elaborate disquisitions on the employment of the respective characters in the latter language[1]; and on the other hand, the doubtful orthography arising from a disjunction of the signs and the limited extent of our Cuneiform materials, render it extremely hazardous to attempt the rectification of his system.

I will therefore merely observe, that as the same arguments appear in most cases to apply both to the Zend and to the language of the inscriptions, if I am justified in assigning to the Cuneiform 𐎱 and 𐎲 the respective values of *s* and *sh*, without reference to palatal or dental distinction, we may probably admit the Parsees to be correct in their similar employment of the 𐬰 and 𐬱 in their own alphabet; and we may believe the 𐬯 to be a mere variant of the latter character, to which it closely assimilates in form, and with which in the most authentic and correct of the Zend manuscripts it is used indifferently.

[1] See Yaçna; Sur l'Alph. Zend, p. 89, sqq.

The following remarks will explain the preliminary ground that I have taken up in examining the sibilants of the Cuneiform alphabet. 1. It has been proved by previous inquiry, that the language of the inscriptions neither acknowledged the classification of the alphabetical powers, nor the influence of one class upon another which was caused by the operation of the Devanagari law of *sandhi;* and it would be unreasonable, therefore, to expect to find in the organisation of the sibilants, the appropriation of a character like the Sanskrit श to the class of palatals, or of one like the ष or ष to that of the dentals. 2. The Cuneiform distinctions, throughout the various classes of the alphabet, are the gradations of surd and sonant, the development of the aspirate, and the secondary form appropriated to the *i;* if we find therefore two characters only assigned to the representation of the surd sibilant, we are undoubtedly authorized to regard them as the simple and aspirated form of the letter, that is, as *s* and *sh;* and if we are obliged to assign a distinct condition to the *z*, we must suppose it to be a sibilant of the sonant grade. 3. The vowels have been observed throughout the Cuneiform alphabet to exercise a remarkable influence on the consonants, and to that source, accordingly, should we be led "a priori" to attribute any fluctuations that might be perceptible in the respective employment of the 𒋗 and 𒋛.

Pursuing the indications afforded by these general prepositions, I will now specifically state the laws which appear to affect the relationship and interchange of the Sanskrit and Cuneiform sibilants, and which can, I believe, be verified by an examination of the inscriptions.

1. The dental sibilant of the Sanskrit, where it occurs as an initial articulation, or between the *a* and any other vowel, or between the *a* and the semi-vowel *y*, is replaced in the inscriptions by an aspirate, 𒋛.

2. If it be followed or preceded by a consonant, and the groupe either commence a syllable, or form the complement of the vowel *a*, the sibilant is usually retained in the language of the inscriptions, as 𒋗; but if the groupe be preceded by the *i* or *u*, then the power should be aspirated and take the form of *sh* 𒋛. There are, however, some remarkable exceptions to this rule.

3. As a terminal, in which case it is represented in Sanskrit by the *Visarga*, it appears in the inscriptions under the aspirated form if it be preceded by *i* or *u*, and is elided if it follow the *a*.

These are, I believe, the particular euphonic rules which determine the employment of the sibilants. They are not at the same time.

with the exception of the last, of universal application, and they are altogether independent of the question of the etymological correspondence of the letters in the Cuneiform and Devanagari alphabets. That subject will be examined under the heads of the respective letters, and will, I think, establish that the 𐎱, as the true surd sibilant of the alphabet, not only represents indifferently the श and स; but is also substituted for the Sanskrit palatal, and sometimes even for the aspirate; 2. That the 𐎲 as the aspirate of the preceding letter replaces etymologically the ष, and euphonically the श and स; 3. That the 𐎳, unknown to the Devanagari alphabet, is developed from an aspirate; and 4, That the 𐎴, corresponding in no instance with the ह, is strictly the euphonic substitute of the sibilants, and in this capacity not only replaces the स and ष, but even extends its application to the श[1], on the same principle which renders 𐎱 the indifferent representative of the palatal and dental power of the class in Sanskrit.

𐎱 *s*. The following examples will exhibit the various conditions of relationship which this character bears to the letters of the Devanagari alphabet; and the Greek correspondents, moreover, of the proper names will sufficiently establish its sibilant power.

As the correspondent of the Sanskrit श unaffected by any law of euphony:—

Pa*s*áwa, Sans. पश्चात्, Zend 𐬞𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀, Pers. پس, Latin pos-tea, Greek ὄ-πισ-θε.

*S*aká, Sans. शाक, Greek Σακαι, Pers. سك in سكستان segestán.

*S*ughda, Sans. शुक्त, Zend 𐬯𐬎𐬜𐬀𐬯𐬌, Greek Σουγδια, Pers. سغد.

*S*ikta'uwatish, Sans. शिक्त? "the name of a place."

Vi*s*am
Vi*s*(a)dahyum } Visa in both of these words, Sans. विश, Zend 𐬬𐬌𐬯.

[1] Perhaps I have hardly sufficient grounds for supposing the palatal श to be convertible to an aspirate; *'Ushka* or *Hushka* is certainly for शुष्क, but as we have also सुषि, "drying," the root may have been written originally with the dental sibilant.

Answering to the same letter in combination with the labials and preceded by an *a*:—

Vishtáspa, Zend [illegible], "Hystaspes."

Uwaspá, from वश्व and सु prefixed, Greek Χοάσπης.

Asbára, "a horseman," from अश्व, as اسوار from اسپ.

Asmána, "heaven," Zend [illegible], Pers. اسمان, from अश्म, "to spread."

For the Devanagari स as the first or second letter of a compound articulation, the groupe being initial, or preceded by the vowel *a*:—

Atarsa, tarsam, tarsatiya, from the root त्रस, "to fear," Pers. ترس; comp. Greek τρέ-μω, τρέω, Latin terreo, &c. &c.

Pársa, Pársiya, Pársam, &c., in Sans. पारसीक, Pers. پارس.

Basta, Zend [illegible] or [illegible], Pers. بسته, "bound."

Stánam, Sans. स्थान, Zend [illegible], Pers. ستان, "place."

Thastaniya, Sans. तिस्थन, Zend [illegible]. See Yaçna, Not. et Eclair., p. 53.

Upastám, Ardastána, Awastáyam } In all of these terms asta is from the Sans. ष्ठा or स्था, Zend [illegible], Greek ἵστημι, Latin sta.

Dastaya, Sans. हस्त्य; comp. Zend [illegible], Pers. دست, "hand."

Astiya, Sans. अस्ति, Zend [illegible], Pers است, "he is."

Ayastá, preposition of doubtful etymology.

Gastá, perhaps for the Persian کشتن, "to become."

In the numerous derivatives from *ras*, such as *arasa, arasam, parárasa, nirasátiya*, &c., &c., it answers to the Devanagari palatal, for the Sanskrit correspondent is certainly ऋच्छ *richch'h*, "to go" or "move;" and possibly there may be the same relationship between the Cuneiform *paras*[1], which has given rise to a great number of terms, such as *parasá, aparasam, ufrastam, patiparasáhya, patiparasátiya,*

[1] Pritchard (On the Celtic Nations, p. 82,) compares Greek, ὀρέγεται; Latin, porrigit; Teut. rakyan; Germ. reichen; English, reach; Celtic, righ; the Persian is رس, *ras*.

atifrashtát'iya (?) &c., and the Sanskrit पृच्छ, a similar orthographical change being observable in the Zend correspondent 𐬞𐬆𐬭𐬆𐬯 *pĕrĕç*, (Pers. پرس *purs*,) and the application of the root being extended from the simple meaning of "inquiry," to that of "suppression," or "punishment[1]"

Lastly, in the Cuneiform *wasiya*, "much," "many," for the Persian بسی *basi*, the 𐎱 answers to an aspirate in the Sanskrit, whether we compare the term with वृह, whence वृहत्, or with बहि, whence बहु.

There are other words in the inscriptions of which the etymology is not ascertained with sufficient precision to furnish certain grounds for analysis; such as

*S*parda, "Sparta."

A*s*(a)garta, "Sagartia."

K'hshanás*á*tiya, compare Persian شناس.

Dhur'usa, compare Persian درست.

U*s*(a)tashnám, us is probably the Zend 𐬎𐬱 or 𐬎𐬱, modified from the Sans. उत्, and tashanám may be from 𐬙𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥 for the Sanskrit तक्ष.

Vi*s*(a)náhya, vi*s*(a)náhat'ish, &c. It is impossible I believe to obtain any satisfactory Sanskrit etymology for visana; I conjecture वि and शण, "to give." The meaning appears to be "to neglect."

If in the two latter examples we should read *usta* and *visna*, it would be shown that the vowels *i* and *u*, preceding a sibilant in a groupe, did not necessarily aspirate it; an inference, indeed, which is confirmed by the orthography of *vispa* for the Sanskrit विश्व; but, on the other hand, I shall presently produce examples of an aspiration under such circumstances, which can only be attributed to the influence of the vowels; and I shall give an instance even of the substitution of the 𐎲 for श, where the conversion appears to have been caused by the aspirative quality of the nasal.

[1] May not *pressus* from *premo* be allied to the Cuneiform *paras*?

𐎱 *sh.* In the examination of this character it is important to bear in mind the law of Sanskrit orthography, by which the स preceded by a semi-vowel, a guttural, or any vowel but the *a* or *á* is converted to ष; for in those cases where the Cuneiform 𐎱 will not admit of etymological explanation, the development of the aspirate is usually, I think, to be traced to this euphonic principle. I shall class the examples accordingly under the various heads of etymological and euphonic employment, commencing with those terms which in their Sanskrit correspondents exhibit a radical ष, instead of स.

Dar*sh*am, adar*sh*iya, adar*sh*anush, Dádar*sh*ish, &c. &c., from the root darsh, Sans. धृष, Zend [illegible]. Burnouf compares Gr. θαρσύς or θρασύς. See Yaçna, p. 44.

'Uwámar*sh*iyush,—marshiyush is from मृष, "to endure."

Ai*sh*a, ai*sh*atata, &c., compare Sanskrit इष, "to go."

Frái*sh*aya, comp. Sans. प्रेष, "sending," Pers. فرست; or فرشته, "an angel," i.e. "one who is sent."

We cannot ascertain with equal certainty the derivation of the following terms, but in all of them, probably, the *sh* is elemental.

*Sh*iyátish; shi is probably for ष, "best," "excellent."

Ar*sh*áma. The Sanskrit etymon is perhaps ऋष, as in ऋषि, "a Rishi."

A*sh*iyawa; shi is "to go" in some of the old dialects of Persian, but I doubt if there be any Sanskrit correspondent.

Ha*sh*iyam. I cannot give the etymology of this word.

Ni*sh*ida; nish is probably for निर्, as dush is for दुर्. The same substitution occurs in Zend.

In all those words which contain the groupe 𐎲𐎰𐎠 𐎱 *k'hsh,* and of which, as I have enumerated an extensive list in my observations on the letter 𐎲𐎰𐎠, I need not multiply examples, we may believe the aspiration in each character to be developed by the mutual influence of the guttural and sibilant. The combination of *ks* or *k'hs* we may consider to be as foreign to the language of the inscriptions, as would

be that of *ksh*, and in such a restriction therefore of orthography, we may perceive the operation of two distinct laws, viz. the Zend aspiration of a guttural preceding a sibilant, and the Sanskrit aspiration of a sibilant subjoined to a guttural. That the Cuneiform alphabet did not, at the same time, acknowledge the application of the Devanagari rule of conversion to the semi-vowels as well as to the gutturals, is shown by the orthography of *Parsa* and *tarsa*, which, according to Sanskrit sandhi should be *Parsha* and *tarsha*.

I will now consider the 𐎧 as the first member of a compound letter, deriving its aspirative development from the preceding vowel or the following consonant.

We have in the first place the superlative termination in *ishta*, as in

Mathi*sh*ta, Sans. महिष्ठ, Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬱𐬙𐬀, which I believe should be pronounced mazishta rather than mazista;

Dhuwi*sh*tam, Sans. दविष्ठं, "longest," "farthest;"

Abi*sh*tam, apparently a superlative of abi, Sanskrit अभि, signifying "superiority;"

where the aspiration, common, as I think, both to the Zend and Sanskrit, is owing to the influence of the vowel *i*. We may compare also the following examples, where the sibilant coalesces with the gutturals and labials as well as with the dentals.

Kápi*sh*kánish, a name for which I doubt if we have any correspondent.

Chi*sh*pish, Τείσπης.

Vi*sh*táspa, Ὑστάσπης, Zend 𐬬𐬌𐬱𐬙𐬁𐬯𐬞𐬀 vishtáspa.

Nipi*sh*tam, compare Persian نوشتن, "to write."

It has been already remarked that in the derivatives from the root ष्ठा, (or, as it usually becomes in Sanskrit स्था,) the Cuneiform employs in the same position the orthography of *stá* instead of *shtá;* but we observe that where the *i*, although not immediately coalescing with the groupe, still exerts its euphonic influence, the sibilant of the inscriptions adopts the aspirated form[1], as in *niyashtáya;* and there is even a more remarkable instance of this commutation in the term

[1] The Zend, in the same way, employs the 𐬱 instead of the 𐬯 in derivatives from *sta*, after the vowel *i*. See Burnouf's elaborate note on the groupes *çt* and *st*. Yaçna, Not. et Eclair., p. 53.

atifrashtát'iya, where the Sanskrit palatal, becoming in the first instance a sibilant, is afterwards aspirated by the apparent force of the liquid groupe *fr*[1].

There is not an equally extensive field for verifying the power of the *u*, but where we do meet with the vowel immediately preceding a sibilant to which another consonant is subjoined, the form is aspirated; as in the name of *Vispáwushtish*[2], in *'ushka,* (Sans. शुष्क, Zend [illegible], Persian خشک,) and in *dushtá* for the Persian دوست *dúst.* In *dhushiyára* also, where the initial particle answers to the Sanskrit दुर् *dur,* the aspiration is unquestionably caused by the vowel, notwithstanding the interposition of the euphonic *i* between the sibilant and the following *y*; and perhaps even the same remark will apply to *dash(a)bárim,* where the *u,* although irregularly suppressed, appears to retain its power of aspiration. That the vowel *i,* at the same time, did not aspirate the sibilant unless in combination with another power, (and not always even in that position, if the Sanskrit correspondent were the श rather than the स,) has been abundantly proved by the examples already given; and we are enabled to assert a similar defect in the influence of the *u* by observing the orthography of *dhurusa* and *Us(a)tash(a)nám.* The latter word is of questionable derivation, and although, therefore, the initial *us* is an orthographical example of certainty and value, we can hardly ascertain whether the sibilant in *tash(a)nám* may be aspirated by the force of the nasal, or whether it may exist in the etymon; but in *washná,* at any rate, the 𐎱 can only be explained by a law of euphony, for the corresponding letter of the Sanskrit root is श, (वश "to wish,") and we have thus a most important indication that the Cuneiform alphabet, applying its law of aspiration equally to the श and स, could not have duly distinguished between the powers of the palatal and dental.

The employment of the 𐎱 as a terminal, is unquestionably also connected with the influence of the vowels, and may be thus ex-

[1] It is remarkable, however, that we have the compound participle *ufrastam,* with the unaspirated 𐎴, from this same root.

[2] This name, which occurs in col. 2, line 94, is unfortunately imperfect in the Persian transcript, and is merely restored conjecturally from the Median, so that it is not safe to argue on its orthography.

plained. The language of the inscriptions, as I have frequently observed, acknowledges a very rigid law with regard to the termination of its vocables. It affects the vowel *a* in that position and admits the *m* and *sh*, but is disinclined to, or rejects, every other power[1]. Now in those numerous verbal and substantival inflexions, which in Sanskrit are formed in *as* and *ás*, the vowel *a* acting upon the dental sibilant, unsupported by the junction of another consonant, would in the inscriptions necessarily convert it into an aspirate, and the aspirate, as an impossible terminal articulation, would be cut off; but if the sibilant were preceded by the *i* or *u*, then the euphonic modification to which it would be subject, would be merely that of conversion to the aspirate of its class, and *sh* being a legitimate termination would be preserved intact. To this peculiarity, then, of orthographical structure, must we attribute the apparent anomaly of the Cuneiform *ish* and *ush* being employed in all those grammatical suffixes, where the Sanskrit has a *Visarga*, preceded by the *i* or *u* or modifications of these vowels; while the Devanagari अः or आः is replaced in the language of the inscriptions with the same uniformity, and in identical positions, by the unexpressed short *a*, or by the elongated 𐎡. For the elision of the *Visarga*, we may compare the forms of the masc. nom. sing. and plural, and the fem. genitive and abl. sing. and nom. and acc. plural of the 1st declension; the fem. gen. sing. of the 2nd declension and the nom. plural masc. and fem. of the 3rd declension; while we may observe the sibilant to be preserved in the instrum. and dat. plural of the 1st declension; in the nom. and gen. masc. sing. and the nom. fem. sing. of the 2nd declension; and in the nom. and abl. masc. sing. and the nom. fem. sing. of the 3rd declension. The application of the rule is rigid, and the uniformity, therefore, is complete in all the instances above cited, if we except the inflexion of the instrumental plural of the 1st declension, where the Cuneiform has *ibish* for the Sanskrit *ebhyas*; but as the Devanagari form was, no doubt, originally *ebis* or *aibis*, and became subsequently degraded to *ebhyas*, the retention of the aspirated sibilant in the inscription is merely a proof of the high antiquity of the form. There is no single example, I believe, in which we have the Cuneiform termination of *ash*, except in the word *awadash*, and in that case, an ablatival suffix being irregularly subjoined to an adverb of place, the Zend and Sanskrit are deficient in any cor-

[1] I have already remarked an exception to this rule in the orthography of the ablative *par'uviyat*.

responding grammatical development with which we may institute a comparison.

It remains that I should notice a remarkable instance of the euphonic interposition of the 𐎱 before a palatal. In *kashchiya*, "any one," and *chishchiya*, "every one," the sibilant is the true nominatival suffix, which becoming an aspirate, would have been elided in the one after an *a*, had the pronoun been used without its indefinite adjunct, but would have been retained in the other in its aspirated form after an *i;* and the introduction of the 𐎱 accordingly, in those examples, only differs from the usage in Zend, in so far as regards the employment in the latter language of the 𐬰 *s*, rather than the 𐬱 *sh*, in obedience to a law of permutation, which had been imperfectly adopted from the Sanskrit[1]; but in the neuter nominative sing. *aniyashchiya*, and in the neuter accusative plural *awashchiya*, the appearance of the 𐎱 cannot thus be accounted for, if we follow the Sanskrit form of pronominal inflexion. There are, at the same time, certain indications which lead me to believe that the sibilant was the true neuter characteristic of the language of the inscriptions, and that in this respect the grammar of the ancient Persian varied in a remarkable way from that of the Zend and Sanskrit. We have the accusative neuter in *im hat'ish*. We have the suffixed plural neuter in *at'ish;* we have *imá* in the acc. plu. neuter for *imah*, (originally *imas*,) as *ká* stands for *kah*, (originally *kas*[2],) and there are other examples which will be cited in treating on the grammar. *Aniyas* and *awas*, then, I suppose to be the true forms which, disjoined from the suffix, would be written *aniya* and *awa* for *aniyah* and *awah*, but which preserve the sibilant when it is no longer terminal. The only question is, why the sibilant, which, if the form existed in Sanskrit, would be of course the स or the Visarga, rather than the ष, should be aspirated; and for this I can assign no reason but the composite influence of the succeeding palatal, an influence which we have seen exerted by the nasal in the still more remarkable orthography of *washná*, from the root वज्ञ. It is to these particular

[1] For the re-appearance of the sibilant in Zend before the suffixed particle *cha*, see Yaçna, passim, but particularly page 28.

[2] In *imá* and *ká* for *imah* and *kah*, we must observe that the aspirate is in the first place cut off, and that the *a* being then a terminal, is elongated according to the genius of the language.

groupes of *ashch* and *ashn*, that I have alluded in the reservation I have made against the general application of the rule which requires the Cuneiform sibilant, without reference to palatal or dental distinction, to retain its primitive power, in cases where, preceded by the vowel *a*, it forms a compound letter with another consonant.

I have purposely avoided comparing the Zend and Cuneiform groupes which comprise the sibilant; for although I believe the 𐬯 to correspond with the 𐎱 as the 𐬱 answers to the 𐎲, the two characters having the distinct and independent powers of *s* and *sh*, and although I can perceive a general similarity between the orthographical rules which determine the respective employment of the sibilants in the two alphabetical systems, still, with my imperfect information, I am not prepared to combat the opinions of so eminent a scholar as M. Burnouf; and even if I were to undertake a full comparative analysis, that the coincidence would not prove to be complete is shown by the want of an aspiration in such terms as 𐬫𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 *yascha*, 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀 *áoscha*[1], &c. I cannot refrain, at the same time, from adding one observation on the support which my determination of the relative value of the sibilants (𐎱 = 𐬯 = *s*; 𐎲 = 𐬱 and 𐬴 = *sh*) derives from the pronunciation of modern Persian. M. Burnouf rejects the authority of the Parsis, who invariably pronounce 𐬱 as *sh*, and supposes that in the lapse of years they have lost the true oral value of the character; but how will he meet the argument that the Persian language, from the Arab conquest to the present day, has clearly distinguished between the powers of the *s* and *sh*, attributing the former to all those terms in the Cuneiform and Zend correspondent of which we find the 𐎱 or 𐬯, and the latter to those in which we have the 𐎲 or 𐬱, without any reference whatever to the relative orthography of the Sanskrit etymons? *Dúshtá* and *fráishaya*[2], are, I believe, the only words of which the Persian correspondents fail in expressing the aspiration. In all others, the 𐎱 is replaced by س,

[1] Burnouf would write *yaçtcha* and *áoçtcha;* and in expressing the Zend sibilants in Roman characters I have usually followed his orthography of 𐬯 = ç and 𐬱 = *s*.

[2] In the term, however, of فرشته "an angel," we have the aspirated sibilant, as in the inscriptions.

and the 𐎱 by ش, and a very extensive vocabulary might be superadded, of which we have not the ancient Persian correspondents, but in which the latter character replaces in the modern language the Sanskrit स, either modified to the aspirate of its class, or converted to a Visarga, according to its orthographical position[1].

The relationship of the forms employed in the ancient alphabets of Persia is exceedingly obscure. The 𐬯 of the Zend and Pehlevi may be from the Sassanian 𐬭 *s*, or 𐬯 *sh*, and the latter of these forms, which is also written 𐬯, may have been adopted from the Aramean 𐬯; but the Parthian characters are of doubtful figure, and the Arianian of doubtful origin; and it appears difficult to attach to any specific source the 𐬯[2] which in Zend as well as in Pehlevi represented the aspirated power.

𐎵𐎶 *z*. This character may be compared with the 𐬰 of the Zend alphabet in its substitution for the Devanagari ह and ज; but it will be observed to exercise an independent function, or at any rate one which is but imperfectly preserved in Zend, if it be admitted as the equivalent of the Sanskrit छ *chch'h*. I have been induced to consider the letter as a sonant, by remarking the euphonic employment of its correspondent in Zend as a substitute for the surd sibilant before the sonant powers, *g, j, d, b,* and *v,* and by observing that the Cuneiform character itself also affects combination with the *d*. It is important, however, to bear in mind that the language of the inscriptions recognised in a very imperfect way, if at all, the operation of the law of sandhi, and that it need not surprise us therefore to find either the surd sibilant coalescing with sonants of the other classes, as in *asbára, asmána,* and perhaps, *Asgarta* and *visdahyum*[3]) or the sonant *z* in combination with the *t*, as in the doubtful word *uztayápatiya*.

[1] I allude particularly to the numerous verbal nouns in *ish*, such as *safárish, guzárish, sázish, namáish, aráish,* &c., where the termination appears to me beyond question to be the suffix in *i*, and where the sibilant must accordingly be the sign of the nom. case of the 2nd declension.

[2] The Pehlevi sign is more correctly 𐬯.

[3] It can hardly be owing, however, to accident, that the *sh* combines exclusively with the surds. There is not, I believe, a single instance in which we find the 𐎱 preceding the *g, j, d,* or *b*; and although it unites with *n*, it is doubtful if that letter can be considered a sonant.

I now proceed to give a list of the words in which we have the letter 𒁹𒌋𒁹.

A'uramazdá, Ὠρομάσδης. The element 𐬀𐬨𐬀 in this name, which is also found in Zend under the form of 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬙𐬀, is proved by Burnouf (Yaçna, p. 70. seq.) to be cognate with the Sanskrit महत्.

Wazarka, Persian بزرك, from the Sanskrit बृहत्.

'Uwáraz(a)m'iya, "Chorasmia," I believe the *zm* or *zam* in this name to be Persian زم or زمين, "land," a cognate form with the Zend zâo (accus. 𐬰𐬀𐬌), which Burnouf compares with the Sanskrit गौः. See Yaçna, Not. et Eclair., p. 49.

Zaraka, "Zarangia"; comp. Zend 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬉𐬯𐬀, Pehlevi zaré, from Sans. हरि, "green."

Wahyazdáta; yaz in this name is probably the Zend 𐬬𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬉, which again is from the Sanskrit यज, "to worship."

Azdá, a very difficult word, which, if it signify "known" or "believed," would appear to be from अच्छ, "clear" or "transparent."

Uz(a)tayápatiya. It is on a mere conjecture that I refer this word to उच्छ, signifying "to destroy" or "bind."

Zazána, the name of a Babylonian city for which we have no correspondent.

Zurakara, "a tyrant"; compare Sans. जूर, Persian زور, &c.

Par'uzanánám; zanánám is certainly from जन्, Zend 𐬰𐬀𐬥, "to engender."

M. Burnouf has elaborately explained the series of articulations which connect the Devanagari ह with the Zend 𐬵; he has undertaken to show that the primitive aspiration, merging in one class of the derivatives into gutturals, passes in another through the sibilants to the palatals, and from that class to the dentals; he gives, in fact, the following series, *h, sh, jh,* (French *j*), *z, dj,* (English *j*), *d*[1]; but I question greatly if Cuneiform orthography will accord with this classification. I would rather suppose that the developments proceeded from the primitive sibilants in collateral lines; and I would add, that the 𒁹𒌋𒁹 must at any rate be intercalated in the series; for we have in *mathishta* and *mazda,* from the Sanskrit महत् *mahat,* the *th* and *z*

[1] See Yaçna, passim, but particularly the article on the letter *z*, in the Observations on the Zend Alphabet, p. 79, sqq.

representing a radical aspirate under different degrees of development; and we have 𐎲𐎹𐎲, 𐎹𐎱, and 𐎹𐎶𐎹 answering to the same power in the respective forms of *Wahyazdáta, wasiya,* and *wazarka,* which may, perhaps, be severally compared with the Sanskrit वृह *vrĭha.* The relationship of *z* with the palatals is exceedingly close. In Zend, the two powers are used indifferently in the orthography of the same word, as in 𐎰𐎶𐎰 *zan,* or 𐎱𐎶𐎰 *jan,* for the Sanskrit हन् "to strike," 𐎶𐎰𐎱𐎶𐎶 *arĕza,* and 𐎶𐎰𐎱𐎶𐎶 *areja,* from the Sanskrit *rĭh,* "to be worth." In Sanskrit, the ज uniformly replaces the *z* of foreign alphabets, and the respective pronunciation of the characters is undistinguishable in several of the dialects of the Peninsula. In *Vahyazdáta,* then, *Par'uzanánám,* and *Zurakara,* the substitution of the 𐎹𐎶𐎹 for the Devanagari ज, appears almost as a regular permutation; but I cannot allude with the same confidence to the employment of the Cuneiform character for च्छ, which I have been obliged to suppose in assigning an etymology to *Uz(a)tayápatiya* and *azdá.* To afford, indeed, any reasonable explanation of the change, we must suppose the surd palatal to have passed into the surd sibilant, (as in *paras,* Zend 𐎱𐎰𐎶𐎶𐎶 *perĕç* from प्रच्छ), before it took the form of a sonant; but for this double permutation, I know not that we have any precedent in Zend orthography.

I have only to add, that if we followed Zend analogy we should certainly connect the characters 𐎹𐎶𐎹 and 𐎶𐎲, as the aspirated and unaspirated forms of the sonant sibilant, for in that language, the 𐎰 and 𐎱 regularly and respectively replace the *s* and *sh,* when the surd sibilants fall upon a sonant of another class[1]; but against this classification I have to observe, that the same euphonic law of conversion was not applicable to the language of the inscriptions, and that the 𐎶𐎲, moreover, would appear to be determinately assigned to the palatals by its interchange with 𐎲𐎱 in expressing the inflexions of the same noun.

The letter *z* was unknown to any branch of Indian Palæography; and the Bactrians even, who must have been familiar with the articu-

[1] See Yaçna, Sur l'Alph. Zend, p. 86 and 121.

lation from their intercourse with Western nations, failed to represent it in their alphabet. In all the other systems of writing however, which succeeded the Cuneiform in Persia, the character resumed its place, and we have thus in evident connection with a Semitic type, (Hebrew ז, or Syriac ܙ), the Parthian ʃ, the Sassanian ʃ, and ʃ of the Zend and Pehlevi.

𐎼𐎽𐎼 *h.* The laws which regulate the employment of this character in the inscriptions, are very similar to those under which the 𐬵 replaces in Zend the dental sibilant of the Devanagari; but they are less extensively developed, and perhaps less regularly applied. We can hardly say that the Cuneiform 𐎼𐎽𐎼 has no etymological existence, for it is found in a few roots; but at the same time, there is not, I believe, a single term in the inscriptions, admitting of comparison with a Sanskrit correspondent, in which the character does not replace a Devanagari sibilant[1]; and that the substitution, moreover, is employed in mere accordance with euphonic rules, is shown by the reproduction of the sibilant under other conditions of orthographical structure. The circumstances, then, under which the 𐎼𐎽𐎼 replaces a Devanagari sibilant are, as I have before remarked; 1stly, when the articulation is initial; and 2ndly, when the power, preceded by the vowel *a*, is either terminal, (in which case the Cuneiform aspirate is elided,) or is followed by a vowel or the semi-vowel *y*. I shall give examples of these various conditions of permutation under separate heads. In the following words the 𐎼𐎽𐎼 answers to an initial:—

*H*ar'uwa, Sans. सर्व्व, Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬎𐬀, "all."

*H*adá, Sans. सह, "with."

*H*idhush, Sans. सिन्धुः, "India."

*H*atiya, Sans. सन्ति, Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬥𐬙𐬌, Latin sunt, "they are."

*H*achá, Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀, formed, according to Burnouf, from स and च.

*H*ariwa, "Aria;" compare सरित्, "a river," whence هري رود.

[1] I should add, perhaps, that this sibilant is exclusively the dental; for, as I have already observed, शुष्क which in the inscriptions is written *'Uskha* for *hushka*, may be a corruption of सुष्क.

*H*ara'uwatish, Sans. सरस्वतिः, Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬱, "Arachosia."

*H*iná, perhaps from the Sans. धि, "to bind;" comp. Sans. सेना, "an army."

We may compare, also, the numerous compounds cited in my observations on the letter *m*, of which the prefixed particle is the Sanskrit सं, represented in the inscriptions by *Ha* or *ham*.

I have already fully explained that the Cuneiform 𐎲𐎰 possessed an inherent aspiration, and that it was therefore unnecessary to express before that vowel the substitute of the Devanagari स. Bearing this in mind, then, we may observe the following examples of medial permutation, the Sanskrit being preceded by an *a*, and followed by another vowel.

Atha*h*a, atha*h*am, atha*h*ya, from शस, Zend 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 or 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬱; comp. Pers. گفتن, Germ. sagen, &c.

A'*h*a, á*h*am, a*h*atá, &c., from the substantive verb aha (Sans. अस, "to be") conjugated regularly[1].

A'urá, Sans. असुर, Zend 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬹𐬭𐬀.

Aniyá'uwá, Sans. अन्यासु, loc. case plural fem. of अन्य, "other."

The letter *h*, however, particularly affects combination with the *y*, and we find *ahya*, therefore, put for असि in the 2nd pers. pres. of the substantive verb, as well as *hya* for स्य in the genitival inflexions of nouns masculine in *a*. The introduction, indeed, of the euphonic *i*, after the *h* and *r*, appears to have been optional, and we have thus the double forms of *ahyáyá* and *ahiyáyá*, for the Sanskrit अस्यायाः as for धुर्य्यै, we have *dhuriya* and *dhurya*.

The permutation of the Sanskrit sibilant to an aspirate as a terminal sign when preceded by an *a*, is exemplified in the substantival

[1] I should suppose from the Cuneiform *aha*, that the form of 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 which occurs in the Vendidad Sade, was a more regular orthography than 𐬀𐬎𐬎 or 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 which in Zend usually represents the 3rd pers. imperf. of the substantive verb. See Journ. Asiat., tom. V., IV. Series, p. 305. In Zend, however, there is 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬵𐬀 *áoŋha*, "he was," which answers exactly to *áha*.

inflexions, which are cited in detail in my remarks on the letter 𐎠; and in those cases, agreeably to the restrictive law of Cuneiform termination, the 𐎢 is necessarily elided.

It remains that I should notice some remarkable cases of the elision of the aspirate as a medial, where it is required to replace the Devanagari स in a compound letter. We have in the first place the example of *thátiya*, "he says," for a form which, if the verb were of the 2nd conjugation, would be in Sanskrit शास्ति, a notable instance, as it appears to me, of irregular orthography; for according to all precedent, the Cuneiform word should be *thastiya*, or, if the verb were of the 1st conjugation, *thahatiya*. The elongation of the *a* may possibly compensate, in some degree, for the unusual suppression of the sibilant; but the form, nevertheless, can hardly be considered other than as a vulgarism. In the conjugation of the substantive verb also, we have another example of suppression which may possibly depend upon a fixed law of orthography, but from which I think it would be unsafe to draw any general inference. Thus, in all languages of the Arian family, the root अस् *as*, "to be," is found with more or less modification; and we are justified in believing the form to have been preserved intact in the Achæmenian Persian, by remarking the orthography of *astiya*, (Sans. अस्ति), where the sibilant, preceded by an *a* and falling on a dental, is retained with its original power; it is perfectly regular also, that the sibilant should be converted to an aspirate in the forms of *ahya*, *áha*, *áham*, *áhata*, *ahatiya*, &c., but the substitution of *amʿiya* for अस्मि, and *ámahya* for आस्महि[1] presents the anomaly of the lapse of the sibilant or aspirate before the *m*, and I am almost inclined to attribute this suppression to some general orthographical principle, when I compare the Σμέρδις of Herodotus with the Μαρδος of Æschylus; Samarcand and Μαρακάνδα; Latin *Memor*, and Sans. स्मृ *smri*[2], &c. The only word in the inscriptions in which we have the groupe *sm* is *asmána*, and in the

[1] I have remarked above, that the 𐎢 never answers to the Devanagari ह; but an exception must be made in favour of the 1st pers. plural of the present and imperfect tenses of verbs; *ámahya* is the 1st pers. plur. of the middle imperf. of the substantive verb.

[2] M. Burnouf has an excellent note upon the subject of the suppression of *s* in the groupe *sm*, in which he particularly compares the 1st pers. plur. of verbs in Zend and Sanskrit. See Yaçna, Not. et Eclair., p. 67.

Sanskrit root, it must be remembered, from which that word is derived, the sibilant is palatal, not dental. I cannot at the same time, pending further research, venture on anything more than a suggestion, that the retention in the inscriptions of the Sanskrit dental sibilant, under the form of 𒁹 and in connexion with the vowel *a*, may be dependent on its being preceded by an *r*, or followed by a *t*[1]; and that in any other compound position, where, preceded by the *a* it may fall upon a consonant, the regular conversion may possibly take place to an aspirate, and that aspirate may be elided in the same way as if it were a terminal.

There is nothing further, I believe, which calls for special explanation in the employment of the Cuneiform 𒌋𒀸𒌋. As an orthographical power it is unquestionably inferior in point of antiquity to the primitive sibilant, and although, therefore, many old grammatical forms have been preserved in the Cuneiform Inscriptions which have been lost in the Sanskrit even of the Vedas, still from the very important change which we perceive the Persian to have undergone by substituting an aspirate for the *s*, we may pronounce it as a language to be a later offset from the Arian stock, than the kindred speech of Aryavartta. The Zend, I have no doubt, adopted the principles of permutation between the sibilants and aspirate, chiefly from the Achæmenian Persian; but it refined upon the primitive system, both in admitting euphonic influences from the more polished Sanskrit, and in creating fresh laws, agreeably to its own peculiar orthographical genius. The substitution of 𒁹 for 𒌋𒌋 before a palatal, the employment of *z* and *zh*, (or *jh*, French *j*) for the surd sibilants *s* and *sh* when united to a sonant power, and the admission of the groupes *hm* and *hv*, are unequivocal indications of a Devanagari influence having superseded the simplicity of Cuneiform organisation; while the introduction of a nasal guttural before the aspirate, which represents the Sanskrit sibilant, is a development peculiar to the language of the Zend, but which would appear, nevertheless, to have existed in the dialects of Ariana, as early as the time of the inscriptions[2].

[1] Such, at any rate, it will have been observed, are the only positions in which the 𒁹 replaces the Devanagari स, and the field of comparison is sufficiently ample.

[2] In the name of Δράγγαι there may be some doubt regarding the origin of the nasal, but in the 'Οροσάγγαι of Herodotus, for the Zend *hvarĕzag̃hó*, it is certainly the euphonic development peculiar to that language, and unknown in the inscriptions.

From the forms of the letters which were used in the ancient alphabets of Persia to express the aspirate, we may infer a certain degree of guttural pronunciation, for the characters are certainly referable to the Semitic *Kheth*. The Parthian , in fact, is the same as the Palmyrene, and although the Arianian may be doubtful, the Sassanian is certainly the Hebrew ח. The Zend adopted the form of from the Pehlevi , which, again was a mere development of the vowel *a*, , and which was indebted for its power of aspiration to the usage of Hebrew orthography.

It will be remarked in my alphabetical table, that I have assigned to three characters doubtful equivalents. It is of no great importance to investigate the phonetic powers of these signs, for they are of very limited employment, and the signification of the words in which they occur, is fortunately independent of their identification.

The first of these doubtful characters is met with in a single word, which appears, in the latter part of the reign of Darius to have replaced the vernacular title of *k'hsháyathiya*, "a king." The title is written ; and on the supposition that the etymology must be necessarily Arian, it has been read *naya* and *narpa*. It is impossible, however, to regard , I think, as a variant of , for in that case the two signs would certainly interchange in other positions; and with regard to its appropriation to a compound power, *rp*, I may observe that the expression of two consonants by a single letter is altogether opposed to the simplicity of primitive Cuneiform orthography, (for in the character , which I represent by *tř*, I suppose the liquid to have been almost dormant,) and that if, moreover, *narpa* had been, under the Achæmenians, a synonym of royalty, we must necessarily expect to find some trace of the form, either in the construction of proper names, or in the vocabulary of the modern language. These objections I consider quite sufficient to invalidate Professor Lassen's reading[1], but at the same time, I can hardly replace it by any more satisfactory explanation. The power, in fact, which I have, after much consideration, adopted for the character , and the

[1] Lassen throughout his last Memoir, see Zeitschrift, &c., vol. VI., reads *narpa*, and translates "hominum tutor."

grounds upon which that adoption depends, must be regarded as suggestions which I offer to the consideration of better Orientalists, rather than opinions which I am in any way prepared to defend. I would propose, then, to read 𐤀𐤀, as *naqa*, supposing the 𐤀 to be a guttural articulation, foreign to the Persian, and perhaps borrowed from Egypt; and in support of this reading I would add that, as the earliest employment of the title is on the Suez stone, that circumstance alone would indicate its Egyptian origin; while we may gather from the name of *Necho*, and the epithet of *Negus*, or نجاش *Najásh*, applied to the Kings of Æthiopia, that a word of similar construction was actually in use upon the Nile, as a royal designation[1]. Adopted in Babylonia, it may possibly, also, appear in the name of עבד נגו, *Abednego*, for which I have never seen a satisfactory explanation, but which I would suppose to be synonymous with the Arabic عبد الملك *'Abdu'l Malik;* and if its original signification were merely indicative of superiority, it may exist both in the Arabic نجيب *Nájib*, "noble," and in the Persian نخست *nikhust*, a superlative form equivalent to "the first," for which we shall vainly seek an Arian etymology. I think it always extremely hazardous to speculate on the powers of Cuneiform characters from the relationship of ther forms; but it is at any rate remarkable, that the 𐤀 *kh* should, on the one hand, assimilate the 𐤀𐤀𐤀 *k'h* in exhibiting a moiety of its figure, while, on the other, it only varies from the 𐤀 in the transposition of the signs. Unable as I am at present to consult any Coptic authorities, I will not farther pursue a subject which is of little immediate interest, and which moreover, I am incompetent to discuss. The value of *q*, which I assign to the character in question in the alphabetical table, is adopted for the purpose of distinction from the other gutturals, rather than as a mark of its identity with the Semitic ق. If the explanation which I have given of the title should be verified by subsequent research, the particular guttural power of the 𐤀 must be decided by Coptic pronunciation.

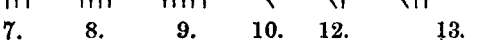
The remaining letters are degradations of a late age, when the language had lost much of its original purity, and abbreviations, of perhaps stenographic signs, had come to be substituted for individual

[1] Morinus de Paradiso Terrestri, p. 11, derives the title of *Negus*, from ነግሠ *nagĕsa*, "to rule," or "reign," in Æthiopic. See Bochart's Phaleg, vol. I.

alphabetic expression. We have thus in the tablets of Artaxerxes Ochus that are found at Persepolis, the forms of and replacing the characters in the words *dahyunám* and *dahyum*, and we may infer, therefore, that they were employed to express the sound of *dah;* while the extraordinary sign , standing in the same tablets for , in the word *bum'iyá*, may be suppose to be a stenographic contraction for *bum'i*. I do not at the same time consider these identifications to be established; for it is possible, that in the age of Artaxerxes Ochus, the words *dahyáush*, "a country," and *bum'ish*, "the earth," may have become degraded in pronunciation, or may have been indeed replaced by other vocables; a supposition which derives further support from our remarking in the very same inscriptions, that where the accusative *bum'im*, (or *bumám*, as it is there written,) is employed, the literal orthography is adapted "in extenso." The further examination of these obscure characters may, I think, be conveniently postponed until excavations at Persepolis or Pasargadæ supply us with fresh materials, which may connect the legends of Artaxerxes Ochus with those of Xerxes and Darius.

A set of numerals is also used in the inscriptions to express the respective monthly dates upon which the different actions were fought between Darius and the rebel leaders whom he reduced; and although such dates do not furnish us with a complete series of figures, they occur with sufficient frequency to indicate a decimal notation, and to point out the system upon which that notation was expressed. We have the following groupes representing numbers, and a mere computation of their elements affords, I think, decisive evidence of their value.

1. 2. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 12. 13.



15. 23. 26. 27.

The principle of this notation was unquestionably that expressed the units, and the decades, the signs being shortened to admit of superposition, and being multiplied according to the number it was intended to express. Whether, at the same time, the series of decades extended, like the units, to an hundred, (99 being written) which the poverty of elemental signs renders probable, and in what

manner the higher series of figures may have been represented, we have no means at present of determining. As the Cuneiform writing possessed but one other element, which was the horizontal ➢, I should expect to find that sign appropriated to the centenaries; but it would be hazardous to speculate on the form which may have been given to the chiliads; and inquiry beyond that point would be altogether fruitless, for it is by inference alone that we can suppose the notation to have ascended in a series of decimals[1]. The only irregularity which I can observe in the groupes occurring at Behistun is that the sign 𐏑, representing the odd number, sometimes precedes, but more generally follows the even series. I did not however remark the circumstance upon the spot, and I cannot therefore be certain, that in copying the numbers 13 and 27, I have not fallen into error. On referring, indeed, to my rough copies of the inscriptions, I find, that wherever I have given the unit 𐏑 on the left hand of the short signs, the numeral is marked as doubtful; and it is accordingly very possible, that in these several cases I have mistaken 𐏒 for 𐏑, and that the law which places the odd number at the end of the series is constant and regular.

Before closing this chapter on the Cuneiform alphabet, I must also notice the sign of disjunction 𐏐 which, in separating the respective words of a sentence, is of the greatest possible assistance to the due intelligence of the inscriptions. At Behistun, it uniformly occurs at the commencement of a word and never at the end, heading each detached paragraph instead of closing it; but at Persepolis its position appears to be reversed[2]. In neither case, however, can it, I think, have possessed any phonetic power whatever, and it may be referred therefore, with more propriety to a system of punctuation, than to a table of alphabetical signs. I may add, that where the numeral 𐏑

[1] I refer to the Sanskrit system, which employs a distinct term for every decimal increase as the notation ascends. I am not aware that we have any genuine Persian word to express a higher number than 10,000, *Biwar* بیور; but in modern authors we frequently meet with the Indian quantities, *lac* = 100,000, and *crore* = 10,000,000.

[2] I must observe, at the same time, that the tablets of Persepolis, with the exception of those copied by Westergaard, have been so carelessly transcribed, that it is impossible to define the employment of the 𐏐 by a reference to the published plates.

immediately precedes a noun in the nominative case the point of disjunction is omitted, as in the very common expression 𐎶 *martiya*, "one man," or "a man;" while it re-appears in all those monthly dates which refer to the various actions fought by Darius and his generals, where the numeral is of the ordinal rather than the cardinal grade; and while it is employed even to isolate the cardinals 8 and 9 in the 4th paragraph of the 1st column, where the numbers do not immediately coalesce with the nouns to which they belong.

Supplementary Note sent from Baghdad, 25th August, and received in London, 8th October, 1846.

Having been engaged in considering the question of aspiration, and having had the advantage at the same time of consulting Professor Lassen's acute but incomplete remarks upon the old Persian alphabet[1], I have been induced to adopt a somewhat different classification of the Cuneiform characters from that which is given in the preceding chapter. The peculiarity of Cuneiform writing, which I have long suspected, but only recently verified[2], and upon which depend the rectifications now proposed, consists in the constant occurrence of compound vowel articulations in the interior of words, of which, owing to the inherence of the *a* in the preceding consonant, the second element only is expressed. I have satisfied myself, indeed, that the groupes *ai* and *au* are as common in the language of the inscriptions as the diphthongs *é* and *o* in Sanskrit, (to which, be it observed, the said groupes phonetically and grammatically correspond,) and I have further remarked, that although in such Cuneiform groupes the vowel *a* is unexpressed, its existence may usually be detected by the form of the preceding consonant; an explanation being thus afforded of many of the supposed anomalies in the organization of the alphabet, and a very important step being gained in reducing it to simplicity and order.

Consequent on this discovery, I have found reason to agree with Professor Lassen in considering that the series of articulations in the different classes of the Cuneiform alphabet is triple and not quadruple; that the powers of each class, in fact, consist of the surd, the aspirated surd, and the sonant[3], while the aspirated sonant of the Sanskrit is wanting; but I neither approve altogether of his divisions of the

[1] I have been indebted for this assistance to Lieut. Eastwick's English translation, communicated to me in manuscript.

[2] I have indeed expressly stated in my examination of the Cuneiform vowels, a belief in the principle of interior vowel combination; but I had not at that time sufficiently examined the grammatical inflexions to be enabled to derive from the discovery its full phonetic value.

[3] Professor Lassen terms the different grades tenues, aspirated tenues, and medials; but I prefer retaining the old nomenclature, which I have all along followed.

classes and allotment of their component grades, nor do I think that he has succeeded in pointing out to its full extent the true phonetic machinery upon which the multiplication of the Cuneiform signs depends. As a refinement then upon his system of reading, I now propose to consider that, under the influence of some principle of phonetic expression, which can hardly have been arbitrary, but for which I am unable at present to offer a satisfactory explanation, each grade of the old Persian articulation had a distinct and particular law, (not however of uniform application, and in some cases incapable of demonstration owing to a deficiency of our materials for comparison,) which assigned to the power a certain number of signs according to its different conditions of combination with the vowels. By this law I suppose the surd to have had two characters, one which served for combination with the *a* and *i*, and the other exclusively appropriated to the *u*. The aspirated surd I suppose to have had a single character which united indifferently with all the vowels, while the sonant should have had three signs, independent in form, but identical in power, which were respectively employed as the letter grouped with the *a*, the *i*, or the *u*. That some such principle must be admitted, in order to reconcile a redundancy of character with a poverty of phonetic power, I have already indicated in the previous chapter. Whether I may be justified in adopting a formula, must depend on the importance attached to the few cases of irregularity and deficiency which I shall point out, in now briefly following each class of the Cuneiform alphabet through its series of development and combination.

Instead, then, of admitting with Lassen, a double class of gradation in the gutturals, I assume the series to be *k*, *kh*, and *g*, and according to the law above enounced, the *k* should have two signs, the *kh* one, and the *g* three. Now, in effect, the *k* has two signs, and , the former coalescing with the *a* and *i*, as in *kára*, *adakiya*, &c., while the latter is appropriated to the *u;* for I read the word which signifies "a hill," or "mountain," *kauf*[1] and not *kufa*, and I believe the orthography of *Nabukadrachara* to be a barbarism for *Nabukudrachara*. The *kh* also, , is found in combination with the *a* and *u*, (compare *Khamaspáda*, *Tigrakhudá*, &c.); and that we have not the groupe *khi*, may be owing to the scantiness of our materials. The letter *g*, then, constitutes our only difficulty in the

[1] Hence we have the Greek Κωφήs, Κωφήν, &c.; the ω being, as I think, the true phonetic representative of the old Persian *au*.

gutturals. I have hitherto read and as *gi* and *gu;* but I now think that the belongs exclusively to the vowel *a,* and that in every case accordingly, where the above groupes occur, the *a* should be interposed. The reading, indeed, which thus follows of *gaithám, áthagaina, gausha, Gaumáta, Gaubruwa, gaubatiya, apagaudaya, Margauwa,* &c., is perfectly satisfactory; for a comparison with Sanskrit grammar and etymology requires, I believe, in every instance, the primitive vowel to be affected either by the *guna* or the *vriddhi.* I further take upon me to suggest that the sonant guttural appropriated to the *i,* is as yet undiscovered; and I assert with some confidence, that the is the same phonetic power in combination with the *u;* the orthography of *Margush* and *Margum,* in the nom. and acc. sing. with the , and of *Margauwa, Margawa,* and *Margayaibish,* in the loc. sing. and the nom. and instrum. plur. with the , determinately placing the two characters, as I think, not merely in the same class, but in the same grade of that class. That we have the reading of *Sugda* and *daraug,* "a lie," with the rather than the , I also attribute to the influence of the *u* on the consonant which forms its complement, as I shall endeavour to explain hereafter.

In the class of palatals we should have a regular series, consisting of *ch, ch'h,* and *j,* and the varieties of form for the respective powers should be two, one, and three; two of these forms however are deficient, and one probably never has existed. We have the surd uniting with the *a* and *i,* (compare *hachá, chiya,* &c.), but the absence in the inscriptions of any word containing the groupe *chu* has deprived us of the opportunity of testing the applicability to the palatals of the law which requires a secondary form for the surd combining with the *u.* From the analogy of the Zend, I infer that the old Persian never possessed the aspirated surd palatal, answering to the Sanskrit छ, and this I consider to be an imperfection in the language, rather than a deficiency in our available alphabet; but I am strongly inclined to believe that the sonant palatal must have possessed three forms, and that it is mere accident which prevents us from identifying more than two varieties. These varieties, and , I am now thoroughly convinced represent the same power, *j;* the former belonging exclusively to the *a,* and the latter to the *i;* for in the locative of the name

of Susiana, (*'Uwajaiya*) where we have the groupe , the true termination is *jaiya* for *jé;* while in the nom. of the ethnic title (*'Uwajiyá*) where we have , the adjectival suffix in *iya* is appended immediately to the root. If there were any word in the inscriptions containing the groupe *ju,* we should, I imagine, find the third variety of the sonant palatal.

The dentals appear to be the only class in the Cuneiform alphabet of which we have the characters complete. The triple series consists of *t, th,* and *d,* and according to the law above given, the allotment of two characters to the surd, of one to the aspirate, and of three to the sonant, is, if not perfectly uniform, at any rate I think of sufficient regularity to confirm the general principle. Thus, in the surd grade the belongs to the *a* and *i*, the to the *u*, and when we find the groupe , as in , we must accordingly interpose the *u* and read *tau'má*[1]. The again, which represents the aspirate, coalesces freely with all the vowels, (compare *thátiya, athiya, Athurá,* &c.); while of the sonant grade we have three varieties, , , and , which should express the same power of *d* in its respective conditions of combination with the *a,* the *i,* and the *u.* On this latter point, however, there is still, it appears to me, some uncertainty; the distinction between the and according to the relationship of the dental with the vowels *a* and *u,* is sufficiently clear; for in the only word where we have the groupe , we may read *daushtá* with more satisfaction than *dushta*[2], and in the name of *Gud-rush,* the may be called for as the syllabic complement of the *u;* (compare the in *sugdá;*) but in regard to the uniform and exclusive appropriation of the and to the vowels *a* and *i,* there is not the same amount of proof; the certainly always opens on the *i,* and where we have the groupe in the locative *Mádaiya* and *Mádaishuwa,* and in the genitive *Bágayádaish,* we may with con-

[1] Compare the Zend *taokhma.*

[2] "A friend," or "supporter," probably from the Sans. दोष् "an arm," with which are allied both the Pers. *dush,* "back," and *dost,* "a friend." I suspect also that the obscure *daosha* of the Zend is connected.

fidence interpose the *a;* for the Sanskrit correspondents have ए; but it seems impossible to admit this orthography in the nom. plur. of the supposed ethnic title of Media, which is also at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, written with the 𐎠 𐎡, and which, as it must be presumed to exhibit the adjectival suffix in immediate contact with the theme, (compare *'Uwajiyá*), can hardly be read otherwise than *Mádiyá*[1]. Here, then, there is a difficulty; for, if in this term, and in the proper name *'Uwádidaya,* we suppose the groupe 𐎠 𐎡 to represent the sound of *di,* rather than of *dai,* either we must convict the engraver of careless workmanship, or the law of vowel relationship which should distinguish the employment of the 𐎠 and 𐎢 has been infringed. It may further be remembered, that in examining the Cuneiform alphabet, I have noted the indifferent employment of the 𐎡 and 𐎢 in the orthography of the imperative *pridiya* and the proper name *Atřiyátiya,* and that I have suffered in consequence the character 𐎢 to be a dental of the surd rather than the sonant grade. Following, however, the indications afforded by the present improved system of classification, I am now inclined to doubt the correctness of my copy in thus confounding the letters. Where the name of *Atriyátiya* occurs in line 89, col. 1, at Behistun, the writing is very indistinct, and I may have fallen into error in reading 𐎢 for 𐎡, while in regard to *pridiya,* which in line 14 of col. 3, I have written with the 𐎡, I feel almost sure there must be a mistake, for the Vedic धि (Sans. हि) cannot, I think, possibly admit of being represented in the inscriptions by *tiya.* I have accordingly now returned to the old system of representing 𐎢 by *d,* which I always followed, until deceived by its presumed interchange with the 𐎡, and I consider the character in question to be the mere secondary form of the sonant dental in combination with the vowel *i.*

The next class of letters are the labials, and these we shall find to be obscure and irregular in their relations to the vowels, however we may seek to represent the series. The nearest approach to the law which I have proposed of two characters for the surd, one for the aspirate, and

[1] There is however much uncertainty attaching to this name, the Median and Babylonian copies evidently distinguishing it from the well-known title of Media. It may possibly denote the *Μάρδοι.*

three for the sonant, would give the gradation as *p, b, m;* but this development, although in accordance with Median and Babylonian orthography[1], is I believe opposed to the acknowledged principles of alphabetical procession in all the Arian languages, and in its application, moreover, to the various forms of the Cuneiform labials, it will still leave a difficulty of no mean weight attaching to the letter . If, however, we abandon this classification and adopt the regular series of *p, f, b,* we must admit that, although the gradation may be in accordance with the triple development peculiar to the language, the laws regarding a specific number of forms in each grade for the different vowels are altogether inoperative. The surd labial in fact, *p* , unites with all the vowels indifferently, for we can hardly read *pautŕa,* instead of *putŕa,* "a son;" and moreover, if there had been a special character appropriated to combination with the *u*[2], we should have found it, I think, in the nom. *kauf,* representing the syllabic complement of that vowel, as we found substituted for in the nom. *daraug.* The aspirated surd again, which should, according to the law, unite indifferently with all the vowels, is never found except in combination with the *r,* and in lieu of the secondary form of *p* after the vowel *u,* as in *kauf*[3]. We cannot positively assert that the groupes *fa, fi, fu,* are unknown to the language of the inscriptions; but such I confess to be my opinion. The most striking irregularity however occurs in the employment of the sonant labial *b,* which, instead of possessing like other powers of the same grade three distinct and independent forms, coalesces with all the vowels without sustaining any change or modification whatever. Viewing the strange discrepancy of vowel relationship which thus distinguishes each grade of the labials, examined in the regular series of *p, f, b,* I cannot help suspecting that the Persians, in assigning characters to this class, were guided in some measure by Median and Babylonian precedent; that they regarded the gradation in fact, as *p, b, m,* and that they intro-

[1] The *m* in those languages opening on a vowel is certainly a labial.

[2] I do not think, however, that the Cuneiform combines freely with the *u.* In *putŕa,* the combination could not be avoided; but in *paru* for *puras,* the transposition of the vowel can only be explained by a repugnance to the groupe . The only second example of it is in an imperfect name in the geographical list at Nakhsh-i-Rustam.

[3] The orthography of this word, it must be remembered, is in Pehlevi and Parsi, *kup.*

duced a supplementary character 𒁹𒌋𒌋 *f* to fill up the blank, which their imitation of a foreign alphabet had left between the *p* and *b*. At the same time, I abstain from offering any definite opinion, and proceed to consider the nasals as a distinct class.

In this view, then, the *n* must be regarded as a surd, and the *m* as a sonant; and perhaps the two grades may be united by the aspirate or guttural nasal 𒁹𒁹, which occurs as a complemental letter in the names of *Dubañ* and *Nañ-dita*. At any rate the *n*, considered as a surd, has its two regular varieties, 𒁹𒌋 belonging exclusively to the *a* and *i*, and 𒌋𒌋𒁹 appropriated to the *u*; while the sonant *m* also is furnished with three distinct forms, 𒁹𒁹𒁹, 𒁹𒌋𒁹, 𒁹𒁹𒌋, for coalition with each of the vowels. It follows from this allotment, that whereever this groupe 𒁹𒌋 𒌋𒁹𒁹 occurs as the characteristic of the fifth class, the vowel must be *gunaed*, as indeed, we find it to be in the Sanskrit correspondents, (compare *akunaush*, *adarshanaush*, *danautuwa*, the 𒁹𒌋 𒌋𒁹𒁹 answering in each case to the Sans. नो), and a still more important rectification arising from a recognition of this principle of exclusive employment is, that an *a* must be every where interposed in reading the Cuneiform groupe 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹, *mai*, answering to the Sanskrit मे; as *imaiya*, "these," stands for इमे.

The semi-vowels are hardly admitted in any language to a participation in the gradation of sound which characterizes the different classes of the consonants; yet there appears nevertheless, as far as concerns a multiplication of signs depending on vowel relationship, to be an attempt at assimilation in the Cuneiform series of *r*, *y*, *v*; the only exception, indeed, which this gradation exhibits to the law above proposed being, that the last of the series has two forms instead of three. Thus, for the supposed surd *r* we have the double forms of 𒁹𒁹 and 𒌋𒌋𒌋, the former belonging to the *a* and *i*, the latter exclusively to the *u*; for the middle grade *y*, we have a single character, 𒌋𒌋 uniting with all the vowels; and for the sonant *v*, we have the varieties of 𒁹𒁹𒁹 and 𒁹𒁹𒁹, a special sonant sign for the *u* being alone wanting. Relying, then, on an exclusiveness of employment according to vowel combination, which, I am now persuaded, is the proper attribute of the variant Cuneiform characters, I read the groupes 𒁹𒁹 𒌋𒁹𒁹 and 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹, wherever they may occur, as *rau* and *vai*. In the geni-

tive case of Cyrus (*Kuraush*), in the abl. and loc. of Babylon (*Bábiraush* and *Babirauwa*), in the term *raucha*, a day[1], the *guna* of the *u*, which in writing is immediately attached to the 𐎢, may be proved by Zend and Sanskrit analogies; and I think, I can even explain the reason of the same orthography in those other forms, *daraug*, *daraujana*, *parauwa*, *parauviya* (?) &c., of which the cognate derivatives and compounds not unfrequently exhibit the primitive reading of 𐎣𐎢 𐎢𐎣 *ru;* but as the details of this explanation involve some nice grammatical and orthographical distinctions, I must reserve them for the Vocabulary.

In the case of the sonant *v*, also, I have no doubt that I can show sufficient grounds for introducing the *a* in every term where we have the Cuneiform groupe 𐎡𐎢𐎠. Compare *avaiya* for *avé; Parthwaiya* for *Parthwé*, *duvaishtam*[2], *avaina*, *vainatiya*, *vaináhya*[3], &c. At the same time, that the 𐎡𐎢 was not exclusively appropriated to the *a*, but that the character also coalesced irregularly with the *u* is certain, for we have the nominatives *Dar(a)yavush*, *Vispavushtisa*, &c.; but I regard this as an alphabetical imperfection, which may hardly be held to impugn the general law of vowel relationship.

That the Cuneiform alphabet, indeed, felt the inconvenience of wanting an independent character to express the *v* opening on the *u*, and that it endeavoured to correct the deficiency by a clumsy artifice, I infer from the orthography of the gen. case of the name of Darius. The double form and property possessed by the *r*, rendered it impossible to mistake between the nom. *Kurush*, and the gen. *Kuraush*, or the nom. *Bábirush*, and the abl. *Bábiraush*[4]; but as the single letter 𐎡𐎢 discharged both the vowel functions of those variants 𐎢 and 𐎣𐎢, the nom *Dár(a)yavush* could not be orthographically distinguished from the gen. *Dar(a)yavaush*, and an *h* 𐎢𐎣 accordingly was introduced between the suffix and the theme, not by any means as a grammatical power, but simply to mark the difference of pronunciation between *vush* and *vaush*.

[1] Compare the Zend 𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀, *raocha*.

[2] As in the Sanskrit superlatives श्रेष्ठ and ज्येष्ठ.

[3] The conversion of the primitive vowel in the first four tenses is common to several of the Sanskrit conjugations.

[4] The *ush* and *aush* of the old Persian, are of course equal to the *us* and *os* of the Sanskrit.

The sibilants constitute the last class of the alphabet; and although they observe the triple series of development in presenting the surd *s* , the aspirate *sh* , and the sonant *z* , they appear to escape from the law of vowel relationship. It is certainly possible that we may read the names of Sogdia, *Saugda* instead of *Sugda*, and we may perhaps even venture to introduce an *a* in the groupe , in *zaurakara*, assuming that the secondary form of the surd and the second and third forms of the sonant sibilant are as yet undiscovered; but this would be straining, I think, our privilege of hypothetical reconstruction to an extent which is not warranted by our previous experience of an imperfect alphabetical representation in the other classes. All we can say at present is, that the surd *s* , coalesces freely with the *a* and *i*, and perhaps, also, with the *u;* that the *sh* also, like other aspirates, has but one form for its three conditions of employment; and that it must remain a question whether the sonant *z* obeys the law of triple variety, or whether like the *b* and *w* it may be of imperfect development, the groupe *zi* being as yet unknown, and that of *zu* being, to say the least of it, a doubtful reading.

The aspirate is a character which I consider to be isolated, and which does not therefore come under the operation of the law of gradation or vowel relationship. In its original form of it unites indifferently with the *a*, the *i*, and the *u;*—compare *hada, patiyávahiya* and *huuva*.

The compound *tř*, I consider to be an anomaly, and I am still unable to make up my mind as to the power of the , although I strongly suspect it to be the final form of one of the powers already noticed.

The only question of importance remaining is that which regards the expression of final consonants. I have formerly suggested, although under reservation, that the Cuneiform alphabet rejects all terminal silent letters but the *sh* and *m*, but an improved acquaintance with the language now enables me to declare that position untenable. I should wish to substitute then for such a sweeping law a distinction between the surd and sonant, maintaining the simple surd only to be subject to elision, or, where such elision would be inconvenient, to aspiration; while the sonant can be preserved in spite of its terminal position; but, I fear that we have not sufficient grounds at

present for verifying even this modified rule. Thus, although we can prove the *t*, the *n*, and the *s*, all surds, to be frequently, if not universally, elided as finals, and although we may perhaps perceive in the nominative *kauf*, and in the ablat. adverb *awadash*[1], the aspiration of the surd when it is retained either as a radical letter, or to mark a necessary grammatical power, our field of comparison is too limited in the case of the sonants to furnish any useful evidence. I am not aware, indeed, that we can produce any examples beyond the nom. *daraug*, and perhaps the nom. and accus. neuter *thrad*, together with the numerous words ending in *m*, in favour of the maintenance of the sonant terminal[2]; I cannot believe the names of Persis, Media, and Susiana, are to be read in the nom. *Pârs, Mâd, 'Uwaj*, or the locatives of the two last would be written with the and , instead of with the and . Nor do I think that we can suppose the to be final in *Zaraka, badaka*, and *wazarka;* but I will not pretend that the rule above propounded can be determinately proved. The distinction between the aspiration of the surds and sonants as the first element of a compound articulation has been amply noticed in the preceding chapter, and I need not therefore recur to the subject further, than by observing that a comparison of the aspirated groupes *khsh* and *khr, thr* and *thw, fr*[3], &c., with the unaspirated compounds *gr* and *gm, dr* and *br*, furnishes one of the strongest proofs we could possibly desire of the impossibility of the Cuneiform alphabet having possessed an aspirate of the sonant grade.

With regard to the inherent aspiration of the vowel *u*, I must add that my opinion remains unchanged, and that I believe it to be that peculiar property, which without exercising any immediate influence on the pronunciation of the consonant, still requires for combination

[1] Respecting the terminations in *ish* and *ush*, I have already observed, that the sibilant is aspirated by the force of the preceding vowel, and is then retained in virtue of its aspiration.

[2] There is also a difficulty with regard to the final *r*. From the Median and Babylonian orthography, I should certainly be disposed to read the name of the Babylonian king *Nabukudrachar*, and the Sans. अतर् should give us *atar* rather than *atara*; but on the other hand, according to the above classification, *r* is a surd, and if final should be elided.

[3] I do not yet understand upon what principle the old Persian wrote *pri* instead of *fri*, (of *pru* I am doubtful); but I think I see that where an aspiration was necessary, and such an aspiration would disfigure the word, the language rejected the *r* and retained the *p* in its simple form; compare *pati* and *patish*, for *prati* and πρότι.

with the vowel, a secondary and independent form both of the surd and sonant; but under what particular organic principle the vowel *i* can also have occasion for a distinct character, or why so marked a distinction should be observed in this respect between its combination with the grades of surd and sonant, a distinction which evidently points to some phonetic law, I am, I confess, up to the present time, entirely at a loss to conjecture.

From the above remarks, it will be seen that I have modified in several essential points, the opinions announced in the preceding chapter, and that the system which I have now adopted for expressing the old Persian in English, and which I shall continue to use through the succeeding portions of the Memoir, is far more simple than that originally proposed. I shall now make no distinction in writing between and , between and , or between and ; I shall represent and equally by *t*, and , and by *d*; I shall write *n* indifferently for and , and *m* for , , and , while I shall observe the same equality between and , and between and ; leaving the peculiar form of the Cuneiform variety of each grade to be inferred from the vowel which follows it.

In the following summary with which I close this Supplementary Note, I mark the deficiencies either in the actual alphabet, or at any rate in the alphabet such as we possess it, by ——; I point out the irregularities by ! and I show the doubtful points, either of reading or of supposed defect, by ?

PERSIAN CUNEIFORM CONSONANTS.

	Followed by *á* or *a*	by *i*	by *u*
GUTTURALS.			
k, Surd			
kh, Aspirate		——	
g, Sonant		——?	
PALATALS.			
ch, Surd			——
ch'h, Aspirate	——?	——?	——?
j, Sonant			——

DENTALS.

t,	Surd			
th,	Aspirate			
d,	Sonant			

LABIALS.

p,	Surd			
f,	Aspirate			
b,	Sonant			

NASALS.

n,	Surd			
ñ,	Aspirate			
m,	Sonant			

SEMI-VOWELS.

r,	Surd			
y,	Aspirate			
v,	Sonant			

SIBILANTS.

s,	Surd			
sh,	Aspirate			
z,	Sonant			

ASPIRATE.

h,				

Compound *tr*. Doubtful final [1].

[1] I do not think it necessary to notice the anomalous compounds, or and .

CHAPTER IV.

Analysis of the Persian Inscriptions of Behistun.

The Inscriptions, from which the materials of the preceding chapter have been principally drawn, are found upon the sacred rock of Behistun, on the western frontiers of Media. This remarkable locality, situated on the high road conducting from Babylonia to the eastward, must in all ages have attracted the observation of travellers. Its imposing aspect also, rising abruptly from the plain to a perpendicular height of about 1700 feet, and its aptitude for holy purposes, were not to be neglected by that race which made

> Their altars the high places and the peak
> Of earth-o'ergazing mountains.

It was sacred to Jupiter[1]; or as we may understand the Greeks, who would fain homologate all those systems of theology with which they were conversant, to Ormazd. It was in fact named *Bagistane*, "the place of the Baga," referring unquestionably to Ormazd, who, as the chief of the *Bagas*, (a word which I conceive to have been nearly equivalent to the Homeric Θεὸς,) would of course appropriate the title to himself. Here, then, did Darius Hystaspes, the founder of the civil polity of Persia, resolve to execute a work, which, hallowed by its own truthfulness, as well as by the sanctity of the spot, should serve, as it were, for the charter of Achæmenian royalty, and which, by reminding his descendants of their pristine glory, should lead them to covet and to earn the admiration of their posterity. I do not propose at present, to examine with any minuteness the chronological questions which arise from a collocation of the dates preserved in the Inscriptions of Behistun. That subject belongs with greater fitness to the part of this Memoir which I shall devote exclusively to history, but I must nevertheless, before proceeding with a detail of the events recorded, endeavour to show the period at which, and the circumstances under which, the tablet appears to have been engraved.

The evidence of Herodotus, in regard to the early incidents of the reign of Darius, must be received with considerable caution; for the honest, but not very critical, historian, misapprehending the information which he received at Babylon, not only confounded the capture

[1] Τὸ δὲ Βαγίστανον ὄρος, ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν Διὸς, κ.τ.λ. Diod. Sic. ii. 13.

of that city by the son of Hystaspes, with the more tedious siege that was undertaken by his successor[1]; but with the pardonable predilections of a Greek, he neglected, moreover, or undervalued, the detail of local wars, and confined his notices accordingly, almost exclusively, to those passages of the Persian arms which referred to Europe or to Asia Minor. For the following brief sketch of events between the date of the accession of Darius and his execution of the works at Behistun, we are indebted to the Inscriptions.

Immediately that he had ascended the throne, and while he was occupied in the reformation of the national faith, an insurrection broke out in Susiana; it was partial, however, and the seizure of the rebel chief appears to have sufficiently checked the enterprize, without the employment on the part of Darius of any military means whatever. Simultaneously with this emeute occurred the first revolt of Babylon. A pretended son of Nabonidus came forward to assert the rights of the house of Nabonasser; and under his guidance the rebellion assumed so serious an aspect that Darius was obliged to descend from Media to crush it; he fought two actions with the insurgents, one at the passage of the Tigris, and the other on the Euphrates, where they attempted to make a stand with a view of covering Babylon. He was victorious in both, and the city appears to have fallen without resistance. Darius remained for a considerable period at Babylon, probably for at least two years. From that city he was first called upon to suppress a renewal of disorder, or perhaps the opposition of a faction, in Susiana, an object that he accomplished without difficulty; for the inhabitants of the province supported his authority and delivered the rival leader into his hands; but a civil war of a far more formidable character soon broke out to the northward. Media, Assyria, and Armenia, appear indeed to have confederated in a bold attempt to recover their independence[2]. They elected to the throne a descendant, real or supposed, of the ancient line of kings; and after six actions had been fought between the partisans of this powerful chief and the troops which were employed by Darius, under the command of three of his most distinguished generals, unfavourably it must

[1] Photius has particularly noticed the discrepancy between Herodotus and Ctesias on the subject of the siege of Babylon. See Phot. Biblioth., Hoeschel's Edition of 1653, p. 115.

[2] It is no where expressly stated in the inscription, that the Medes, Assyrians, and Armenians were united in one common cause, but as the campaigns of Wumisa and Dadarshish are interposed between the first expedition of Hydarnes against Phraortes and the subsequent defeat of the Median pretender by Darius in person, and as there is no particular leader named for the Armenians or Assyrians, it is only natural to infer the association of the three provinces.

be presumed to the latter, or at any rate with a very partial and equivocal success, the monarch found himself compelled to repair in person to the scene of conflict. Darius accordingly in the third year of his reign, as I infer from the monthly dates, re-ascended from Babylon to Media. He brought his enemy to action without delay, defeated and pursued him, and taking him prisoner at Rhages, he slew him in the citadel of Ecbatana[1].

But the flames of rebellion had by this time spread into Sagartia, where however no very severe opposition was encountered, and shortly afterwards they extended even to Parthia and Hyrcania, at that period under the government of Hystaspes, the father of Darius. This ruler took the field against the rebels, and Darius apparently moved from Ecbatana eastward to Rhages to support him. The campaign terminated favourably, but the spirit of disaffection having been communicated to Margiana, conterminous with Parthia, the satrap of Bactria was compelled to undertake further operations in support of the royal authority. The monarch, in the meantime, found his supremacy challenged in the high place of his power, in his native province of Persia; for the imposture of the Magian, which in its detection had raised Darius to the throne, being patent to the world, an ambitious chief again personated the missing Smerdis, regarding whose real fate so much mystery prevailed; and the prestige of the name of Cyrus appears to have at once led the southern provinces of the empire to adopt the cause of the supposititious son. Darius did not himself march against this new and formidable adversary. He employed a lieutenant; but we may gather from an incidental expression that having returned from Rhages to Media, he again moved to the southward during the progress of the war[2], to be prepared in case of necessity, to vindicate his rights in person. Success appears for a time to have been doubtful. The contest was prolonged by a diversion which the counterfeit Smerdis judiciously arranged on the side of Arachosia, detaching a body of troops to excite a rebellion in that province, and in the event undoubtedly of success, to co-operate with him from the

[1] I know not the grounds upon which Whiston was led to attribute the events described in the book of Judith to the reign of Darius Hystaspes, but I am strongly inclined, from the evidence of the Inscriptions, to coincide in his opinion. Admitting, indeed, the identity of Phraortes and Arphaxad, and substituting the name of Darius for that of Nabochodonosor, the Chaldean legend will be singularly applicable. Herodotus probably alludes to the great Median revolt in lib. I., c. 130.

[2] "Whilst I was in Media and Persia, the Babylonians a second time revolted against me." See col. 3, par. 13, clause 2.

eastward. Ultimately, however, the rebellion was crushed. The impostor in Persia, and his lieutenant in Arachosia, were by the generals of Darius taken prisoners and slain, and Darius had now time to turn his attention to Babylonia, where during his absence a second insurrection had broken out, which threatened to give him further trouble. As a general was on this occasion employed where the monarch had a few years before found it necessary to lead his troops in person, and as the same results ensued, we may infer that the victories which Darius had achieved in the interval, had not been without their effect on the public mind. He was probably hastening to the support of his lieutenant when he learnt that Babylon was recovered, and as a period of tranquillity appears to have now ensued, I conjecture him to have halted at Behistun, on the high road to Babylon, to return thanksgivings to Ormazd, the divinity to whose tutelary care he ascribed his uninterrupted, and at length complete success.

At this period, then, in the fifth year of his reign, or B.C. 516, I suppose him to have executed the extensive sculptures of Behistun; exhibiting on a triumphal tablet the figures of the nine chiefs, inclusive of the Magian, whom he had successively overthrown; appending to each figure its descriptive legend, and commemorating in an elaborate, but most inartificial, recital the ancestral glories of his race, the extent of his dominions, his submission, and his gratitude to Ormazd, his religious reform, the valour of his respective leaders, and above all, his obedience to that precept, which we know from the Greeks to have been paramount with the early Persians, abhorrence of untruth[1]. But in his huge and unwieldy empire, formed of a multitude of nations, who in religion, in language, in manners, and in feelings, acknowledged no one solitary bond of union, Darius was not destined to enjoy any long period of repose. Before the tablet was completed, which he designed to mark not only the progress, but the permanent establishment of his power, fresh troubles had arisen both in Susiana, and, as I conjecture, among the Scythians of Assyria. It became necessary to append, therefore, further records in a supplementary column, and by an extension of the tablet he was even able to exhibit the figure of the Scythian rebel, whom he had reduced in person, among the effigies of his royal victims.

[1] I was formerly inclined to think that the expression "*hamahyáyá thrad(a),*" which occurs so frequently in the 4th col., referred to the truthfulness of the record, but I have since found reason to doubt that meaning. In the 7th par. of the 4th col., we have, however, at any rate, an express declaration that the events have been *truly* recorded.

We cannot ascertain from the inscriptions the further movements of the Persian monarch. Wesseling believes that in about B.C. 508—507 he proceeded on his Thracian expedition; and Clinton adds, that the interval between that time and the first agitation of the affair of Naxos (B.C. 501) was occupied by the campaigns of Megabyzus and Otanes, in Asia Minor, and by the brief respite from the toils of war, which ensued, according to Herodotus, before the commencement of the Grecian troubles[1]. If this chronology be admitted, we may suppose Darius to have been engaged between B.C. 515 and 508 in rearing those splendid edifices at Persepolis, the ruins of which attest that he was not exclusively intent upon the cares of government, but that he encouraged also and pursued the arts which humanize society. I must not, however, be further led into digression. I have merely proposed to show, by the brief and imperfect sketch which I have given of chronological data obtained from the inscriptions, that notwithstanding the silence of Herodotus, and his apparent connexion of the two events in an immediate succession, the campaign recorded at Behistun must be intercalated between the taking of Babylon and the operations of Darius beyond the Danube, and that the epoch of the sculpture may thus be approximately fixed at B.C. 516—515.

Behistun has been so frequently and so thoroughly described that it would be a work of supererogation to accumulate details upon the subject[2]. The key-sketch and the plates annexed to the Memoir present a sufficiently correct view of the locality, and in a subsequent section I shall establish the identity of the site. It will be sufficient, therefore, before I enter on the explanation of the writing, to make a few general remarks upon the style and execution of the sculpture.

That the Persian monarch took extraordinary pains to ensure the permanency of his record is evident by its position. Instead of being placed on a level with the spectator, where it would be subject to injury and disfigurement, it has been engraved at an elevation of about 300 feet from the base of the rock, and the ascent is so precipitous, that a scaffolding must have been unquestionably used for

[1] See Fasti Hellenici, vol. II., p. 313.

[2] For detailed accounts of Behistun, see De Sacy's Ant. de la Perse, p. 211, sqq., and the excellent paper by the same author, published in the Memoires de l'Institut, tom. II., p. 162, sqq. See also the numerous authorities collected by Hoeck, in his Vet. Med. et Pers. Monum., p. 107, sqq. Porter's Travels, vol. II., p. 150, may also be consulted with advantage, and a brief notice of the spot will be found in the Geograph. Journal, vol. IX., p. 112. I have not yet seen Mr. Masson's paper on the Route of Isidore, but I must distinctly deny the existence at Behistun of any remnants of the Syrian inscription of Semiramis.

the convenience of the workmen employed in its execution. It might be supposed, indeed, that the object was to repel, rather than invite, enquiry, did we not find in the body of the record that the publicity of the monument is especially enjoined upon succeeding monarchs. In its natural state it must have been altogether unapproachable, and if it were intended, therefore, that such publicity should be attained by the independent perusal and observation of all comers, rather than by the communication of the contents of the inscriptions by the Magi or other guardians of the spot, then there must have existed some artificial means of ascent either by steps or ladders. At present, nothing of the kind can be perceived, and the climbing of the rock to arrive at the sculptures, if not positively dangerous, is a feat, at any rate, which an antiquary alone could be expected to undertake. Darius could not have foreseen of course the iconoclastic passion of Islam; yet, it can hardly be doubted, that to the safeguard which he provided of an inaccessible position, is to be alone attributed the preservation of the tablet from the fate that has befallen, at the ruthless hands of the Arabs, so many of the other antique monuments of Persia.

The execution of the figures is, perhaps, inferior to that of the bas-reliefs of Persepolis, and it is natural it should be so, for Behistun must have been an earlier trial of the artist's skill. The effigies indeed of Darius and his attendants alone exhibit that grace of outline and studied finish of detail which may place them at all upon an equality with the Persian sculptures. The figures of the ten vanquished leaders are of diminutive stature and barbarous execution, but in this case it is very possible that elegance may have been designedly avoided, in order to mark an inferiority of station. I may add, that the Median robe and short Persian tunic alternate in the attire of these abject figures; but I am doubtful whether the variety depend on national costume, or whether it may not be a mere artistical device to prevent monotony of effect. The sculptures may be strictly considered, I think, as a triumphal memorial, hardly aiming at correct or characteristic delineation, but rather designed for the illustration of the subject of the record, and addressed to the comprehension of those to whom the lettered tablets must have been unintelligible.

The labour bestowed on the whole work must have been enormous. The mere preparation of the surface of the rock must have occupied many months, and on examining the tablets minutely, I observed an elaborateness of workmanship which is not to be found in other places. Wherever, in fact, from the unsoundness of the stone, it was difficult to give the necessary polish to the surface, other fragments were

inlaid, imbedded in molten lead, and the fittings were so nicely managed, that a very careful scrutiny is required at present to detect the artifice. Holes or fissures which perforated the rock, were filled up also with the same material, and the polish which was bestowed on the entire sculpture, could only have been accomplished by mechanical means.

But the real wonder of the work, I think, consists in the inscriptions. For extent, for beauty of execution, for uniformity and correctness, they are perhaps unequalled in the world. I would assign the palm of merit to the Median writing, and in that view I would infer a Median artist, but the Persian transcript is also far superior to any engraving that is met with at Persepolis or Hamadan, and the Babylonian legends, although less elaborately finished, are hardly below the standard of the usual tablets. It would be very hazardous to speculate on the means employed to engrave the work in an age when steel is supposed to have been unknown[1], but I cannot avoid noticing a very extraordinary device which has been employed apparently to give a finish and durability to the writing. It was evident to myself, and to those who, in company with myself, scrutinized the execution of the work, that after the engraving of the rock had been accomplished, a coating of siliceous varnish had been laid on to give a clearness of outline to each individual letter, and to protect the surface against the action of the elements. This varnish is of infinitely greater hardness than the limestone rock beneath it. It has been washed down in several places by the trickling of water for three-and-twenty centuries, and it lies in flakes upon the foot-ledge like thin layers of lava. It adheres in other portions of the tablet to the broken surface, and still shows with sufficient distinctness the forms of the characters, although the rock beneath is entirely honeycombed and destroyed. It is only, indeed, in the great fissures, caused by the outbursting of natural springs, and in the lower part of the tablet, where I suspect artificial mutilation, that the varnish has entirely disappeared.

I will now proceed to give the text of the Persian inscriptions at Behistun in the Roman character, and I will append to each paragraph a translation in the English language, which shall follow as nearly as possible the idiom of the original. The Vocabulary, which

[1] Fragments of the copper implements employed in engraving the marble slabs of Assyria have within these few days been discovered by Mr. Layard among the ruined chambers of the palace of Nimrúd.—R. (Written early in 1846.—Ed.)

occupies the sixth chapter of the Memoir, must be carefully consulted for the etymology and grammatical condition of each particular word, and those who desire a more minute analysis will do well to compare the Cuneiform text and the interlineary Latin translations. In a document of this sort, in which the language is as little known as the contents are deeply interesting, explanatory notes and illustrations are of course suggested by every passage; but as all such digression tends to divert attention from the immediate subject-matter of the inscription, and to interrupt the historical continuity of the record, I shall introduce it as sparingly as possible. The method, indeed, which I have adopted, of devoting a separate chapter to each branch of the enquiry, has the advantage of rendering the present section independent, to a certain extent, of commentary, and admits of my thus exhibiting the early annals of the reign of Darius, in a succession of unencumbered paragraphs, subject to no other interruption than such as may be required to explain a doubtful construction, or to support the division of the text into sentences which might be otherwise considered arbitrary.

TEXT, TRANSLATIONS, AND NOTES.

Column I.

Par. 1. (1) [1]Adam Dár(a)yavush, (2) khsháyathiya wazarka, (3) khsháyathiya *khsháya*thiy[2]ánám, (4) khsháyathiya Pársiya, (5) khsháyathiya dahya*aunám*, (6) Văsht[3]áspahyá putřa, (7) Arshámahyá napá, (8) Hakhámani*shiya**.

(1) "I (am) Darius, (2) the great King, (3) the King of Kings, (4) the King of Persia, (5) the king of (the dependent) provinces, (6) the son of Hystaspes, (7) the grandson of Arsames, (8) the Achæmenian."

In the first clause of the paragraph the substantive verb is understood. The construction of the ancient Persian usually requires the genitive to precede the nominative, but in the third, fourth, and fifth clauses the collocation is reversed; for a similar irregularity, see Lassen's Summary of Inscriptions, (Zeitschrift, &c., vol. VI., No. I.) B. G. I. and P. Remark also in No. 5 the employment of *dahyáush*, "a country," with apparently a special application to the dependent or tributary provinces of the Persian empire†.

* For the convenience of reference, I have divided and numbered the clauses or sentences, and I have also marked the division of the lines in the Cuneiform text by a series of small numbers placed over the writing. The letters in italics are restorations, the parenthesis shows that I am doubtful if the short *a* should be pronounced, or if the letters which precede and follow it form a compound articulation.—R.

The fourth and fifth chapters were sent by Major Rawlinson before he had made the changes in the system of vowel combinations, detailed in the Supplementary Note at the close of the preceding chapter. The transcription of the ancient Persian text in these chapters has however been corrected according to the principle laid down in that note; but as some uncertainty appears to attach to a few points, such as the choice of *v* or *w*, as representing the and , and the omission or insertion of the short *a*, any irregularity in these respects is not attributable to Major Rawlinson.—Ed.

† *Dahyaunám* cannot signify "of the world," for we have the expressions "*khshayáthiya dahyaunám*," "*khsháyathiya ahyáyá bumiyá*," following each other in the inscription of Artaxerxes.

Par. 2. *Thátiya* [4]Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Maná pitá Vǎshtáspa; (3) Vǎshtáspahyá *pitá* Arsh[5]áma; (4) Arshámahyá pitá Ariyárám(a)na; (5) Ariyárám(a)na*hyá pitá* (- - - -) (6) Chishp[6]áish pitá Hakhámanish.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) My Father (was) Hystaspes; (3) of Hystaspes the father (was) Arsames; (4) of Arsames the father (was) Ariyaramnes; (5) of Ariyaramnes the father (was Teispes;) (6) of Teispes the father (was) Achæmenes."

In the preceding paragraph, Darius established his personal identity. He now proceeds to narrative, and commences each division of the record with the phrase, "Says Darius the King," a mode of speech which is strictly Biblical, and which is nearly similar to that adopted in the Pali edicts of Asoca. If any doubt could exist as to the identification of *thátiya*, it would be removed by our finding the term replaced in the Median transcript by the same verb, which in other passages answers to the various forms of the roots *thaha* and *gauba*, both signifying to "say," or "speak." The substantive verb is understood in all the clauses of this paragraph, and the omission of *Chishpaish* in the fifth sentence can hardly be explained, but as an oversight of the artist. On this subject and on the orthography of the names of Hystaspes and Teispes, see the first note to the Cuneiform text, p. xl.

Par. 3. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyath*iya:* (2) *Awah*yará[7]diya wayam Hakhámanishiyá thahyámahya; (3) Hachá pr*uviyata amá*[8]tá ama[8]hya; (4) Hachá pruviyata hyá amákham tauma khsh*áyathiyá áha.*

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) On that account we have been called Achæmenians; (3) from antiquity we have been unsubdued, (or we have descended); (4) from antiquity our race have been kings."

Awahyarádiya, "on that account," refers to the genealogy given in the preceding paragraph, where the royal family is traced up to Achæmenes. In the third clause *amátá* is a doubtful word; the orthography may perhaps be *adáta* or *anátá.* It is at any rate a noun or participle in the nom. masc. plur. Remark also in the fourth clause the construction of *hyá amákham taumá,* "quæ nostrûm stirps," for "our race," an amplified form of speech which is very common in Zend; *taumá,* although in the singular, may very possibly, as a noun of multitude, agree with the verb *áha* for *ahan,* in the plural.

Par. 4. (1) Th[9]átiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 maná tau-máyá *tyiya* pruwam [10]khsháyathiyá áha, (3) adam navam 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 (4) duvitátar(a)nam *wayam khsh*áyathi[11]yá ámahya.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) (There are) eight of my race who have been kings before me, (3) I (am) the ninth, 9th; (4) for a very long time we have been kings."

There is a difficulty in this paragraph with regard to the division between the third and fourth clauses. The expression of a number, both in letters and figures is unusual, and the construction, therefore, may possibly be (3) "I am the ninth; (4) for nine successive generations we have been kings." I must add, however, in support of the reading which I have given in the text, that the Median transcript employs a single ordinal number for the ninth, and that the adverb *duvitátar(a)nam*, difficult as it is of analysis, will rather imply duration of time, than a line of continuous descent.

Par. 5. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) *Wáshná Aura*-mazd[12]áha adam khsháyathiya amiya; (3) Auramazdá khshatram ma*ná frábara.*

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) By the grace of Ormazd I am (*quasi* 'I have become') king; (3) Ormazd has granted me the empire."

I translate *washná* by "grace," as that term has been consecrated by usage to the divine influence on human affairs. The word, however, strictly signifies "will," or "wish," with which terms, indeed, it is etymologically cognate.

Par. 6. (1) Th[13]átiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Imá dahyáwa tyá ma*ná pati*yáisha; (3) washn[14]á Auramazdáha adamshám khsháyathiya áham: (4) Pársa, U*waja*, *Bábi*rush, A[15]thurá, Arabáya, Mudráya; tyiya darayahyá, Sparda, Yu*ná*; *Arm*ina, Kata[16]patuka, Parthwa, Zaraka, Hariva, Uwárazmiya, Bakhtar*ish*, *Sug*da*, Sa[17]ka, Thatagush, Harauwatish, Maka; (5) fraharvam dahyáwa 𒌋𒁹.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) These are the countries which have fallen into my hands, (lit. 'which have come to me,') (3) by the grace

* The Cuneiform text is incorrect nthis passa ge, and the name of *Gadára* may be certainly read between *Sugda* and *Saka.*

of Ormazd I have become king of them: (4) Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the maritime parts of (lit. 'those which are of the sea,') Sparta (and) Ionia; Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, (Gandaria,) the Sacæ, the Sattagydes, Arachotia, (and) the Mecians; (5) The total amount (being) twenty-one countries."

In the third clause remark the pronoun of the third pers. gen. plur. *shám* united to the nom. sing. of the 1st pers. *adam*. The employment of these adjuncts is so frequent, that it may be convenient to mention at once such as occur in the inscriptions. 1st pers. sing. instr. gen. or dat. *maiya;* acc. *mám;* abl. *ma*. 2nd pers. sing. instr. gen. or dat. *taiya* or *taya*. 3rd pers. masc. and fem. sing. inst. gen. or dat. *shiya;* acc. *shim**; masc. and fem. plur. instr. gen. or dat. *shám;* acc. *shish*(?) and neut. acc. plur. *adish*†. (?)

In the fourth clause, containing the geographical names, I imagine *tyiya darayahyá*, to refer particularly to the countries of *Sparda* and *Yuna*, the expression in this passage immediately preceding those titles, while at Persepolis it follows them.

In the fifth clause, *fraharvam* appears to be a neuter nominative, and the numerals which are very indistinctly marked upon the rock, are probably 𐎠 rather than 𐎡.

Par. 7. (1) *Thá*tiya Dár(a)[18]yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Imá dahyáwa tyá maná patiy*áisha;* (3) washná Au[19]ramazdáha maná badaká áhatá; (4) maná bájim abaratá. (5) *Tya*?shám hacháma [20]athahya, khshapawá rauchapatiwá, awa akunav(a)yatá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) These are the countries which have come into my hands, (lit. 'to me'); (3) by the grace of Ormazd they have become subject to me; (4) they have brought tribute to me. (5) That which has been said to them by me, both by night and by day, it has been performed (by them.)"

* The orthography of such words as *tyishiya, avadashim*, &c., proves that the subjoined pronouns cannot commence with a vowel, although if the *m* and *sh* were brought in contact in words like *adamshám, khshatram, shim*, &c., we should expect from the genius of the language that the first consonant would be elided.

† This pronoun is exceedingly doubtful; it only occurs in two words, *tyádish*, and *nyadish*, the latter of which, unless there were a short *a* before the dental, would, I imagine, be written *nidish*.

The construction throughout this paragraph is sufficiently simple; but in the fifth clause, I may observe, that I restore *tyashám* rather than *yathásham*, which occurs in the following paragraph, as the co-relative in this passage is the neuter demonstrative *awa;* and that the employment of the imperf. *akunav(a)yatá* as a complement to the passive aorist *athahya,* is hardly in accordance with strict grammatical propriety. *Khshapawá rauchapatiwá* I consider to be used for *khshapamwá rauchampatiwá,* the particle *pati,* which is here employed as a postposition, requiring to be joined to an accusative. The final syllable of these words is the copulative conjunction (Sans. वा).

Par. 8. (1) *Thátiya* Dár(a)yavush [21]khsháyathiya: (2) Atara imá dahyáwa, martiya hya agatá *áha,* awam u[22]bartam abaram. (3) Hya arika áha, awam ufrastam aparasam. (4) *Washná* Auramazdá[23]ha imá dahyáwa tyaná maná dátá apriyáya. (5) Yathásh*ám* *ha*cháma athah[24]ya, awathá akunav(a)yatá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Within these countries whoever was of the true faith (?) him have I cherished and protected, (lit. 'well cherished I have cherished'). (3) Whoever was a heretic, (?) him I have rooted out entirely, (lit. 'well destroyed I have destroyed'). (5) By the grace of Ormazd these countries, from what (time they were) given to me, (or 'therefore being given to me,') have rejoiced. (6) As to them it has been ordered, (lit. 'said,') by me, thus has it been done (by them.)"

The antithesis in the commencement of this paragraph is of much assistance in pointing out the construction, but the peculiar application of the terms *agatá* and *arika,* must remain for the present a matter of conjecture. I will here only observe, that the epithets are evidently used in contradistinction to each other, the one in a good, the other in a bad sense, and that they probably refer to some religious schism which divided the empire. The tautological construction in the third and fourth clauses is also remarkable, but can hardly, I think, answer any other purpose than that of giving intensity to the expression. In the fifth clause, if *tyaná* be the ablative sing., *aná* standing for *asmát,* as in *aniyaná* for *aniyasmát,* we must suppose the relative pronoun to refer to time; but we have also the pronominal instrumental in *ná,* in the phrase *hadá aná kárá Pársá,* and the word may very possibly therefore be identical with the Sanskrit येन, or as a derivative from त्यद्, त्येन.

Par. 9. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyath*iya:* (2) *A*uramazdá [25]maná khshatřam frábara. (3) Auramazdámaiya upastám abara yátá ima khshatřam [26]*ad*áraya. (4) Washná Auramazdáha ima khshatřam dárayámiya.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Ormazd has granted me the empire. (3) Ormazd has brought help to me until I have gained this empire. (4) By the grace of Ormazd I hold this empire."

Remark in the third clause that *adáraya*, if that restoration be correct, must be in the 1st pers., and must be supposed, therefore, to represent the aorist of the tenth class. *Adáraya* in other passages is for अदारयत् the 3rd pers. sing. of the active imperfect.

Par. 10. (1) Thá[27]*tiya* Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Ima tya maná kartam pruwa yáthá khsh[28]*áyathi*ya abavam. (3) Kabujiya náma, Kuraush putřa, amákham taumáy[29]*á, huwa* p*ruwama idá khsháyathiya áha. (4) Awahyá Kabujiyahyá brá[30]*tá* Bardiya náma áha; (5) hamátá hampitá Kabujiyahyá. (6) Pasáwa Ka[31]*buji*ya awam Bardiyam awája. (7) Yathá Kabujiya Bardiyam awája kárahy[32]*á az*(a)dá abava tya Bardiya awajata. (8) Pasáwa Kabujiya Mudráyam [33]*ashiya*va. (9) Yathá Kabujiya Mudráyam ashiyava, pasáwa kára arika abava. (10) [34]*Pasá*wa daraug dahyauwá wasiya abava, utá Pársiya uta Mádaiya ut[35]*á a*niyáuwá dahyaushuwá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) This is what was done by me before I became king. (3) (He who was) named Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, of our race, he was here king before me. (4) There was of that Cambyses a brother named Bardius; (5) he was of the same father and mother as Cambyses. (6) Afterwards Cambyses slew that Bardius. (7) When Cambyses slew that Bardius the troubles of the state ceased which Bardius had excited. (?) (8) Then Cambyses proceeded to Egypt. (9) When Cambyses had gone to Egypt, then the state became heretical. (10) Then the lie became abounding in the land, both in Persia and in Media, and in the other provinces."

The restoration of *pruwa* in the second clause is doubtful, and as the events which Darius proceeds to record do not refer to his own actions, the interpretation even which I have given to the sentence

* The restoration of *huwa* in the Cuneiform text has been omitted through an oversight.

appears to be hardly applicable. In the fifteenth paragraph, however, clause second, there is, I think, the complement to the present expression. In the one case, the monarch describes the events preceding his accession to the throne; in the other, those which followed it.

In the fourth sentence, *hamátá hampitá*, answering to the Greek ὁμομήτριος, ὁμοπάτριος, are used as nouns substantive, and the name of Cambyses, accordingly, is in the genitive case.

The seventh sentence cannot be rendered with any certainty, owing to the blank at the commencement of the thirty-second line. *Azadá*, (if that reading be correct,) is, I think, an adverb, and *tya* is the accus. neut. of the relative pronoun governed by *awajata*, so that a neuter substantive would appear to have been lost after *kárahyá; awajata*, however, itself is a word of considerable difficulty, both etymologically and grammatically, and I do not pretend to give its signification with any confidence*.

In the tenth clause remark that *wásiya* although strictly an adverb, appears to be employed as an adjective. The nouns which form the complement of this sentence are all placed in the locative case.

Par. 11. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Pa[36]*sáwa* martiya Magush áha, Gaumáta náma. (3) Huwa udapatatá hachá Pishi[37]*yá*uwádáyá, Arakadrish náma kauf, hachá awadasha. (4) Viyakhnahya máh[38]*yá* rauchabish, thakatá áha, yadiya udapatatá, huwa kárahyá awathá [39]*a*durujiya: (5) "Adam Bardiya amiya, hya Kuraush putřa, Kabujiyahyá br[40]átá." (6) Pasáwa kára haruwa hamitřiya abava. (7) Hachá Kabujiyá abiya awam [41]*a*shiyava, utá Pársa, utá Máda, utá aniyá dahyáwa. (8) Khshatřam huwa [42]agarbáyatá. (9) Garmapadahya máhyá rauchabish, thakátá áha, awathá khsha[43]třam agarbáyatá. (10) Pasáwa Kabujiya uwámarshiyush am*a*riyatá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Afterwards there was a certain man, a Magian, named Gomates. (3) He arose from Pissiachádá, the moun-

* It is very possible that *tya* may be used in this passage as a conjunction, and that *awajata* may represent the imperfect of a neuter verb. The fact, indeed, of an impostor shortly afterwards appearing, who personated the son of Cyrus, would lead us to suppose that the passage meant, "When Cambyses had slain Bardius, the State was in ignorance as to what had become of him;" but at the same time, I must confess, that I cannot find any suitable etymology either for *az(a)dá* or *awajata*. The explanation of these terms will be discussed at length in the vocabulary.

tain's name Aracadres, from thence. (4) On the 14th day of the month Viyakhna, then it was, as he arose, to the state he thus falsely declared:—(5) 'I am Bardius, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses.' (6) Then the whole state became rebellious. (7) From Cambyses it went over to that (Bardius), both Persia and Media, and the other provinces. (8) He seized the empire. (9) On the 9th day of the month of Garmapada, then it was he thus seized the empire, (or assumed the crown.) (10) Afterwards Cambyses, unable to endure his (misfortunes) died."

Clause second. I always translate 𐎹 *martiya*, "a certain man." It is strictly "one man," the 𐎹 being the numeral of unity, and the expression appears, I think, to be generally used in a depreciative sense. Clause third. The construction in these local descriptions which occur in nearly every paragraph is singularly naked and abrupt. *Arakadrish náma kauf*, "the hill named Aracadres," is placed in the nominative, and the ablative signification is then given by the addition of an adverb of place united to a preposition and inflected with a suffix, which is no doubt allied to the characteristic of the ablative case.

Clause fourth. In expressing the dates, *raucha*, "a day," is always put in the plural to agree with the numerals which precede it, and which probably, as in Sanskrit, are only declined in that number. It is difficult at the same time, to say whether *rauchabish* may be in the instr., or the dat. case. According to Sanskrit analogy we should suppose the former; but there appears to be a distinction between the inflexions in *aibish* and *abish*, and as the one is certainly the characteristic of the instrumental case, I am inclined to assign the other to the dative.

In this sentence, also, we must remark the employment of *yadiya*, a word which is identical with the Sanskrit यदि, "if," and which is used in all other passages in a conditional sense; here, however, *yadiya* must either be a mere copulative conjunction, the construction being "then it was *that* he arose; to the state he thus falsely declared;" or the entire passage forming but one sentence, *yadiya* may be rendered by "since," or "as," and the translation may be that which I have given in the text. *Udápatatá*, I must add, is certainly the imperfect tense and not the past participle, and *adurujiya* is the 3rd pers. aorist of a compound verb, the temporal augment preceding the particle instead of being attached to the root.

In the last clause, *uwámarshiyush* is a verbal noun, signifying literally, "not enduring himself." Perhaps we might say idiomatically for *uwámarshiyush am(a)riyatá*, "he died in his wrath."

Par. 12. (1) Thátiya [44]Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Aita khshatřam, tya Gaumáta hya Magush ádin[45]á Kabujiyam, aita khshatřam hachá pruviyata amákham taumáyá á[46]ha. (3) Pasáwa Gaumáta hya Magush ádiná Kabujiyam utá Pársam, uta [47]Mádam, utá aniyá dahyáwa; huwa ayasta uwáip(a)shiyam akutá; (4) hu-[48]wa khsháyathiya abava.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) That crown, (or empire,) of which Gomates, the Magian, dispossessed Cambyses, that crown had been in our family from the olden time. (3) After Gomates, the Magian, had dispossessed Cambyses both of Persia, and Media, and the dependent provinces, he did according to his desire, (?) (4) he became king."

In the second clause remark the repetition of *aita khshatřam* for the mere sake of perspicuity, an involved period being particularly distasteful to the language of the inscriptions. I am not sure whether *khshatřam*, signify "royalty" in the abstract, or whether it may not rather denote the *chhatra*, or "parasol of empire," a term that was applied by a figure of rhetoric to the kingly condition, as we employ in English, in the same sense, the symbolical expressions of "the crown," or "sceptre." The word *adina*, (probably धि to possess, with the negative particle and a conjugational suffix), governs a double accusative.

The construction of the third clause is doubtful. The sentence may perhaps be required to be divided, the translation being "afterwards Gomates, the Magian, dispossessed Cambyses both of Persia, and Media, and the other provinces—he did according to his desire;" but I prefer the reading given in the text, as the defection of the different provinces to the Magian has been already noticed. The concluding phrase, also, of the sentence is one of considerable difficulty, for although *ayasta* can be shown by other examples to be a preposition governing the accusative case, yet it is very doubtful if it can signify "according to;" and the etymology, also, which I would assign to *uwáip(a)shiyam* (स्व, "own," and a verbal noun from आप, "to obtain," used in the desiderative form) is exceedingly uncertain*; *akutá* is for *akuntá*, as *akumá* stands for *akunmá*.

* I rather think that the true signification of the third clause must be, "After Gomates, the Magian, had dispossessed Cambyses of Persia and Media and the other provinces, *he acted with his own tribe*;" for the allusion would appear to be to the transfer of sovereignty from the Achæmenians to the Magians; and *ayasta* in other passages certainly means, "together with." I shall return to this difficult passage in the vocabulary, under the head of *uwáip(a)shiyam*.

Par. 13. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Niya áha martiya [49]niya Parsa, niya Máda, niya amákham taumáyá kashchiya, hya awam Gau[50]mátam tyam Magum khshatřam ditam chakhriyá. (3) Kárashim hachá darshama? a[51]tarsa. (4) Káram wasiya awájaniyá, hya paranam Bardiyam adáná, awahyar[52]ádiya káram awájaniyá. (5) "Mátyamám khshanásátiya tya adam niya Bard[53]iya amiya, hya Kuraush putřa." (6) Kashchiya niya adarshanaush; (7) chishchiya thastan[54]iya pariya Gaumátam tyam Magum, yátá adam arasam. (8) Pasáwa adam Aura[55]mazdám patiyávahiya; (9) Auramazdámaiya upastám abara. (10) Bágayádaish [56]máhyá ⟨ rauchabish, thakatá áha, awathá adam hadá kamanaibish martiyaibi[57]sh awam Gaumátam tyam Magum awájanam, utá tyishiya fratamá mar[58]tiyá anushiyá áhatá. (11) Sikthauwatish námá didá, Nisáya ná[59]má dahyáush Mádaiya, awadashim awájanam; (12) khshatřamshim adam ádinam. (13) Wa[60]shná Auramazdáha adam khsháyathiya abavam; (14) Auramazdá khshatřam maná fr[61]ábara.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) There was not a man, neither Persian, nor Median, nor any one of our family, who would oppose that Gomates, the Magian, possessed of the crown. (3) The state feared to resist him. (4) He would frequently address the state, which knew the old Bardius, for that reason he would address the state, (saying,) (5) ('Beware) lest it regard me, as if I were not Bardius, the son of Cyrus.' (6) (There was) not any one bold enough (to oppose him;) (7) every one (was) standing (obediently) round Gomates, the Magian, until I arrived. (8) Then I abode in the worship of Ormazd; (9) Ormazd brought help to me. (10) On the 10th day of the month Bágayádish, then it was, with the men (who were my) well-wishers, I thus slew that Gomates, the Magian, and the chief men who were his followers. (11) The fort named Sictachotes in the district of Media, named Nisæa, there I slew him; (12) I dispossessed him of the empire. (13) By the grace of Ormazd I became king; (14) Ormazd granted me the sceptre."

Throughout this paragraph the construction is embarrassed; *chakhriyá*, in the second clause, I suppose to be the potential for *chakhriyát*, from a root, *chakhra*, allied to the Sanskrit चक्र, for the elongation of the final vowel will hardly admit of our identifying the word with any of the reduplicate forms of कृ.

Clause three. In *karashim hachá darshama atarsa*, the literal translation seems to be, "the state him from opposing feared;" *dar-*

shama is probably from *darshamas*, but it is not easy to identify the declension of this verbal noun.

The fourth clause contains the difficult word *awájaniyá*, which, notwithstanding the initial augment, I am obliged to consider the potential of the ninth class; *awahyarádiya*, "on that account," refers apparently to the acquaintance which the nation generally possessed of the person of Smerdis, and *káram awájaniyá* is repeated for the sake of perspicuity*.

Clause five. *Mátya* occurs frequently as a prohibitory particle employed with the present subjunctive. *Khshanásátiya*, must be, I think, the 3rd pers. rather than the 2nd, and *tya* appears in this passage to be used as a mere conjunction like the Latin "quod."

The following sentence, *kashchiya niya adarshanaush*, is literally, "any one not dared," and in the seventh clause I can discover no suitable explanation for *thastaniya*, but that of the present participle, the substantive verb being understood.

In the eighth clause, *patiyávahiya* is of questionable etymology, but it certainly represents the 1st pers. sing. of the middle imperf., and in the ninth clause, *Bágayádaish* is the gen. case of a masc. theme in *i*.

Clause eleven. I have already remarked, that in local descriptions the preliminary names are invariably put in the nom. case; *dahyáush* and *didá* being fem. nouns, the adjective *námá* is also in that gender to agree with them. *Mádaiya* is the locative used perhaps in this passage for the genitive.

In clause twelve, remark that as *adina* governs a double accusative, the pronoun *shim* is appended to *khshatřam*, instead of *shiya*.

Par. 14. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Khshatřam tya hachá amákham ta[62]umáyá parábartam áha, awa adam patipadam akunavam. (3) Adamshim gáth[63]wá awástáyam. (4) Yathá pruwamachiya, awathá adam akunavam. (5) Ayad(a)n[64]á tyá Gaumáta hya Magush viyaka, adam niyatřárayam. (6) Kárahyá abi[65]charish gaithámchá mániyamchá, vřthabish*chá* tyádish Gaumáta hya [66]Magush adiná. (7) Adam káram gáthwá awástáyam, Pársam*ch*á, Mádam*ch*[67]á, utá aniyá dahyáwa. (8) Yathá pruwa-

* *Awahyarádiya* will be found in other passages to refer to the following, rather than to the preceding clause, and the translation therefore may be, "He would frequently address the state, (or the troops,) which knew the old Bardius:" To the effect, "He would address the state lest it should regard me," &c., &c.

machiya awathá adam tya parábarta[68]m patiyábaram. (9) Washná Auramzadáha ima adam akunavam. (10) Adam hamatakh*shiya* [69]yátá vĭtham tyám amákham gáthwá awástáyam. (11) Yathá p*ruwamachiya* [70]awathá adam hamatakhshiya, washná Auramazdáha, yathá Gaumáta h*ya* *Magu*[71]sh vĭtham tyám amákham niya parábara.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) The crown that had been wrested from our race, that I recovered. (3) I established it firmly. (4) Like my ancestor (Cyrus?) thus I did. (5) The rites which Gomates, the Magian, had introduced, I prohibited. (6) I reinstituted for the state the sacred chaunts and (sacrificial) worship, and (confided them) to the families which Gomates, the Magian, had deprived of those (offices). (7) I firmly established the kingdom, both Persia, and Media, and the other provinces. (8) Like my predecessor (Cyrus?) thus I restored that which had been taken away. (9) By the grace of Ormazd I did this. (10) I laboured until I had firmly established our family. (11) Like my ancestor (Cyrus?) thus I laboured, by the grace of Ormazd, (in order) that Gomates, the Magian, might not (or did not) supersede our family."

This is probably the most difficult paragraph which occurs in the Behistun Inscriptions. Of several of the most important words the orthography is doubtful; of others the etymology is almost impenetrable, and the construction, moreover, in some parts renders the division into sentences, a matter of serious embarrassment. I am compelled, therefore, to adopt a more elaborate commentary than usual.

Clause two. *Patipadam* is no doubt from प्रतिपद्, "to restore," but the Cuneiform word can hardly be a participle. It is more likely a verbal adjective formed by the simple affix in *a* added to the root; *awa patipadam** I consider to be in the acc. neuter to agree with *khshatřam.*

Clause three. *Gáthwá,* I suppose to be the instr. sing. of a masc. theme in *u,* derived from the root गाध्, "to stay," or "stand," and used adverbially; I translate it accordingly "firmly;" but the identification at the same time is far from certain. *Stáya* in the compound verb *awástáyam,* is probably the causal form of *stá,* for the Sanskrit स्थापय.

* Perhaps this word should rather be written *patipadma,* being formed from the compound root प्रतिपद् with the Unadi affix in मन्.

Clause four. *Pruwamachiya* is another very difficult word. I merely suggest the derivation of *pruwa*, "before," *ma* (ablat.) for *mat*, and the indefinite particle *chiya* (for चित्), the signification being "one before me," that is, "my ancestor" or "predecessor." The objection to this etymology is, that *chiya* or *chit* gives an indefinite signification, whereas the allusion would appear to be to the particular precedent of Persian delivery from the Median yoke by Cyrus the Great. I must add, that the orthography also is doubtful. The word may perhaps be read in the three several passages where it occurs, *pruwamadiya*, and in that case, I would compound it of पूर्व, "an ancestor," and मदीय, "mine." Whichever explanation may be preferred, a verb would appear to be understood; the literal construction being "as my ancestor did, thus I - - - - - -."

Of the fifth and sixth clauses, I confess my rendering to be little better than conjectural; *ayad(a)ná* is certainly the acc. plur. of a fem. theme in *a*, for the relative *tyá* which follows will alone admit of that explanation; but unless the initial letter be an unmeaning prosthesis, (which I greatly doubt,) and *yad(a)na* be allied to यज्ञ, I know of no possible etymology. *Viyaka* is evidently the imperfect of a verb compounded of *vi*, and a theme of the 2nd class commencing with *k*, but I cannot find any suitable correspondent in Sanskrit; *niyatŕárayam* also is of equal obscurity. I question if the verb can possibly be formed of नियन्त्र, "restraining," and the causal form of ऋ, "to go," for the temporal augment would then precede the compound. The etymology would appear to be the particle नि prefixed to the imperfect of a root चर conjugated in the tenth class, but the Sanskrit offers no such equivalent. If the reading were *niyapárayam*, (and the mutilation of the rock renders it impossible to distinguish with certainty if the character be or), I should refer the word to the root पृ (पारयति), "to protect," or "nourish," and the whole construction of the sentence would require in consequence to be altered. The translation, indeed, which I should then give of the fifth and sixth clauses would be, "The rites which Gomates, the Magian, had interdicted, I protected for the state, entrusting both the sacred chaunts, and the performing of worship, to the families which Gomatès, the Magian, had deprived of those offices."

It is quite impossible to decide whether *kárahyá*, which appears to be the genitive used for the dative may belong to the fifth or sixth

clauses, and the point is of no great consequence. Of more importance is it to ascertain the signification of the following term *abicharish*. If that reading be correct, I can suggest no other grammatical condition for the word than that of the nom. sing. of a verbal noun in *i;* but neither will the signification of "deceiving," or "conjuring," which belongs to the Sanskrit अभिचर्, apply to this passage, nor (although such a construction is common in Zend,) is the verbal noun in any other passage of the inscriptions that I am aware of used for the imperfect or the participle.

Gaithámchá, mániyamchá, are certainly nouns in the acc. case in apposition with each other, and *vĭthabishchá* (distinguished from the instr. *vithaibish-cha,*) is, I think, the dative plural of *vĭtha,* "a family," or "tribe," with the same copulative suffix. *Tyádish,* also, is the relative pron. in the acc. fem. plur. to agree with *vĭthá,* "the families," united, I think, to the acc. plur. neut. of the suffixed pronoun, referring to *gaithám* and *mániyam,* which as inanimate objects require that gender; the double accusative contained in this word is governed by *adina,* and the close of the sentence is sufficiently plain.

I have thus noticed the chief difficulties which occur in the fifth and sixth clauses. They are of such a nature as to render the translation, in its present shape, worthy of little or no confidence, and the construction, moreover, which is forced upon us by the employment of the term *abicharish,* is so extremely unsatisfactory, that I am half inclined to suspect an error of inscription upon the rock. If we could suppose the letter 𐎼 to have been omitted in this word *abicharish* by an oversight of the artist, the true reading being *abicharabish,* the construction would be comparatively easy. I would then translate, "The rites which Gomates, the Magian, had interdicted, I restored *to the servants* of the state, both the sacred chaunts and the divine worship, and to those families (I committed them) which Gomates, the Magian, had deprived of their offices," or more simply in the latter part, "both the sacred chaunts and the divine worship (I restored) to the tribes (or the people generally) whom Gomates, the Magian, had deprived of them."

Vĭthabishchá, I must add, is a doubtful orthography, and I am not at all satisfied with a construction which would thus place a dative plural in the same copulative category with singular accusatives*; but if the wanting letter in *vĭthabish(-)á* be not 𐎱, I can, I confess, conjecture no other possible restoration.

* *Vĭthabishcha* might be considered, perhaps, to be connected immediately with *abicharabish,* the noun being in each instance in the dative plural.

In the tenth and eleventh clauses, *hamatakhshiya* is the 1st pers. sing. of the middle imperf., and *akunavam* and *parábara*, notwithstanding that they follow particles and have thus a conditional or subjunctive signification, are placed in the same tense of the indicative mood, for the subjunctive imperfect in the language of the inscriptions appears to have been only used to convey an optative signification.

Par. 15. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush *khsháyath*[72]iya: (2) Ima tya adam akunavam pasáwa yathá khsháyathiya abavam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) This is what I did after that I became king."

I suppose *ima*, "this," to refer particularly to the acts described in the last paragraph.

Par. 16. (1) *Thátiya* [73]Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Yathá adam Gaumátam tyam Magum aw*ájanam*, *pa*[74]sáwa martiya, Atřina náma, Upadarmahyá putřa huwa udapatat*á;* (3) *Uwajai*[75]ya kárahyá awatha athaha: (4) "Adam U*wajai*ya khsháyathiya amiya." (5) Pas*áwa Uwa*[76]jiyá hamitřiyá abava; (6) abiya awam Atřinam ashiyava; (7) huwa kh*sháyathiya* [77]abava Uwajaiya. (8) Uta martiya Bábiruviya, Naditabira náma, Aina - - - - hy[78]á putřa, huwa udapatatá. (9) Bábirauwa káram awathá adurujiya, (10) Adam Nab[79]ukadrachara amiya, hya Nabunitahyá putřa. (11) Pasáwa kára hya Bábiruviya [80]haruwa abiya awam Naditabiram 'ashiyava. (12) Bábirush hamitřiya abava. (13) Kh[81]shatřam tya Bábirauwa huwa agarbáyatá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) When I had slain Gomates, the Magian, then a certain man, named Atrines, the son of Opadarmes, he arose; (3) to the state of Susiana he thus said: (4) 'I am king of Susiana.' (5) Then the Susians became rebellious; (6) they went over to that Atrines; (7) he became King of Susiana. (8) And a certain man, a Babylonian, named Naditabirus the son of Æna . . . . . , he arose. (9) The state of Babylonia he thus falsely addressed, (10) (saying), 'I am Nabochodrossor, the sun of Nabonidus.' (11) Then the entire Babylonian state went over to that Naditabirus. (12) Babylon revolted (or became rebellious.) (13) He seized the government of Babylonia."

In the third clause, *Uwajaiya* is the locative used for the genitive, and *kárahyá* is the genitive used for the dative. In geographical

names, indeed, we almost invariably find this substitution of the locative for the genitive, and the dative is under any circumstances, of exceedingly rare employment.

Clause five. Remark the orthographical distinction between the locative *Uwajaiya*, with the palatal in the first form, and the ethnic title *Uwajiyá*, where the adjectival suffix in *iya* is added to the theme, and the palatal takes the second form in consequence. The final elongation in this word and in *hamitřiyá* marks the nom. plur. representing the Sanskrit आः

Clause eight. *Babiruviya* is the ethnic title formed with the adjectival suffix in *iya* appended to a theme in *u*; it must not be confounded with any case of the 3rd declension.

Clause nine. *Bábirauwa* is the locative of a masc. theme in *u* used for the genitive, and *adurujiya* is made to govern *káram* in the acc. instead of in the genitive, (substituted for the dative,) which is the usual construction. The locative (for the genitive) preceding the object of the verb in this passage, the relative pronoun is not required. Had the object been placed first, we should have had *káram tyam Bábirauwa*, as we have *khshatřam tya Babirauwa* in the last sentence of the paragraph.

Par. 17. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháya[82]thiya: (2) Pasáwa adam fráishayam Uwajam; (3) huwa* Atřina *basta* ánayatá *abiya* *má*[83]m. (4) Adamshim awájanam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then I sent to Susiana; (3) that Atrines was brought to me a prisoner, (lit. 'bound.') (4) I slew him."

Clause two. *Fraish(a)ya*, "to send," (Sans. प्रेष प्रेष्यति,) governs an accusative in this passage, without the introduction of *abiya*. The restoration of the third clause is doubtful. In the reading that I have adopted, I suppose *basta* to be the past participle, and *ánayatá* to be the imperfect passive of a verb which answers to the Sans. आणी, and which in the inscriptions by some strange irregularity appears to drop the radical ई. The participle and verb are perhaps united in a single word *bastánayatá*, as we find in another passage the compound orthography of *pátáhatiya*† for *páta áhatiya*.

* I may observe in this place, that *huwa*, whatever be its etymology, is uniformly used as the nom sing. of the demonstrative pronoun, replacing in that capacity the pronoun of the 3rd person.

† See Niebuhr's Inscription I, line 22.

Par. 18: (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Pasáwa *adam Bá*[84]birum ashiyavam abiya awam Naditabiram, hya Nabukadrachara agau*bata*. (3) [85]Kára hya Naditabirahyá Tigrám adár(a)ya; (4) awadá aishatatá, utá [86]abish náviyá áha. (5) Pasáwa adam káram m - - (?) káuwá aw - - - - (?) kanam. (6) Aniyam dash(a)[87]bárim akunavam; (7) Aniyahyá asm - - - ánayám. (8) Auramazdámaiya upas*tám* [88]abara. (9) Washná Auramazdáha Tigrám viya - - raya - - (10) *Pasáwa* awam káram [89]tyam Naditabirahyá adam ajanam wasiya. (11) Atriyátiya*hya* máhyá 𒌋𒌋𒌋 (or 𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋) rau[90]chabish, thakatá áha awathá hamar(a)nam akumá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then I proceeded to Babylon against that Naditabirus, who was called Nabochodrossor. (3) The forces of Naditabirus held the Tigris: (4) there they had come, and they had boats, (lit. 'to them were boats'). (5) Then I placed a detachment on rafts, (?) (or 'I mounted a detachment on Elephants'). (?) (6) I brought the enemy into difficulty, (?) (or 'I made a demonstration against the enemy.') (?) (7) I assaulted the enemy's position (?). (8) Ormazd brought help to me. (9) By the grace of Ormazd, I succeeded in passing the Tigris. (?) (10) Then, (or and) I entirely defeated, (lit. 'I slew very much') the army of that Naditabirus. (11) On the 27th day of the month of Atriyáta, then it was we thus fought."

Clause two. Remark that the verb *gauba*, "to say," (Sans. गुप, *gupa*; Pers. گف, *guf*,) although conjugated in the active voice, is always used with a passive signification.

Clause three. *Adáraya* is the 3rd pers. of the active imperf. of the tenth class, but the number is not distinguishable, as it may stand for *adárayan* as well as for *adárayat;* and although the nom. *kára* is in the singular, it may, I believe, as a noun of multitude govern the plural; in the next sentence, indeed, the pronoun which appears to refer to it is used in the plural number.

Clause four. The cause of the reduplication of the 𒌋𒌋𒌋 in *aishatatá* is quite obscure to me, and I almost suspect an error of the artist. It can hardly mark the plural number, for the Cuneiform orthography of *anta* would be the same as that employed for *ata*, and we have several plural forms of the middle imperfect, thus exhibiting the termination which is common to both numbers; as in *áhatá*, "they were;" *paraitá*, "they returned;" *akunavatá*, "they did;" *abaratá*, "they brought," &c.; and yet I cannot imagine any other reason for writing *aishatatá* instead of *aishatá*. *Abish*, also, which occurs in the

same sentence is a word of suspicious orthography. The inflexions of इदम् in the language of the inscriptions exhibit so great a variety from the Sanskrit declension, that *abish* may possibly be the dative plural, as *aibish* would be the instrumental of the same number; but from the construction of the sentence I should expect to find the dative plural of *huwa*, rather than that of *iyam*, and I am almost inclined therefore to think that *abish* may be an error for *awabish*.

The translations which I have attempted of the fifth, sixth, and seventh clauses must be considered purely conjectural. In the fifth clause, the word ending in *káuwá* must be the loc. plur. of a fem. noun of the 1st declension, and if we read the word *matakáuwa* we might perhaps obtain the signification of "Elephants," but the gender would still be an embarrassment, and I can suggest no other restoration. The following term, also, is no doubt the 1st pers. imperfect of an active verb, but it would be certainly hazardous to attempt its identification.

Aniyam dash(a)bárim akunavam, I consider to form a complete sentence, and *aniyam*, which signifies "an enemy," as well as "other," has probably the former signification in this passage. Whether *dash(a)bárim* however may be the acc. of a masc. adjectival theme in *i*, or whether it may not rather be an independent noun, *akunavam* in this passage governing a double acc., I am quite unable to decide. In the one case we must suppose an adjective (like the Pers. *dushwár*, دشوار) from दुर् and भृ, signifying "brought into difficulty," (lit. "heavily loaded"). In the other the verbal root may be भृ, "to threaten," and the sense of the passage may be, "I made a demonstration on (or against) the enemy." I must add, that the substitution of *dash* for *dush*, which in default of another etymology I am obliged to assume, throws still further doubt on the true meaning of the sentence.

In the seventh clause, *aniyahyá* is the gen. sing. of *aniya*, "an enemy." The following term commencing with *asma*, which, as a derivative from अश्मन्, "a stone," perhaps signifies a *sanger*, or "entrenched position," must be the acc. case of a noun; and the remaining word, of which we have only the termination, I conjecture to be the 1st pers. of an active imperf. of the 4th class; but it would be a mere waste of time to attempt a restoration of the sentence.

Clause nine. Perhaps the mutilated word which follows *Tigrám* may be *viyatárayam*, which would give the meaning of "I passed over." The characters are too much injured to admit of the ortho-

graphy being verified, but this term, or a word of similar import, will alone suit the context.

I think also that the word which commences the tenth clause must be *pasáwa* or *utá*, and I have translated accordingly.

In the eleventh clause the construction is sufficiently plain; *akumá* the 1st pers. plur. for *akunmá*, is always used when Darius describes an action which he fought in person.

Par. 19. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)*yavu*sh kh[91]sháyathiya: (2) Pasáwa a*da*m Bábirum ashiyava*m*. (3) A*thi*ya Bábirum ya*thá* . . . [92]áyam, Zázána náma, wardanam anuwa Ufrátauwá, awadá *huwa Nadita*-[93]bira hya Nabukhadrachara agaubatá aisha hadá kárá patish m*ám*, *hamar(a)nam* [94]chartaniya. (4) Pasáwa hamar(a)nam akumá. (5) Auramazdámaiya upastám a*bara*. (6) *Washná Aura*ma[95]zdáha káram tyam Naditabirahyá adam ajanam wasiya. (7) Aniya ápiyá - - h - - á; (8) a[96]pishim parábara; (9) Anámakahya máhyá [illegible] rauchabish, thakatá áha *awathá hamar(a)nam akumá*.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then I marched upon Babylon. (3) Near Babylon when I had arrived, the city named Zazána, upon the Euphrates, there that Naditabirus, who was called Nabochodrossor, came with a force before me preparing (or offering) battle. (4) Then we fought a battle. (5) Ormazd brought help to me. (6) By the grace of Ormazd the force of Naditabirus I entirely defeated. (7) The enemy fled into the water, (or was driven into the river): (8) the water destroyed them. (9) On the 2nd day of the month Anámaka, then it was we thus fought the battle."

In the third clause the word which follows *yathá* cannot be restored even conjecturally. In other passages, similar in construction, we have *rasa* or *pararasa*, "to arrive," or "reach," but in this sentence some other root appears to be employed which is conjugated in the fourth class*. *Ufratauwa* I suppose to be the locative sing. of a fem. theme in *u*, the inflexion being similar to that which we have already seen in *dahyauwá*. *Anuwa* appears to be identical with the Sanskrit अनु, and the substitution therefore of the locative for the accus. is remarkable. The last word of the third clause, *chartaniya*, we shall frequently find employed as a present participle, the termination *niya* for that form of the verb being another instance of deviation from Sanskrit orthography.

* I suspect this imperfect word to be *nijáyam*, which occurs in col. 2, line 64.

In the seventh clause, *ápiyá*, is, I think, either the loc. or the gen. used for the loc. of a fem. theme in *i*, *ápish* being used for the Sans. आपः and in the eighth clause we have this nom. *ápish* united to the accusative *shim*, one of the sibilants being dropped in the compound word. The verb which closes the seventh clause is probably the 3rd pers. sing. of an imperf., and the signification must be either neuter or passive, but it is quite impossible to restore the orthography.

Column II.

Par. 1. (1) [1]Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháya*thiya:* (2) *Pasáwa Na*di*tabira* ha[2]dá kamanaibish asbáraibish a*biya Bábi*rum ashiya[3]va. (3) Pasáwa adam Bábirum ash*iyavam.* (4) - - - - ? áha utá Bá-[4]birum agarbáyam, utá awam Naditabi*ram agarbáya*m. (5) Pasáwa awa[5]m Naditabiram adam Bábirauwa awája*nam.*

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then Naditabirus, with the horsemen who were faithful to him, (lit. 'his well-wishers,') fled to Babylon. (3) Then I proceeded to Babylon. (4) . . . . . I both took Babylon and seized that Naditabirus. (5) Afterwards I slew that Naditabirus at Babylon."

In the fourth clause the construction would seem to require, "By the grace of Ormazd, I both took Babylon," &c., but I hesitate to give such a restoration; see note on the Cuneiform text.

Remark in the fifth clause *Bábirauwa* in the locat. case, signifying "at Babylon," or "in Babylon."

Par. 2. (1) *Thátiy*a Dár(a)yavush kh[6]sháyathiya: (2) Yátá adam Bábirauwa áham, *imá dahyáwa tyá* hacháma ha[7]mitřiyá abava: Pársa, Uwaja, Máda, Athurá, *Armina, Parth*wa, Margush, Tha-[8]tagush, Saka.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Whilst I was at Babylon these are the countries which revolted against me: Persis, Susiana, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, and Sacia."

From the literal construction of the second clause, we should be led to infer that the revolt of the various provinces enumerated in the text, occurred simultaneously during Darius's sojourn at Babylon; but as we proceed with an account of the several rebellions, we shall find that the passage cannot be understood in this manner. The original

Median revolt, which in its consequences appears to have threatened the disorganization of the empire, burst forth, no doubt, while Darius was still at Babylon, but he marched from that place in person to suppress it, and during the progress of his operations against the other provinces he was certainly in the upper country.

Par. 3. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháya*thiya:* (2) 𐎠 *marti*ya Martiya ná[9]ma, Chichikhráish putřa, Kuganaká náma war*danam Pársiya,* awadá adáraya. (3) [10]Huwa udapatatá; (4) Uwajaiya kárahyá awathá *athaha:* (5) "Adam Umanish amiya U[11]wajaiya khsháyathiya."

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) A certain man named Martius, the son of Sisicres; the city of Persia, named Cyganaca, there he dwelt. (3) He rose up; (4) to the state of Susiana he thus said: (5) 'I am Omanes, the King of Susiana.'"

In the second clause, *Chichikhráish* is the gen. of a masc. theme in *i*, and *Pársiya* is the loc. used for the genitive. In the fourth clause, *Uwajaiya* is also the loc. used for the gen., and *kárahyá* is the gen. used for the dative.

Par. 4. (1) Thátiya Dar(a)yavush khsháya*thiya:* (2) - - - kiya adam ashan[12]iya áham abiya Uwajam. (3) Pasáwa hachám*a* - - - *Uwaj*iyá awam Marti[13]yam agarbáya hyashám mathishta áha, (4) - - - - na.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) I was moving a little way in the direction of Susiana. (?) (3) Then the Susians fearing (?) from me, seized that Martius, who was their chief, (4) and they slew him. (?)"

The mutilation of this paragraph renders it quite impossible to give the sense with any certainty. If the imperfect word in clause two be *adakiya,* for the Persian اندکی *andaki,* and *ashaniya* be the present participle of अष, "to go," or "move," the signification may be that which I have adopted; but I place little reliance on the identification of either of these terms. In the third clause, also, I know not if the construction be "then as it was said by me," *hacháma yathá athahya,* or whether the word which follows *hacháma,* may not rather be a participle signifying "fearing." The fourth clause is probably *utáshim awájana* or *pasáwashim awájana,* the latter term

being for *awajanan*, (Sans. अवाग्मन्,) as *awája* in the sing. is for *awahan*, (Sans. अवाहन्).

Par. 5. (1) Thátiya D[14]ár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Martiya Fra-*wartish náma, Máda*, huwa udapatat[15]á. (3) Mádaiya kárahyá awathá athaha: (4) "*Adam Khshathrita am*iya, Uwakhshatarah[16]yá taumáyá." (5) Pasáwa kára Máda hya *vithápatiya áha, ha*cháma hamitřiya a[17]ba'va. (6) Abiya awam Frawartim ashiyava; (7) *huwa khsháyathiya a*bava Mádaiya.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) A certain man named Phraortes, a Median, he rose up. (3) To the state of Media he thus said: (4) 'I am Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares.' (5) Then the Median forces, which were at home (in their houses), revolted against me. (6) They went over to that Phraortes; (7) he became king of Media."

In the third clause remark as usual the loc. *Mádaiya* for the genitive, and the gen. *kárahyá* for the dative.

In the fourth clause, *taumáyá* is either the gen. or abl. of a fem. theme in *á*. The restored word, *vithápatiya* in the fifth clause, I suppose to be for *vithás*patiya, *vithás* being the acc. plur. of a fem. theme in short *a*, and the dental *s* in Sanskrit being dropped before a *p* in the language of the inscriptions, as it is also dropped before the *m**. I translate *kára* indifferently, "forces," "army," or "the state;" etymologically it will signify "any executive power."

Par. 6. (1) [18]Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Kára *Pársa utá Máda* hya upá mám á[19]ha, huwa kamanama áha. (3) Pasáwa adam kára*m fraishayam*. (4) *Vidarna* náma Pársa, man[20]á badaka, awamsham mathishtam akunavam. (5) *Awathásham athaham:* (6) "Pritá awam k[21]áram tyam Mádam jatá, hya maná ni*ya gaubatiya*." (7) *Pasáwa* huwa Vidarna ha[22]dá kárá ashiyava. (8) Yathá Mádam parárasa, M - - - - *n*áma, wardanam Ma[23]daiya, awadá hamar(a)nam akunaush *hadá* M*ádaibish*. (9) (*Hya*?) Mádaishuwá [24]mathishta áha, huwa adakiya niya - - - dá - - - . (10) Aura-

* *Vithápatiya*, will etymologically, I think, refer to *the tribes*, of which the Median nation was composed, rather than to "*homes*," or "*houses*," the Sanskrit correspondent being वीज, (Zend *vaêj*, Peh. *vij*,) rather than विश्. Perhaps, therefore, if the restoration be correct, the true translation of the fifth clause will be, "Then the Medes, *those of the tribes*, revolted against me."

mazdámaiya u[25]pastám abara; (11) washná Auramazdáha kára hya *Vidarnahyá* awam káram t[26]yam hamitřiyam aja wasiya. (12) Aná-makahya máhyá 𐏑𐏑𐏑 rauchabish, thakat[27]á áha awatháshám ha-mar(a)nam kartam. (13) Pasáwa*huwa** *kára* hya maná Kapada nám[28]á, dahyáush Mádaiya, awadá mám *chitá amánaya, yátá* adam arasam Máda[29]m.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) The army of Persians and Medes that was (on service) with me, that remained faithful to me. (?) (3) Then I sent forth (these) troops. (4) Hydarnes by name, a Persian, one of my subjects, him I appointed their leader. (5) I thus addressed them: (6) 'Happiness attend ye! smite that Median State, which does not acknowledge me.' (7) Then that Hydarnes marched with his army. (8) When we reached Media, a city of Media named Ma . . . , there he engaged the Medes. (9) He who was leader of the Medes could not at all resist him. (?) (10) Ormazd brought help to me; (11) by the grace of Ormazd, the troops of Hydarnes entirely defeated the rebel army. (12) On the 6th day of the month of Anámaka, then it was the battle was thus fought by them. (13) Subsequently my forces remained at Capada, a district of Media, apart from me until I myself arrived in Media."

The second clause evidently refers to a distinction between the Median troops who were in their own country, and those who were on service at Babylon. The former supported the cause of Phraortes, the latter remained firm in their allegiance to Darius. It is not easy, at the same time, to determine the grammatical condition of *kamanam* or *kamanama*. *Kamanam* would be the nom. sing. neut. of *kamana*, (of which we have the instr. plur. in *kamanaibish*,) and with this form the masc. *kára* could scarcely by possibility agree. I conjecture, therefore, that the final *ma* may be the ablative of the 1st personal pronoun, as in *hachámа*, and that the word may signify "desirous of me," or "faithful to me."

Clause four. This *Vidarna* or *Hydarnes*, is probably the individual of that name, who was one of the seven. *Maná badaka* signifies literally, "bound to me," but I always translate the phrase, "one of my servants," or "one of my subjects." In *awamshám* and *awatháshám*, remark that the suffixed plural of the 3rd pers. is used in reference to *kára*, that term, although in the sing., being a noun of multitude.

* Perhaps the word *huwa* may intervene between *pasáwa* and *kára*; it is not required by the context, but the single word *kára* will not fill up the interval on the rock.

Clause six. *Pritá* is the 2nd pers. plur. imper. of प्री, "to rejoice." It appears to be used as a mere benedictory formula of address, like the Latin, "*salvete.*"

The restored word at the end of the eighth clause, may be either *Mádaibish* or *Mádayibish.* The former would be the most regular orthography, but in a very similar passage in line 16, col. iii, we have the reading *hadá Márgayibish.*

Clause nine. *Mádaishuwá* is the loc. masc. plur. used apparently for the genitive. It is impossible to restore the words which terminate this sentence, and *adakiya* is so difficult of interpretation, that the sense even is obscure. I compare the word conjecturally with either the Persian اندکی, "a little," or the Turkish *anjak,* "only."

In clause thirteen, *chitá* is a very doubtful restoration after *mám**. The term occurs in other passages of a similar import, where however it precedes the pronoun instead of following it. It appears to be a preposition governing the acc. case, and signifying "apart from." I derive it conjecturally from the root छिद्, "to divide," and compare it with the Persian جدا, *jidá.*

Par. 7. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathi*ya:* (2) *Pasáwa Dádarshish náma,* Arminiya, man[30]á badaka, awam adam fráishayam Arminam. (3) *Awatháshiya athaham:* (4) *Pr*idiya; ká[31]ra hya hamitřiya, maná niya gaubatiya, awam *jadiya.* (5) *Pasáwa* Dádarshi[32]sh ashiyava. (6) Yathá Arminam parárasa, pasáwa *hamitřiyá* hagamatá parai[33]tá patish Dádarshim hamar(a)nam chartani*ya.* (7) - - - náma, awahanam A[34]rmaniyiya awadá hamar(a)nam akunava. (8) Au*ramazdámaiya* upastám a[35]bara; (9) washná Auramazdáha, kára hya m*aná awam káram tya*m hamitřiyam [36]aja wasiya. (10) Thurawáharahya máhyá rauchabish, *thakatá* áha awath[37]áshám hamar(a)nam kartam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then Dadarses by name, an Armenian, one of my servants, him I sent to Armenia. (3) I thus said to him: (4) 'Greeting to thee; the rebel state, that does not obey me, smite it.' (5) Then Dadarses marched. (6) When he reached Armenia, then the rebels, having collected, came again before Dadarses, arraying (their) battle. (7) . . . . by name, a village of Armenia, there they engaged. (8) Ormazd brought help to me; (9) by the grace of

* In the Cuneiform text I have conjecturally restored *káma,* but on further consideration I prefer the reading of *chitá.*

Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated the rebel army. (10) On the 8th day of the month of Thurawáhara, then it was a battle was thus fought by them."

In the second clause, *Arminiya* is the nom. of the ethnic title formed apparently with the common adjectival suffix in *ya*. Remark also, that *fráishayam* in this sentence governs a double accusative.

Clause four. *Pridiya* and *jadiya* are in the 2nd pers. imper. sing. in this passage, the address being particularly to the leader Dadarses. In the last paragraph where Darius addressed the troops, we had *pritá* and *jatá* in the plural. Remark also, that *kára hya hamitřiya* is the nom. to the verb *gaubatiya*, and that the demonstrative *awam* is the object to *jadiya*. *Maná niya gaubatiya* is literally, "mine is not called."

In the sixth clause, *hagamata* is the nom. plur. of the past participle for *hamgamatá*, and *paraitá* is the 3rd pers. plur. of the middle imperf.; the particle *par*, "again," being prefixed to the verb, which of course requires the temporal augment. We must be careful to distinguish between the terms of *paraitá* and *pritá*, although the Cuneiform orthography is necessarily the same. Remark also in this sentence, that *chartaniya*, which is certainly the plural, is undistinguished by the characteristic of number, a circumstance which seems to prove the Cuneiform participle in *niya* to be indeclinable.

Clause seven. Adjectives like pronouns appear in the language of the inscriptions to form the nom. and acc. sing. neuter in *as* instead of *am;* otherwise we should have *námam* rather than *náma*, (for *namas*,) to agree with the neuter nouns *wardanam*, *áwahanam*, &c. *Armaniyaiya* may either be the dative used for the genitive of a masc. theme in *i*, the termination in *yaiya* being equivalent to the Sanskrit ये, or it may be the locative of a masc. theme in *a*. It is impossible, I think, to derive *Armaniya* from *Armina*, but I hesitate to say whether the variant used in this and in several subsequent passages, may be in the nom. *Armanish* or *Armaniya*.

Par. 8. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)*yavush khsháyathiya*: (2) Patiya duv[38]itiyam hamitřiyá hagamatá paraitá *patish Dádarshim hamar(a)*nam charta[39]niya. (3) Tigra námá didá Armaniyaiya *awadá hamar(a)nam* akunava. (4) A[40]uramazdámaiya upastám abara; (5) washná *Auramazdáha kára hya* maná a[41]wam káram tyam

hamitřiyam aja wasiya. (6) *Thurawáharahya* máhyá [42]rauchabish, thakatá áha awatháshám hamar(a)*nam kartam.*

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) For the second time the rebels, having collected, returned before Dadarses arraying battle. (3) The fort of Armenia named Tigra, there they engaged. (4) Ormazd brought help to me; (5) by the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated that rebel army. (6) On the 18th day of the month Thurawáhara, then it was the battle was thus fought by them."

Remark in the second clause, *patiya duvitiyam,* "for the second time," a form of expression that will frequently occur hereafter.

In the third clause, the variant locative (?) *Armaniyaiya* is again used for the more regular *Arminaiya,* and *namá* is put in the fem. to agree with *didá.*

Par. 9. (1) *Thá*tiya Dár(a)ya[43]vush khsháyathiya: (2) Patiya třitiyam ham*itřiyá hagamatá* paraitá pat[44]ish Dádarshim hamar(a)nam chartaniya. (3) - - - *námá didá* Armaniyaiya, a[45]wadá hamar(a)nam akunava; (4) Auramazdá*maiya upastám abara;* (5) *wa*shná Aurama[46]zdáha kára hya maná awam káram tya*m hamitřiyam aja wasiya.* (6) Tháigarcha[47]ish máhyá rauchabish, thakatá áha *awatháshám hamar(a)nam* kartam. (7) Pasáwa [48]Dádarshish chitá mám amánaya a - - - *yátá* adam arasam Má[49]dam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) For the third time, the rebels having assembled, returned before Dadarses arraying battle. (3) A fort of Armenia named . . . . . there they engaged. (4) Ormazd brought help to me; (5) by the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated the rebel troops. (6) On the 9th day of the month Thaigarchish, then it was a battle was thus fought by them. (7) Afterwards Dadarses remained away from me (in the field?) until I reached Media."

In the sixth clause, remark that *Tháigarchaish* is the genitive of a masc. theme in *i.*

Clause seven. I have already explained the conjectural meaning which I give to *chitá mám,* and which appears to me to be preferable to the translation, "by my counsel," or "with my knowledge," which the phrase might also etymologically be made to bear. The word which follows *amánaya* is lost and I am unable to restore it, but I gather from the Median translation that it cannot represent a proper name. The expression "in the field," which I have interpolated is wholly conjectural. *Rasa* and *parárasa,* wherever they are used in a transitive sense, govern an accusative.

Par. 10. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyath*iya:* (2) *Pasáwa Wumisa* náma Pársa, maná ba[50]daka, awam adam fráishayam Arminam. (3) *Awatháshiya athaham:* (4) "Pridiya; kára [51]hya hamit˘iya maná niya gaubatiya, *awam jadiya.*" (5) *Pasáwa* Wumisa a[52]shiyava. (6) Yathá Arminam parárasa, pas*áwa hamitřiyá ha*gamatá paraitá pa[53]tish Wumisam hamar(a)nam chartaniya. (7) - - i - - *námá dah*yáush Athuráy[54]á, awadá hamar(a)nam akunava. (8) Aura*mazdámaiya upastám* abara; (9) washná Au-[55]ramazdáha, kára hya maná awam *káram tyam hamit*řiyam aja wasiya. (10) [56]Anámakahya máhyá 𒌋𒌋𒌋 rauchabish, *thakatá áha awathásh*ám hamar(a)nam [57]kartam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then (he who was) named Vomises, a Persian, one of my servants, him I sent to Armenia. (3) Thus I said to him: (4) 'Hail to thee; the rebel state which does not acknowledge my authority, bring it under submission.' (5) Then Vomises marched forth. (6) When he had reached Armenia, then the rebels, having assembled, came again before Vomises in order of battle. (7) A district of Assyria named . . . . . there they engaged. (8) Ormazd brought help to me; (9) by the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated that rebel army. (10) On the 13th day of the month of Anámaka, then it was the battle was thus fought by them."

As we find in the seventh clause, that the battle took place in Assyria, it may be suspected that in this and in the other paragraphs I have adopted an erroneous division of the sentences. We may prefer, indeed, the reading, "(5) Then Vomises marched forth, *that* he might reach Armenia." "(6) Then the rebels having assembled came again before Vomises in battle-array." "(7) A district of Assyria, named . . . . . ., there they engaged." For if Vomises had reached Armenia from Babylon, it seems difficult to understand how an action could have been fought in the intervening province of Assyria; but on the other hand, I doubt if the imperfect *parárasa* will admit of a subjunctive future signification, and *yathá* and *pasáwa,* moreover, which I have included in the sixth sentence, appear always to possess a co-relative application. I adhere therefore to the translation given in the text, and I suppose Vomises to have reached the immediate frontiers of Armenia, when the rebels opposed him and gave him battle on the Assyrian soil. Minute accuracy of expression we cannot expect in a document of this sort, and there may have been even a certain confusion in the geography of the country between the limitary districts of the two provinces.

In the seventh clause, *Athuráyá* should be in the locative according

to the usual construction, and I suspect that such in fact is its true condition, notwithstanding the identity of its orthography with that of a genitive of a fem. theme in *á*.

Par. 11. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush *khsháyathiya:* (2) *Patiya* duvitiyam ha[58]mitřiyá hagamatá paraitá patish *Wumisam hamar(a)nam* chartaniya. (3) Au[59]tiyára námá, dahyáush Armina*iya, awadá hamar(a)nam* akunava. (4) [60]Auramazdámaiya upastám abara; (5) *washná Auramazdá*ha kára hya ma[61]ná awam káram tyam hamitřiyam *aja wasiya.* (6) *Thura*wáharahya máh[62]yá - - iyamanam patiya awathášhám *hamar(a)nam kartam.* (7) Pasáwa Wumisa [63]chitá mám amánaya Arminai*ya, yátá ada*m arasam Mádam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) For the second time the rebels having assembled came before Vomises in battle-array. (3) The district of Armenia, named Otiara, there they engaged. (4) Ormazd brought help to me; (5) by the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated that rebel army. (6) In the month of Thurawáhara, upon the festival, (?) thus was a battle fought by them. (7) Afterwards Vomises remained in Armenia, apart from me, until I reached Media."

If *Arminaiya* be the true orthography in the third and seventh clauses, we have the regular locative masc. from *Armina;* and with this further proof of the tendency of the language to apply that case to geographical names, we may prefer perhaps the explanation of *Armaniyaiya* as the locative of *Armaniya,* rather than as the dative of *Armanish.*

In the sixth clause should the imperfect word be *niyamanam,* (Sans. नियमनं,) we might conjecture a reference to the *Nowroz,* the great festival of the early Persians. I am not sure, however, if *patiya* can be used with the sense of "at," "upon," or "during," and the omission of *thakatá,* "then," the usual co-relative to the date, throws a further obscurity on the passage.

Par. 12. (1) [64]Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) *Pasáwa adam* nijáyam hachá [65]Bábiraush. (3) Ashiyavam Mádam. (4) Yathá *Mádam parárasam, G*udrush náma [66]wardanam Mádaiya, awadá huwa Fraw*artish, hya Mád*aiya khsháyathiya a[67]gaubatá, *aisha hadá* kárá patish mám *hamar(a)nam chartan*iya. (5) Pasáwa hamar(a)na[68]m akumá. (6) *Auramaz*dámaiya upastám *abara;* (7) *washná*

*A*uramazdáha káram [69]tyam Frawart*aish* adam ajanam wasiya. (8) - - - *hya* máhyá ra[70]uchabish, thakatá *áha awathá* hama-r(a)nam ak*uma*.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then I went out from Babylon. (3) I proceeded to Media. (4) When I reached Media, a city of Media, named Gudrusia, there that Phraortes, who was called King of Media, came with an army before me in battle-array. (5) Then we joined battle. (6) Ormazd brought help to me; (7) by the grace of Ormazd, I entirely defeated the forces of Phraortes. (8) On the 26th day of the month of Askhana, (?) then it was we thus fought the battle."

In the second clause, *nijáyam* is the 1st pers. imperf. sing. of a verb. compounded of निर्, "out," and इ, "to go." The orthography is valuable in showing that the same rule which changes *nish* and *dush* into *nij* and *duj* in Zend before certain sonant consonants and the vowel *a*, applies also to the language of the inscriptions; but at the same time, I cannot on this single authority remove the character from the class of palatals.

Clause four. The orthography of *Gudrush* is completed after the Median transcript. Remark also, that *huwa* in this sentence and in many other passages, is used in its true sense as the nom. of the remote demonstrative, rather than as the pronoun of the 3rd person.

Clause seven. *Frawartaish* is restored as the gen. of a masc. theme in *i*.

Clause eight. I follow the Median text in giving the name of the month *Askhana*, but I can hardly venture to restore the Persian orthography.

Par. 13. (1) *Thát*iya Dár(a)yavush kh[71]sháyathiya: (2) Pasáwa *hauwa* Frawartish hadá k*amanaibish asbár*aibish amutha, Ra[72]gá námá dahyáu*sh Mád*aiya, awad*á ashiyava*. (3) *Pasáwa* adam káram f[73]r*áishayam, tyi*patiya Frawartish agarb*áyatá utá anayát*á abiya mám. (4) Ada[74]m*shiya utá* náham utá gaushá u*tá* - - - m frajanam utásh[75]*iya* - - - m awajam. (5) Duwarayámai*ya* basta adá*r*iya; (6) haruwashim k[76]ára *avaina*. (7) Pasáwa adam Hagmat*ána awadáshim uz(a)tay*ápatiya akunavam. (8) [77]U*tá martiyá* tyishiya fratam*á anushiyá* ahatá *awa*iya Ha[78]gmat*ánaiya atara* didám fráha - - - .

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then that Phraortes with the horsemen who were faithful to him, fled from thence to the district of Media, named Rhages. (3) Subsequently I despatched forces (in pursuit), by whom Phraortes was taken and brought before me. (4) I cut off both his nose and his ears and his . . . and I . . . . . (5) He was held chained at my door; (?) (6) all the kingdom beheld him. (?) (7) Afterwards at Ecbatana, there I . . . . him. (?) (8) And the chief men, who were his followers at Ecbatana, within the citadel I imprisoned them."

In the second clause, *amuthá* is a new word, but I give the signification "from thence," with some confidence.

Clause three. If the reading of *tyipatiyá* be correct, the relative pronoun must be in the acc. masc. plur. to agree with *kára*, a noun of multitude. *Agarbáyatá* and *ánayatá* have certainly a passive singification, *Frawartish* being in the nom. case; but whether the middle voice may be here used for the passive, or whether the *ya* be not in these forms the true passive characteristic rather than a conjugational suffix, I cannot pretend to decide.

The fourth clause is too imperfect to admit of restoration, and I question, even were the orthography complete, that I could translate it satisfactorily. There is evidently some noun in the acc. sing. between *utá* and *frájanam*, and the word probably signifies "lip," or "tongue," but the termination of the sentence is altogether obscure to me. *Awajam* should be the 1st person active imperf. of the verb, which occurs in the 3rd pers. mid. imperf. in line 32 of the 1st column, but neither in one passage nor the other can I obtain a satisfactory etymology. If the phrase were *utáshim adam awajam*, the literal meaning would be "and I bore him (away"), *waja* being for वह. If, on the other hand, the first word be *utáshiya*, it must be followed by a noun in the acc. sing., and some other etymology must be sought for *awajam* or *awajanam*. The Median transcript is complete, but the words which answer to this particular phrase are quite unknown to me.

Clause five. *Duwarayámaiya basta adáriya* is also a difficult expression; *maiya* is unquestionably the suffixed pronoun of the 1st pers., for the Median copy gives the word which usually answers to *maná;* and *adáriya* we may identify with some confidence as the 3rd pers. sing. of the passive aorist. *Basta*, also, is evidently the past participle, common to the Zend and modern Persian, but *duwarayá* is very uncertain. The pronoun is usually added to a nominative, sometimes to an acc.; here, however, in order to obtain an intelligible phrase, I am obliged to regard it as an affix to the locative or instru-

mental of a fem. theme in short *a; duwara* being for the Sanskrit द्वार् or द्वारे. I must add also, that admitting the possibility of this construction, it will still remain doubtful whether this signification be "at my door," or "by my means;" for द्वार is used in both senses.

Clause six. The restoration of *avaina* is rendered probable by the Median transcript, and if it be admitted, the translation can be no other than I have given in the text, notwithstanding that the introduction of the accusative *shim* between the adjective and noun which form the nominative to the verb, appears to be a most irregular construction.

I consider the reading of the fourth, fifth, and sixth clauses to be throughout exceedingly suspicious.

Clause seven. *Uz(a)tayápatiya* or *uz(a)mayápatiya*, (for it is uncertain whether the third character be or) is a most impracticable word. It appears to be a compound word, and to be used in this passage as an adjective or participial complement to the verb, the literal construction of the sentence being, "there I made him, (impaled or crucified?") The difficulty, however, of finding the correspondent for the Cuneiform , the uncertainty whether the initial answer to उ or मु; the doubtful power of the third character, and the impossibility of distinguishing if *uz(a)tayá* be for *uz(a)tayám* in the acc. fem. sing., or *uz(a)tayás* in the acc. plur. present insuperable obstacles to analysis. The term, probably, refers to some notable form of capital punishment, but I hesitate to define its nature.

Clause eight. The accusative masculine plural is *awaiya* for *awe*, and we have similar examples of the pronominal accusative in *imaiya* and *tyaiya*. The last word of the sentence is certainly the 1st person singular imperfect of a verb, compounded with *fra*, (Sanskrit. प्र), and the expression *atara didam*, "within the citadel," inclines me to assign the signification of "imprisoning;" but the orthography can hardly be restored. The Median copy appears to employ a periphrasis for the word in question, which I can neither read nor explain.

It is worthy of remark, that in the seventh and eighth clauses, the name of *Hagmatána* is given without that descriptive adjunct *wardanam Mádaiya*, which the usual construction would have led us to expect, but which was probably considered unnecessary in regard to a

locality so well known as the famous capital of Media. In the eighth clause, I restore the orthography of *Hagmatánaiya atara didam*, as the locative case is, I think, always used when *awadá*, the adverb of locality, is omitted.

Par. 14. (1) *Thátiya* Dár(a)yavush khsh[79]áyathiya: (2) ϒ *martiya*, Chitřatakhma náma, *As(a)gartiya*, *ha*uwamaiya hamitřiya [80]abava. (3) Kárah*yá* awathá athaha: (4) "Adam *khsháyathiya* amiya *As(a)gar*ta[81]iya, Uwakhs*hatara*hyá taumáyá." (5) Pasáwa adam káram Pá*rsam* ut[82]á Mádam *frá*ishayam. (6) Khamas*páda* náma Máda, maná ba*daka* awam[83]shám math*ishta*m akunavam. (7) *Awathá*shám athaham: (8) "Pritá! k[84]áram tyam *hamitřiyam* hya maná *niya* gaubátiya, awam jatá." (9) Pas[85]áwa Kha*mas*páda hadá kárá *ashiya*va. (10) Hamar(a)nam akunaush had[86]á Chitřa*ta*khmá. (11) Auramaz*dámaiya* upastám abara. (12) Washná Auramazd[87]áha kára hya maná awam kára*m tyam* hamitřiyam aja, utá Ch[88]itřatakhmam agarbáya, *uta* ánaya abiya mám. (13) *Pasá*washiya adam utá n[89]áham utá gaushá frájanam, utáshaiya -- m awajam. (14) Duwarayá[90]maiya basta adáriya. (15) Haruwashim kára a*vaina*. (16) *Pasá*washim Arbiráyá [91]*uz(a)tayápati*ya akunavam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) A certain man named Sitratachmes, a Sagartian, he rebelled against me. (3) To the State he thus said: (4) 'I am the King of Sagartia, (I am) of the race of Cyaxares.' (5) Then I sent forth an army composed of Persians and Medes. (6) A man named Camaspates, a Median, one of my subjects, him I appointed their leader. (7) I thus addressed them: (8) 'Hail to ye! The State which is in revolt, which does not acknowledge me, reduce it to obedience,' (lit. 'smite it.') (9) Then Camaspates marched with his army. (10) He fought a battle with Sitratachmes. (11) Ormazd brought help to me. (12) By the grace of Ormazd, my troops defeated the rebel army, and took Sitratachmes, and brought him before me. (13) Then I cut off his nose and his ears, and I . . . . . him. (14) He was kept chained at my door. (?) (15) All the kingdom beheld him. (?) (16) Afterwards I . . . . . at Arbela."

Clause two. *As(a)gartiya* is used for the ethnic title like *Armiiya*, the final *a* of the theme being converted to *i*, for euphony before the adjectival suffix *in ya*.

In clause four, *As (a)gartaiya* is the locative of *As(a)garta*, used for the genitive, and *taumáyá* may be either the gen. or ablt. of a fem.

theme in long *a*. The Median copy uses a verb in each division of this clause, and I have inserted "I am," therefore, in a parenthesis.

In the fifth clause, *Pársa* and *Máda* are employed as usual for the ethnic title.

Clause eight. *Pritá* and *jatá* are in the plur., the address being to the troops, rather than to Camaspates in person. The appearance of two relatives in this sentence, and the employment of the acc. for the nom. is so contrary to the usual construction, and I may say so ungrammatical, for the demonstrative *awam* is the object to the verb, that I greatly suspect the correctness of the text. The Median transcript exhibits the same reading that we have in other passages for "*kára hya hamitřiya maná niya gaubatiya, awam jatá,*" and I should certainly have restored accordingly, had not the rough copy given the letters *itřiyam hya* without comment, as if they were distinctly legible on the rock. The sense will be the same which ever may be the true reading. If *gaubátiya* be really employed in this passage for *gaubatiya*, we must either suppose an error of the artist, or an irregular substitution of the subjunctive for the indicative mood.

Clause twelve. *Agarbáya* and *ánaya* are here in the active voice, the nom. *kára* governing throughout the sentence. For the following clauses, see the notes to the preceding paragraph; but in the last sentence remark that the name *Arbirá* is put in the locat. (or gen. for the loc.), and that the demonstrative adverb is accordingly dispensed with.

Par. 15. (1) Thátiya Dár(*a*)*yavu*sh khsháyathiya: (2) Ima tya ma^{92}ná kartam *Mádai*ya.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) This is (that) which was done by me in Media."

I may observe, that the neuter nom. sing. of the immediate demonstrative pronoun which occurs in the second clause, may with tolerable certainty be read as *ima* rather than *im;* as all the other pronouns form their neuters (nom. and acc.), in *a* for *as*. Compare *awa, tya, aita*, &c.

Par. 16. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush kh*sháyathi*ya: (2) Parthwa utá War[93]ká*na* - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - *Vĭsht*á*spa* hya maná pitá[94] - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -
*Vĭsp*awushtisa *ná*[95]*ma* - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - -

Translation following the Median copy.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Parthia and Hyrcania revolted against me; (3) They declared for Phraortes. (4) Hystaspes, who was my father, the Parthian forces rose in rebellion against him. (?) (5) Then Hystaspes with the troops who remained faithful to him, marched forth. (6) Hyspaostisa, a town of Parthia, there he engaged the rebels. (7) Ormazd brought help . . . . . (8) By the grace of Ormazd, Hystaspes entirely defeated the rebel army. (9) On the 22nd day of the month of Viyakhna, then it was the battle was thus fought by them."

The translation which I have given of the fourth clause is doubtful, the Median copy employing in it several words which do not occur elsewhere in the inscriptions. In every other portion of the paragraph the construction is so simple, that there would be no very great risk in restoring the entire Persian text, and I give the signification throughout with perfect confidence.

Column III.

Par. 1. (1) [1]Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Pasáwa adam kára[2]m Pársam fráishayam abiya Vĭshtáspam hachá Ragá[3]yá. (3) Yathá hauwa kára parárasa abiya Vĭshtáspam, [4]pasáwa Vĭshtáspa ayastá awam káram ashiyava. (4) Patigapa[5]ná náma, wardanam Parthwaiya, awadá hamar(a)nam akunaush hadá hamitřiyaib[6]ish. (5) Auramazdámaiya upastám abara. (6) Washná Auramaz[7]dáha Vĭshtáspa awam káram tyam hamitřiyam aja wasiya. (7) Ga[8]rmapadahya máhyá ᛉ raucha, thakatá áha awatháshám hamar(a)nam [9]kartam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then I sent from Rhages a Persian army to Hystaspes. (3) When that army reached Hystaspes, he marched forth with those troops. (4) The city of Parthia, named Patigapana, there he fought with the rebels. (5) Ormazd brought help

to me. (6) By the grace of Ormazd, Hystaspes entirely defeated that rebel army. (7) On the 1st day of the month of Garmapada, then it was the battle was thus fought by them."

In the second clause, *Ragáyá* is the ablt. sing. of a fem. theme in long *a*.

Clause three. The pronouns *hauwa* in the nom., and *awam* in the acc., would appear to be used in contradistinction to each other, and judging therefore merely from the Persian text, I should be inclined to read, "When those troops reached Hystaspes, then Hystaspes marched against that army," (that is, "against the Parthian rebels)." In the Median copy, however, the employment of the same demonstrative pronoun, both for *hauwa* and *awam*, connects them determinately together, and *ayastá*, moreover, is represented by the word which in other passages answers to *hadá*, "with," the construction being evidently that which I have adopted in the translation. *Ayastá* will be subsequently found to be employed post-positively, as we have already observed *patiya* indifferently to follow or precede the noun; but I have not its Sanskrit equivalent.

Clause four. *Parthwaiya* is as usual in the locative case.

Clause six. Remark that in this sentence the rebel army is said to have been defeated by Hystaspes in person, instead of by the forces of Hystaspes, a form of expression which was perhaps considered more worthy of the distinguished character of the leader. It is only, indeed, when Darius or Hystaspes lead the forces that the action is thus commemorated in the name of the Commander, rather than in that of the victorious troops.

Clause seven. As *rauchabish* is always used in the dative plur. with numbers exceeding one, so in this passage where we have the expression, "on the 1st day," *raucha* would seem necessarily to be in the dative sing. There is at the same time, I believe, no other instance in the inscriptions of the employment of a dative case, and I am unable therefore to verify the inflexion.

Par. 2. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Pasáwa dahyáush [10]maná abava. (3) Ima tya maná kartam Parthwaiya.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then the province submitted to me. (3) This is what was done by me in Parthia."

The literal construction of the second clause, is "then the province to me (or mine) became."

Par. 3. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavu[11]sh khsháyathiya: (2) Margush námá dahyáush hauwamaiya* hashitiyá abava. (3) [12] martiya, Fráda náma, Márgawa, awam mathishtam akunavatá. (4) Pasá-[13]wa adam fráishayam Dádarshish náma, Pársa, maná badaka, Bákhtariy[14]á khshatřapáwá, abiya awam. (5) Awatháshiya athaham: (6) "Pritiya! awa[15]m káram jadiya, hya maná niya gaubatiya." (7) Pasáwa Dádarshish hadá k[16]árá ashiyava. (8) Hamar(a)nam akunaush hadá Márgayaibish. (9) Auramazd[17]ámaiya upastám abara. (10) Washná Auramazdáha kára hya maná awam káram [18]tyam hamitřiyam aja wasiya. (11) Atřiyátiyahya máhyá rauchabi[19]sh, thakatá áha, awatháshám hamar(a)nam kartam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) The province named Margiana, that revolted against me. (3) A certain man named Phraates, a Margian, they made him their leader. (4) Then I sent to him, who was named Dadarses, a Persian, one of my subjects, and the Satrap of Bactria. (5) Thus said I to him: (6) 'Hail to thee! Attack that province which does not acknowledge me.' (7) Then Dadarses marched with (his) forces; (8) He joined battle with the Margians. (9) Ormazd brought help to me. (10) By the grace of Ormazd my troops entirely defeated the rebel army. (11) On the 23rd day of the month Atriyátiya, then it was the battle was thus fought by them."

Clause two. Remark the substitution of *hashitiya* for *hamitřiyá*. The adjective is in the fem. gender to agree with *dahyáush*.

Clause three. *Márgawa* is the nom. sing. of the ethnic title†, and *akunavatá* is the 3rd pers. sing. or plur. of the mid. imperf.

In the fourth clause it must be observed, that *Dádarshish náma, Pársa, maná badaka, Bákhtariyá khshatřapáwá,* are throughout placed in the nom. case, the complement of the verb *fráishayam* being the concluding phrase *abiya awam,* "to him." *Bákhtariyá* may be the gen. or loc. of a fem. theme in *i*, and *khshatřapáwá* is the nom. of a masc. theme in *a*, attached to the copulative conjunction *wa*, (Sans. च.)

* This word is valuable in showing that there was no distinction between the masculine and feminine forms of the demonstrative pronoun in the nom. singular; *hauwa* must be necessarily, in this passage, in the fem. gender, to agree with its antecedent *dahyáush*.

† It would be more in accordance with Sanskrit grammar to suppose *Márgawa* the nom. plural, and to translate, "A certain man named Phraates, the Margians made him (their) leader;" but in col. 4, line 24, the term is certainly in the sing., and the nom. would hardly be the same in both numbers.

Clause six. The second pers. sing. imper. *pritiya* is here written with a instead of the usual character *.

My rough copy of the Median transcript of the eleventh clause gives the numerals applying to the day of the month as , but I have little doubt that this is an error for , for in one of the copies of the Persian text, I find the corresponding signs represented doubtfully as .

Par. 4. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavu[20]sh khsháyathiya: (2) Pasáwa dahyáush maná abava. (3) Ima tya ma[21]ná kartam Bákhtariyá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then the province submitted to me. (3) This is what was done by me in Bactria."

In the third clause, *Bákhtariyá* is the loc. sing. of a fem. theme in *i*. Remark also from this sentence, that Margiana was evidently considered a part of Bactria.

Par. 5. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháya[22]thiya: (2) martiya, Wahyazdáta náma, Tárwá náma wardanam, [23]Yutiyá námá dahyáush Pársaiya, awadá adáraya. (3) Ha[24]uwa duvitiyam udapatatá. (4) Pársaiya kárahyá awathá [25]athaha: (5) "Adam Bardiya amiya, hya Kuraush putřá." (6) Pasáwa [26]kára Pársa, hya vîthápatiya hachá yadáyá fratarta, ha[27]uwa hacháma hamitřiya abava. (7) Abiya awam Wahyazdáta[28]m ashiyava. (8) Hauwa khsháyathiya abava Pársaiya.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) A certain man name Veisdates; a city named Tarba, in the district of Persia, named Yutiya, there he dwelt. (3) He rose up a second time. (4) To the state of Persia he thus said: (5) 'I am Bardius, the son of Cyrus.' (6) Then the Persian forces which were at home, being removed from connexion (with me?) they revolted against me†. (7) They went over to that Veisdates; (8) He became king of Persia."

In the third clause, *duvitiyam*, "the second time," appears to refer not to a previous appearance of this particular impostor, but to the previous Persian insurrection when Gomates personated the missing Smerdis.

* But see Supplementary Note, page 179.—Ed.

† Or, "Then the Persian people, the tribe population, being removed from connexion with me, revolted against me." See the next note.

Clause six. *Vĭtha* in *Vĭthápatiya* is probably the acc. plur. for *Vĭthas*, the postposition *patiya* requiring that case. Had the term been employed in the sing. it would have been written *vĭthapatiya* for *vithampatiya*, the theme, although fem., ending in short *a*. It may be translated, perhaps, "at home," or "in their houses*". The whole clause is exceedingly difficult: *yadáyá* is certainly the ablative sing. of a fem. theme in long *a*, and I conjecture this theme *yadá*, to be formed from the root यज, "to associate with," but the next word is uncertain both in its orthography and signification. In one copy I have 𒁹𒁹𒁹 for the last letter, in another 𒁹𒁹𒁹 ; if the former be the correct reading, *frataram* must be an adverb, and the construction will be singularly involved. If, however, we read *fratarta*, we may suppose a past participle compounded of प्र and तॄ, the signification being literally, "passed beyond." In either case I consider the translation, "removed from connexion with me," subject to much doubt†.

In this paragraph the locative *Pársaiya* is substituted for the genitive in the different passages.

Par. 6. (1) Thá[29]tiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Pasáwa adam káram Pársa[30]m utá Mádam fráishayam hya upá mám áha. (3) Artaward[31]iya náma Pársa, maná badaka, awamshám mathishtam aku[32]navam. (4) Hya aniya kára Pársa pasá maná ashiyava Má[33]dam. (5) Pasáwa Artawardiya hadá kárá ashiyava Pársam. (6) [34]Yathá Pársam parárasa, Rakhá náma, wardanam Pársaiya, a[35]wadá hauwa Wahyazdáta hya Bardiya agaubatá, aisha [36]hadá kárá patish Artawardiyam hamar(a)nam chartaníya. (7) Pas[37]áwa hamar(a)nam akunava. (8) Auramazdámaiya upastám abara. (9) Wa[38]shná Auramazdáha kára hya maná awam káram tyam Wahya[39]zdátahya aja wasiya. (10) Thurawáharahya máhyá 𒁹𒁹 rauchabish, thakatá [40]áha awatháshám hamar(a)nam kartam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then I sent forth the Persian and Median forces which were with me. (3) Artabardes by name, a Per-

* See note to page 216, where I suppose *vĭthápatiya* to refer to *the tribes*, the actual and permanent inhabitants of the country, contra-distinguished from the troops on service, rather than to the soldiers who were "at home." *Vĭtha*, at any rate, is better translated by "a tribe or family," than by "a house or habitation."

† *Hachá yadáyá fratarta* will be further examined in the Vocabulary.

sian, one of my servants, him I appointed their chief. (4) Another Persian force, (or perhaps, 'the troops other than the Persians,') proceeded after me to Media. (5) Then Artabardes, with his troops, marched to Persia. (6) When he reached Persia, a city of Persia named Racha, there that Veisdates, who was called Bardius, came with a force before Artabardes in battle-array. (7) Then they joined battle. (8) Ormazd brought help to me. (9) By the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated the army of Veisdates. (10) On the 12th day of the month of Thurawáhara, then it was the battle was thus fought by them."

The only difficulty in this paragraph refers to the fourth clause, where we have *pasá*, "after," used apparently as a preposition governing the acc. case, and where the expression "*hya aniya kára Pársa*," is somewhat ambiguous. The construction of the sentence would lead us to translate simply, "other Persian troops followed me to Media;" but as Persia itself was in revolt, and as the Persian forces which remained faithful and had accompanied Darius to Media, were now detached under the command of Artabardes, I am inclined to think *aniya* may here indicate "other than," and the sense may be, "auxiliary troops, (those of the *aniyá dahyáwa* or dependent provinces,) other than the Persian followed me to Media."

That Darius had moved to Rhages after the execution of Phraortes at Ecbatana, I infer from his sending troops from the former place to the support of Hystaspes in Parthia; and that he must have entered Persia to arrange for the expedition of Artabardes is evident, as well from this notice of his return to Media, as from a subsequent passage where he expressly mentions that the Babylonians a second time revolted "whilst he was absent in Persia and Media."

Par. 7. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathi[41]ya: (2) Pasáwa hauwa Wahyazdáta hadá kamanaibish asbáraibish a[42]mutha ashiyava Pishiyáuwádám. (3) Hachá awadasha káram ayas[43]tá hyáparam aisha patish Artawardiyam hamar(a)nam chartan[44]iya. (4) Parga náma kauf, awadá hamar(a)nam akunava. (5) Auramazdáma[45]iya upastám abara. (6) Washná Auramazdáha kára hya maná awa[46]m káram tyam Wahyazdátahya aja wasiya. (7) Garmapadahya máh[47]yá 𒀭𒀭𒀭 rauchabish, thakatá áha awatháshám hamar(a)nam kartam. (8) Utá awa[48]m Wahyazdátam agarbáya, utá martiyá tyishiya fratam[49]á anushiyá áhata agarbáya.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then that Veisdates, with the horse-

men who remained staunch to him, fled from thence to Pissiachada *. (3) From that place, with an army, he came back arraying battle before Artabardes. (4) The mountains named Parga, there they fought. (5) Ormazd brought help to me. (6) By the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated the army of Veisdates. (7) On the 6th day of the month of Garmapada, then it was the battle was thus fought by them. (8) Both that Veisdates they took, and also they took the men who were his principal adherents."

In the third clause, *káram* is a word of doubtful orthography. My rough copies give the reading of *kárta*, but I think I must have mistaken the 𐎠𐎹𐎹 for 𐎡𐎹𐎹. If, however, the rough copy be correct, *kárta* must be a past participle, signifying "having armed," and the preposition *ayastá* must be united to the adverb *hyáparam*, according to the construction which gives *patiya hyáparam* in a succeeding passage, (like the *patiya duvitiyam* and *patiya třityam*, already familiar to us). I much prefer, however, the translation given in the text, and which supposes *káram* to be an acc. case governed by *ayastá* used post-positively; whilst the adverb *hyáparam*, compounded of the relative pronoun, and of अपरं implying "opposition" or "contrariety," ("back again," or "another time,") is independent of a prefix. *Ayastá* moreover, being apparently identical in sense with *hadá*, can hardly be attached like *patiya* to an adverb.

In the eighth clause, the nom. to *agarbáya* is understood, and I infer from this circumstance, that wherever we have the phrase *awatháshám hamaranam kartam*, the relative *shám* refers particularly to *kára hya maná* of the preceding sentence, for if it included the belligerents on either side, the nom. in the eighth clause referring to the one party only, must have been necessarily expressed.

Par. 8. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khshá[50]yathiya: (2) Pasáwa adam awam Wahyazdátam utá martiyá [51]tyishiya fratamá anushiyá áhata, Uwádaidaya náma war[52]danam Pársaiya, awadashish uz(a)tayápatiya akunavam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then that Veisdates, and the men who were his chief followers, the town of Persia named Chodedia, there I impaled (?) them."

* This *Pishiyáuwádá* was the native country of Gomates, and evidently within the limits of Persis. I have sometimes supposed it might be the original of the Greek Πασαργαδαι, but there is nothing to favour the identity beyond the partial resemblance of orthography.

I entertain some doubt about the term *awadashish.* In the first place, I believe the masc. acc. plur. as well as the acc. sing. of the 3rd pers. to be represented by the suffix *shim,* and in the next place, if *shim* or *shish* in this term were really the object of the verb, the antecedents, being isolated, should be in the nom. case; we ought, in fact, to have *hauwa Wahyazdáta utá tyishiya fratamá martiyá anushiyá áhata, &c.* Perhaps, however, as *adam* precedes the phrase, the transitive power of the verb may be sustained throughout, and the pronoun *shim* or *shish* may be repeated in consequence of the intervention of the notice of locality. We can never distinguish orthographically between the nom. and acc. plur. of themes in *a,* and *martiyá* may be therefore in one case or in the other. In this particular phrase, however, which occurs with slight variations in several paragraphs, we may determine, I think, that where *martiyá* precedes the relative, it is in the acc. case governed by the verb which closes the sentence, while in other positions it is the nom. agreeing with *áhata.*

Par. 9. (1) Thá[53]tiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Hauwa Wahyazdáta hya Bardiya [54]agaubatá, hauwa káram fráishaya Harauwatim, Viwána [55]náma Pársa, maná badaka, Harauwatiyá khshatřapáwá abiya awa[56]m. (3) Utásham 𒁹 martiyam mathishtam akunaush. (4) Awatḥáshám á[57]thaha: (5) "Pritá, Viwánam jatá, utá awam káram hya Dár(a)ya[58]vahush khsháyathiyahyá gaubatiya." (6) Pasáwa hauwa kára ashiya[59]va, tyam Wahyazdáta fráishaya abiya Viwánam, hamar(a)nam chartaniya. (7) K[60]ápishkánish námá dida, awadá hamar(a)nam akunava. (8) Auramazdámai[61]ya upastám abara. (9) Washná Auramazdáha kára hya maná awam káram tya[62]m hamitřiyam aja wasiya. (10) Anámakahya máhyá 𒌋𒁹𒁹 (𒌋𒁹𒁹?) rauchabish, thakatá áha a[63]watháshám hamar(a)nam kartam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) That Veisdates, who was called Bardius, he sent troops to Arachotia, against one named Vibanus, a Persian, one of my servants and the Satrap of Arachotia. (3) And he appointed a certain man (to be their) leader. (4) He thus addressed them: (5) 'Hail to ye! smite Vibanus, and that State which obeys the rule of King Darius,' (lit. 'is called of King Darius'). (6) Then those forces marched which Veisdates had sent against Vibanus, preparing for battle. (7) A fort named Capiscania, there they fought an action. (8) Ormazd brought help to me. (9) By the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated that rebel army. (10) On the 13th (14?) day of the month Anámaka, then it was the battle was thus fought by them."

The construction in the second clause deserves attention. The demonstrative *hauwa* is repeated in consequence of the introduction of the phrase *hya Bardiyá agaubatá* after the nom. *Wahyazdáta*. *Fráishaya* governs a double acc., and the true object, *Viwána náma Pársa, mana badaka, Harauwatiyá khshatřapáwá,* being isolated, as it were, from the rest of the sentence, is placed in the nom., the transitive signification being given by the complemental phrase *abiya awam,* "towards that one," or "against that one."

In the fifth clause, we have *Dár(a)yavahush* in the gen. to mark a possessive signification: the nominative in *ush* making the genitive *aush* for ओः; the letter *h* is introduced before the termination *ush*, to mark the difference of pronunciation between *vush* and *vaush*, and not as an aspirate. See p. 182.

The construction of the sixth clause is also interesting for its regularity, the relative *tyam* being in the acc. case as the object to *fráishaya.*

In the tenth clause the date is doubtful. I am unable, indeed, to say whether the numerals should be read , or , or .

Par. 10. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Patiya h[64]yáparam hamitřiyá hagamatá paraitá patish Viwánam hamar(a)nam chartan[65]iya. (3) Gadutawa námá dahyáush awadá hamar(a)nam akunava. (4) Auramazdáma[66]iya upastám abara. (5) Washná Auramazdáha kára hya maná awam káram t[67]yam hamitřiyam aja wasiya. (6) Viya*khn*ahya máhyá rauchabish, thakatá [68]áha awatháshám hamar(a)nam kartam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Another time, the rebels having assembled, returned before Vibanus, offering battle. (3) The district named Gadytia, there they fought an action. (4) Ormazd brought help to me. (5) By the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated the rebel army. (6) On the 7th day of the month Viyakhna, then it was the battle was thus fought by them."

In the second clause we have *patiya hyáparam* used apparently in the same sense as *patiya duvitiyam* of former passages, and I translate accordingly, "another time." *Aparam* used alone certainly signifies "in after times;" but with the relative prefix, it seems to have the primitive meaning of "other." At the same time, the combination of the masc. relative with a neuter adjective is so irregular

as to throw doubts on the etymology. Of the other clauses, the construction is independent of remark.

Par. 11. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) [69]Pasáwa hauwa mar*tiya*, hya awahyá kárahyá *mathishta áha* tyam Wa-[70]hyazdáta fráishaya *abi*ya Viwánam, hauwa mathishta *hadá* kamanaib[71]ish asbáraibish a*shi*yava. (3) Arsháda námá di*dá Harau*watiyá a[72]waparáatiyáisha. (4) *Pasáwa* .Viwána hadá kárá nipadiyam - - iya a*shi*ya[73]va. (5) Awadáshim agarb*áya* utá martiyá tyishiya fratamá *anushiyá* [74]áhata awája.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then that man who was the leader of those troops which Veisdates had sent against Vibanus, that leader, with the horsemen who were faithful to him, fled away. (3) A fort of Arachotia, named Arshada, he went beyond that place, (or perhaps, 'in that he took refuge'). (4) Then Vibanus with his troops marched in pursuit (?) (or 'marched to Nipadia'). (5) There he took him, and he slew the men who were his chief followers."

The construction of the second clause is perfectly regular, the relatives being respectively in the nom. and acc. case, as they govern, or are governed by the verb. *Hauwa* is repeated for the sake of perspicuity in conjunction with *mathishta;* and *ashiyava*, which I have translated "fled away," but which more properly has the simple meaning of "went," is evidently used in a neuter sense.

In the third clause there is some difficulty. The orthography both of *awaparáa* and *atiyáisha* is subject to doubt, and of the grammatical condition even of the former word I am by no means satisfied. *Awaparáa* can hardly be the demonstrative pronoun in combination with a particle, for the antecedent noun is feminine, (which would necessitate the orthography of *awáparáa* for *awámparáa*,) and परा moreover signifying "back," or "away," will give no suitable meaning. I should prefer to consider the word as an adverb of locality, equivalent to the Sans. तत्र, but in its present form I cannot identify the suffix. *Atiyáisha*, also, if that reading be correct, would appear to signify "he went beyond," rather than "he went in;" yet, I incline, from the following sentence, to think that the rebel chief shut himself up in the fortress of *Arsháda*.

The fourth clause presents the imperfect word *nipadiyam - - iya*. If this be a single term it cannot be a proper name, for the termination shows it would be in the loc. and not in the acc. case, which

would be required as the complement to *ashiyava*. The expression may possibly be *Nipadiyam abiya*, "to *Nipadia*," but neither does the blank space after 𐎠𐎡𐎡, (which is a doubtful letter,) appear sufficient for 𐎠𐎢𐎢𐎡𐎡 𐎡𐎡, nor is *abiya* in any other instance used as a postposition. I prefer, therefore, considering *nipadiyam* - - *iya* as the loc. of a masc. theme in *a*, which may be compounded of नि and पद, "to go," with some attributive suffix. In this case we may obtain the signification of "pursuing," but a minute analysis is evidently impracticable.

In the last clause, if the identification of *Nipadiya* as a proper name be abandoned, the adverb of locality *awadá*, must of course refer to the fortress of *Arsháda*, and we must suppose the rebel chief to have remained at that place instead of "passing beyond it."

The concluding word of the sentence *awája*, is somewhat indistinctly marked upon the rock, and it seems strange that the rebel leader should have been merely taken prisoner, while his followers were slain. I cannot suggest, however, any more convenient reading.

Par. 12. (1) Th*á*tiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Pasáwa dahyáush ma[75]ná abava. (3) Ima tya maná kartam Harauwatiyá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then the province submitted to me. (3) This is what was done by me in Arachotia."

Haráuwatiyá in the third clause appears like *Bákhtariyá* to be the loc. sing. of a fem. theme in *i*; but I cannot understand the reason why in this inflexion the *anuswára* should be omitted.

Par. 13. (1) Thátiya Dar(á)yav*ush* khshá[76]yathiya: (2) Yátá adam Pársai*ya utá* Mádaiya áham, patiya duvitiyam [77]Bábiruviyá hamitřiyá abava hacháma. (3) 𐎠 martiya Arakha náma, Armini[78]ya, Nañditahya putřa hauwa udapatatá. (4) Bábirauwa Dhubáña námá dahyá[79]ush hachá awadasha hauwa udapatatá. (5) Awathá adurujiya: (6) Adam Nabukudra[80]chara amiya, hya Nabunitahyá putřa. (7) Pasáwa kára Bábiruviya hacháma ha[81]mitřiya abava. (8) Abiya awam Arakham ashiyava. (9) Bábirum hauwa agarbáyat[82]á. (10) Hauwa khsháyathiya abava Bábirauwa.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Whilst I was in Persia and Media, for the second time the Babylonians revolted against me. (3) A certain man named Aracus, an Armenian, the son of Nanditus, he rose up. (4) A district of Babylon named Dobana, from thence he arose (5) He thus falsely proclaimed: (6) 'I am Nabochodrossor, the son of Nabonidus.' (7) Then the Babylonian state revolted against me. (8) It went over to that Aracus. (9) He seized on Babylon. (10) He became King of Babylonia."

Clause two. *Pársaiya* and *Mádaiya* are as usual in the loc. case, and *Bábiruviyá* is the nom. plur. of the ethnic title. Remark also in the fourth and tenth clauses, that the loc. *Bábirauwa* is used for the genitive. In other respects the construction throughout the paragraph is perfectly regular and requires no particular illustration*.

Par. 14. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathi[83]ya: (2) Pasáwa adam káram fráishayam Bábirum. (3) Vidafrá náma Máda, maná [84]badaka, awam mathishtam akunavam. (4) Awatháshám athaham: (5) "Pritá! awam káram [85]tyam Bábirauwa jatá, hya maná niya gaubatiya." (6) Pasáwa *Vidafrá* hadá kár[86]á ashiyava abiya Bábirum. (7) Auramazdámaiya upastám abara. (8) Washná Auramaz[87]dáha Vida*frá* Bábirum agarbáya - - - - -
(9) - máhyá ⸢ ra[88]uchabish, thakatá áha awathá awa - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - *á*patiya asariyatá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Then I sent troops to Babylon. (3) A Median of the name of Intaphres, one of my servants, him I appointed (their) leader. (4) Thus I addressed them: (5) 'Hail to ye! Smite that Babylonian State, which does not acknowledge me.' (6) Then Intaphres with his force marched to Babylon. (7) Ormazd brought help to me. (8) By the grace of Ormazd Intaphres took Babylon . . . . . (9) On the second day of the month of . . . . . then it was he thus . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . he was slain."

In the third clause, *awam*, "that one," or "him," appears without the adjunct of *shám*, "of them," which is contrary to the usual construction, and which is even perhaps at variance with the rules of

* In the fourth clause, however, it is curious that we should have *Babirauwa* at the commencement of the sentence, instead of in its usual place after *dahyáush*.

grammar, for it leaves the *shám* of the following sentence without any immediate antecedent.

In the 5th clause, remark *káram tyam Bábirauwa* where the loc. is used for the gen. It appears to be optional in expressions of this sort whether the relative be followed by the acc. of the ethnic title, or by the gen. of the proper name. We have *káram tyam Mádam* in line 21 of the 2nd col., and *káram tyam Wahyazdátahya* in line 46 of the 3rd column.

The eighth clause should, I think, be completed with *utá awam Arakham,* "he both took Babylon and that Aracus."

The ninth and following clauses probably describe the indignities or tortures to which the rebel chief was exposed previous to capital punishment; the penultimate word, which is only partially legible, may be the *uzatayápatiya* of preceding passages, and *asariyatá* must be, I think, the middle or passive imperf. of शॄ, "to kill," as *amariyata* is from मॄ, "to die."

Column IV.

Par. 1. (1) [1]Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Ima t[2]ya maná *kar*tam *Bábirau*wa.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) This is what was done by me in Babylonia."

Par. 2. (1) Thátiya D[3]ár(a)yavush khshá*yathiya:* (2) *I*ma tya adam akuna[4]vam. (3) Washná Au*ramazdáha á*ha hamahyáyá thra[5]d(a). (4) *Dahyáwa* yathá*maiya hamitřiyá* abava, adam 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 hamar(a)n[6]á akunavam. (5) Washn*á Auramaz*dáha adamshám a[7]janam, utá 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 khsh*áyathiyá* agarbáyam. (6) 𒁹 Gaumáta [8]náma Magush áha. (7) *Hauwa adu*rujiya. (8) Awathá athaha: (9) Adam [9]Bardiya amiya *hya Kurau*sh putřa. (10) Hauwa Pársam ha[10]mitřiyam akuna*ush.* (11) 𒁹 *Atřina* náma Uwajaiya hauwa adu[11]rujiya. (12) Awathá a*thahá:* (13) *Adam kh*sháyathiya amiya Uwajaiya. (14) [12]Hauwa Uwajam ham*itřiyam aku*naush (maná ?) (15) 𒁹 Naditabira ná[13]ma Bábiruviya *hauwa ad*urujiya. (16) Awathá athaha: (17) [14]Adam Nabukudra*chara amiya,* hya Nabunitahya putřa. (18) [15]Hauwa Bábiru*m hamitřiya*m akunaush. (19) 𒁹 Mar-

tiya ná[16]ma Pársa hauwa *aduruj*iya. (20) Awathá athaha: (21) Adam Umani[17]sh amiya Uwajai*ya khsháyathi*ya. (22) Hauwa Uwajam hamitřiya[18]m akunaush. (23) ᚠ Fra*wartish* náma Máda, hauwa adurujiya. (24) [19]Awathá athaha: (25) A*dam Khshathr*ita amiya Uwakhshatarahya taumáy[20]á. (26) Hauwa Mádam *hamitři-yam* akunaush. (27) ᚠ Chitratakhma náma As(a)[21]gartiya, hauwa *adur*ujiya. (28) Awathá athaha: (29) Adam khsháyath[22]iya amiya As(a)gar*taiya, Uwa*khshatarahya taumáyá. (30) Hauwa[23]As(a)gar-tam h*amitřiyam* akunaush. (31) ᚠ Fráda náma [24]Márgawa hau*wa adu*rujiya. (32) Awathá athaha: (33) Adam [25]khsháyathiya *amiya Mar*gauwa. (34) Hauwa Margum hamitři[26]yam akunaush. (35) ᚠ *Wahyaz*dáta náma Pársa, hauwa a[27]durujiya. (36) *Awathá athaha:* (37) Adam Bardiya amiya hya Ku[28]raush putřa. (38) Ha*uwa Pársa*m hamitřiyam akunaush. (39) ᚠ Ara[29]kha náma Armin*iya, hauwa ad*urujiya. (40) Awathá athaha: (41) Adam Nabu[30]ku-drachara amiya, *hya Nabun*itahya putřa. (42) Hauwa Bábirum ham[31]itřiyam akunau*sh.*

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) This is what I have done. (3) By the grace of Ormazd, have I done every thing*. (4) As the provinces revolted against me, I fought nineteen battles. (5) By the grace of Ormazd, I smote them, (*i. e.*, the provinces,) and I made nine kings captive. (6) One was named Gomates, the Magian. (7) He was an impostor. (8) He thus said: (9) 'I am Bardius, the son of Cyrus'. (10) He threw Persia into revolt. (11) One was an impostor named Atřines, the Susian. (12) He thus said: (13) 'I am the king of Susiana.' (14) He caused Susiana to revolt against me. (15) One named Naditabirus, a native of Babylon; he was an impostor. (16) He thus said: (17) I am Nabochodrossor, the son of Nabonidus.' (18) He made Babylon to revolt. (19) One was an impostor named Martius, the Persian. (20) He thus said: (21) 'I am Omanes, the King of Susiana.' (22) He threw Susiana into rebellion. (23) One who was named Phraortes, the Median; he assumed a false character. (24) He thus said: (25) 'I am Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares.' (26) He persuaded Media to revolt. (27) One was an impostor named Sitratachmes, a native of Sagartia. (28) He thus said: (29) 'I am the King of Sagartia, of the race of Cyaxares.' (30) He headed a rebellion in Sagartia. (31) One was an impostor named Phraates, a Margian. (32) He thus said: (33) 'I am the King of Margiana.' (34) He threw Margiana into revolt. (35) One was an impostor named Veisdates, a Persian. (36) He thus said: (37) 'I am Bardius, the son of Cyrus.' (38) He headed a rebellion in Persia. (39) One was an impostor named Aracus, a native of

* Lit. "Has been the performance of the whole."

Armenia. (40) He thus said: (41) 'I am Nabochodrossor, the son of Nabonidus.' (42) He threw Babylon into revolt."

Clause three. The expression *hamahyáyá thrad(a)* is one of no ordinary difficulty, whether we regard the grammatical construction or the etymological signification of the terms; and as it is moreover of frequent occurrence I must examine it in some detail. *Hamahyáyá* is evidently the oblique case of a fem. theme in long *a*, but whether it represent the genitive, the ablat., or the loc. must depend on its adjunct *thrada*. Etymologically, it can hardly, I think, be explained otherwise than as a compound of *ham*, "together," (Sans. सं), and *ahyá*, "being," (from अस, "to be,") but the identification of an abstract meaning like "the being together," will alone be of little aid in obtaining an intelligible phrase. It may refer to Ormazd, or to the Tablet, or to the actions described, and unfortunately neither does the context nor the application of the following term enable me to resolve the difficulty. If I could suppose *thrada* to be a particle used postpositively and governing the ablat. or loc. case, I should translate the expression by the single word "throughout," and such a signification would, I think, apply sufficiently well to the context of the various passages where the terms occur; but neither are the precedents for such a construction by any means satisfactory, nor is any equivalent particle to be found in the Zend or Sanskrit. I am constrained, therefore, pending further research to suppose *thrada* to be an abstract noun, derived from त्रद, "to do," or "perform," and assimilating in so far to the Sanskrit declension of neuters in द, as to have the same orthography for the nom. and acc. case. At the same time, of course, this explanation must be considered as little better than conjectural, and I shall be fully prepared to discard my translation of "the performance of the whole," in favour of any other more appropriate meaning that can be elicited from the terms.

The restoration of *áha*, "it was," in this clause I must add is exceedingly doubtful, for the letters 𐎠𐎢𐎺, which are alone visible on the rock, may very possibly be the termination of *Auramazdáha*.

Clause four. I am by no means satisfied of the restoration of this sentence. If it be admitted, however, the construction is remarkable in so far as it places the nom. *dahyáwa* before the adverb *yathá*. *Hamaraná* is the neut. acc. plur.

Clause five. I am inclined to think that the orthography of the third word should be *adamshim* rather than *adamshám*, for the antecedent is apparently *dahyáwa*, "the countries," and *aja* governs the acc. in all other passages, and not the genitive. The rough copy, however, gives the letter 𐎢 in the subjoined pronoun without comment.

Clause eleven. *Uwajaiya* is probably an error of the engraver for *Uwajiya*.

In the fourteenth clause *maná* is a very doubtful word. In other passages the personal pronoun is always placed in the ablat. after *hamatřiyá*, and the preposition *hachá* is interposed. See the note to the Cuneiform text, page lvii.

In the thirty-first clause *Márgawa* occurs as the nom. sing. of the ethnic title, as in col. 3, line 12, and in the thirty-third clause we have the locat. *Margauwa* used for the genitive, and formed exactly on the same principle as *Babirauwa*.

In all other portions of this recapitulatory paragraph the expressions are the same as have been previously met with.

Par. 3. (1) *Thá*tiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Imaiya [32]𐎹𐎹𐎹𐎹𐎹 khsháyathiyá *adam agarbáyam* atara imá hamaraná.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) These nine kings I have taken in these battles."

Clause two. *Imaiya* is the acc. masc. plur. of the immediate demonstrative pronoun, and *imá* must be the same case in the neuter gender. These inflexions correspond with those of the Sanskrit; the former is for *imé*, as *awaiya* and *tyaiya* in the same case for *awé* and *tyé*; while the latter is probably for *imás*, (इमाः); the neuter gender, as I have frequently remarked, in the language of the inscriptions possessing the *visarga*, which however is elided after the vowel *a*.

Par. 4. (1)[33]Thátiya Dár(a)ya*vush khsháyathi*ya: (2) Dahyáwa imá tyá hamitřiy[34]á abava. (3) Darauga Di - - - - - - - *a*kunaush, tya imaiya káram adur[35]ujiyasha. (4) Pasáwa Di - - - - - - maná dast(a)yá akunaush. (5) Yathá mám k[36]áma, awathá Di - - - - - *akunaush*.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) These are the provinces which became rebellious. (3) The Evil one (?) invented lies, that they should deceive the State (?) (4) Afterwards the Supreme Being made . . . . . to be subdued by me (?) (5) As it was desired by me, that the Supreme Being did. (?)"

Owing to the mutilation of this paragraph, the translation is in a great measure conjectural. In the third clause, *darauga* is certainly the acc. plur. (for *daraugas*), the same form occurring in Niebuhr's Inscription H, line 20, where its grammatical condition is clearly marked, and I conclude, therefore, that the following words commencing with *Di*, must be the nom. to *akunaush*. It consists apparently of three or four letters, and may perhaps be allied to the Sanskrit *Dewas*, (देवः); Greek, Θεος; Latin, *Deus*, &c. If this nom. also be a short word such as the blank space in line 36 appears to indicate, there must be another term intervening before *akunaush*, and the context would seem to require *pruwa* as an antithesis to the *pasáwa* of the following sentence. All this however is most uncertain. In the latter part of the clause, *tya* is evidently used as a conjunction rather than as a pronoun, a form of expression of which we previously had an example in col. 1, line 52. *Imaiya*, the nom. masc. plur. refers to *darauga*, and *adurujiyasha* must be the 3rd pers. plur. of the aorist, the termination being substituted for the Sanskrit इषुः.

Clause four. After the nom. *Di* - - - - which is again imperfect, there must be, I think, the acc. *darauga*, or a pronoun referring to that antecedent. *Dast(a)yá* I suppose to be the acc. plur. of an adjective for the Sanskrit हस्याः, but the signification will require to be modified from "done with the hand," to "reduced by the hand."

In the fifth clause, if *káma* were a noun for the Sanskrit कामः, I do not understand why the acc. *mám* should be used instead of the dative *maná*. On this account, then, I would rather suppose *káma* to be a particle used postpositively and governing the acc. case, having at the same time an identical signification with the Sanskrit कामम्. The expression *mám káma* is also met with in lines 37, 38 of the inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustum. The restoration of *akunaush* at the end of the sentence is uncertain. See, throughout, the notes to the Cuneiform text, page lviii.

Par. 5. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathi[37]ya: (2) Tuwam ká khsháyathiya hya aparam ahya, hachá daraugá darshama [38]patipayuwá. (3) Mar*tiya hya arika* ahatiya awam ufrastam parasá. (4) Ya[39]diya awatha m*aniyáhya*, dahyáushmaiya durusá ahati[40]ya.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Thou, whoever may be king hereafter, exert thyself to put down lying. (3) The man who may be heretical, (?) him entirely destroy. (4) If it shall be thus kept up, my country shall remain intact."

Clause two. *Ká* if for कः, the *visarga* being elided and the terminal *a* dialectically elongated. The pronoun evidently in this passage expresses "sort," or "kind," according to the fifth application of Wilson, and the phrase may be thus literally rendered, "Thou, whatsoever king, who hereafter mayst be." The 2nd pers. sing. of the substantive verb is probably the same in the present indicative and subjunct., or the former may be *ahya* for असि, and the latter *ahaya*. *Darshama* is here apparently in the accusative, and as we have also the same orthography for the ablative, the declension may hardly be identified in Sanskrit grammar. Perhaps the participial suffix, which in the nom. and acc. neuter was formed in मत्, may in the ancient Persian have inflected the ablat. in *mas* instead of मतः; so that in the ablat. *darshama* may have been used for *darshamas*, and in the acc. for *darshamat*. It is remarkable, however, that in the former passage where the term occurs *kárashim hachá darshama atarsa*, the participle governs an accusative, whereas in this sentence it is used in the ablat. *Patipayuwá* I conceive to be the 2nd pers. sing. of the imperative of the 1st conj., the root being पा, with the double prefix *prati* and *pra*, and I would translate the clause accordingly, literatim, "from lying resistance employ."

For the construction of the third clause, see lines 21, 22, of the 1st col. *Ahatiya* I suppose to be the 3rd pers. pres. subjunct., the indic. form of *astiya* for अस्ति, occurring subsequently. *Parasá* is the 2nd pers. sing. imper. of the 1st conjugation.

In the 4th clause, *maniyáhya* is, I think, the 3rd pers. sing. of the pres. subjun. passive, a tense which is wanting in the Sanskrit; but it may on the other hand be the 1st pers. sing. of the pass. aorist. The only point on which there is any certainty is that neither in this passage, nor in line 20 of Niebuhr's Inscription I, where the term again occurs, can it possibly represent the 2nd pers. notwithstanding

the identity of termination. I must add, at the same time, that I find the discrimination of the subjunc. forms from those of the aorist without the augment to be exceedingly difficult, and that I have too little acquaintance with the subject to be able to institute a comparison with the Vedic *Let.* Remark also, that the pronoun *maiya* has in this sentence a purely possessive signification, and that *durusa*, which I conjecture to be allied to the Persian *durust* (درست) is in the fem., to agree with *dahyáush.*

Par. 6. (1) Thátiya *Dár(a)yavush* khsháyathiya: (2) Ima tya adam akunavam. (3) [41]Washná Auramazdáha *hama*hyáyá thrad(a) akunavam. (4) Tuwam ká hya [42]aparam imám *dipim patiparasáhya*, tya maná kartam warnawatám [43]thuwám mátya - - - - iyáhya.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) This is what I have done. (3) By the grace of Ormazd, have I achieved the performance of the whole. (4) Thou, whoever hereafter mayest peruse this tablet, let it be known to thee, that which has been done by me, that it has not been falsely related. (?)

Remark in the third clause, that *thrad(a)*, if a noun, must necessarily be in the acc. case, as the object of the verb *akunavam.*

The fourth sentence is difficult. *Ká* must be used with a purely indefinite signification, like the Latin *quicumque*, for it is followed by the relative *hya. Patiparasáhya*, is, I think, the 2nd pers. sing. of the pres. subjunc., but its etymology is obscure. *Warnawatám* is certainly the 3rd pers. sing. of the imper. of the mid. voice, and the last imperfect word may perhaps be *durujiyáhya*, the 3rd pers. sing. of the passive subjunctive, and in a similar form with *maniyáhya.* The difficulty of construction, however, lies in the uncertainty whether *tya mána kartam* may be the nom. to *warnawatám*, or to the final verb, and in the doubt if *mátya*, which is used in other passages with the subjunctive as a dissuasive particle, can be supposed to convey a purely negative signification. Considering, in fact, that *mátya* with the subjunctive appears to express almost the same sense as the simple *má* with the aorist or imperf. deprived of the augment, I am almost inclined to adopt the following construction for the fourth sentence. "Thou, whoever mayst hereafter peruse this tablet, let that which I have done point out to thee, (or be a warning to thee,) lest thou should be - - - - - - - - ." The last imperfect word is certainly, I

think, in the passive voice, but it is impossible to determine its signification with any certainty, or indeed, whether it represent the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person.

Par. 7. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khshá[44]yathiya: (2) Auramazdá - - - - - - - - - yathá ima hashiyam niya duru[45]khtam adam akunavam *hamah*yáyá thrad(a).

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Ormazd is my witness, (?) that this record I have faithfully made of the performance of the whole."

The words following *Auramazdá* cannot be restored, and I translate accordingly at hazard. *Hashiyam*, also, is a noun in the acc. neuter, of which the etymology is unknown to me, and I am hardly satisfied of a construction which would identify *thrada* as the genitive case (for *thradas*,) and place it at the end of the clause. The sentence, at the same time, is evidently intended to asseverate the fidelity of the record, and it is this circumstance which induces me to assign an application of similar tendency to the last clause of the preceding paragraph.

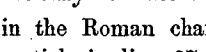
Par. 8. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháya[46]thiya: (2) Washná Auramazdáha *tya*maiya aniyashchiya wasiya astiya karta[47]m, awa ahyáyá *dipiyá* niya nipishtam. (3) Awahyarádiya niya n[48]ipishtam, *mátya hya aparam* imám dipim patiparasátiya, awah[49]yá paruwa thá - - - (?) *tya* maná kartam nishida, warnawátiya d[50]urukhtam maniyáhya. (?)

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) By the grace of Ormazd, there is much else that has been done by me, that upon this tablet has not been inscribed. (3) On that account it has not been inscribed, lest he who may hereafter peruse this tablet, to him the many deeds that have been done by me elsewhere, it should seem (that) they are falsely recorded.

The literal construction of the second clause appears to be, "Gratiâ Oromasdis, quod a me aliud multum est factum, id hâc tabulâ non inscriptum." *Aniyashchiya*, which also occurs at Persepolis, is the nom. neuter, and is valuable in showing the pronouns to have been

formed in this gender with the *visarga*, which, elided after the vowel *a* when it happened to be terminal, re-appeared before the indefinite adjunct *chiya*. *Astiya* appears to be the 3rd pers. pres. indic. of the subst. verb for अस्ति and *ahyáyá* I believe to have been the true fem. gen. sing. of the immediate demonstrative pronoun, and in this passage for the locative. *Dipiyá* I restore after *bumiyá*, *Bákhtariyá*, &c., supposing it to be the gen. of a fem. theme in *i*.

The third clause is restored, I confess, with some hardihood, and presents many difficulties, both of construction and signification, which I thus briefly notice. *Awahyá* the corelative to *hya*, I suppose to be in the gen. (for the dative) rather than like *thuwám* in the accus., in consequence of the verb *warnaiwátiya*, to which it is the complement, being used in a neuter instead of a transitive sense. *Patiparasátiya* and *warnawátiya* I consider also to be both in the subjunc. mood, the one having a conditional signification, and the other being governed by the dissuasive particle *mátya*.

It is impossible to ascertain the orthography of the word commencing with *th* ( ), and the acceptation of the preceding term must according remain in uncertainty. If the mutilated word be *thrada*, we must read, I think, *paruwa thrada* (in the nom. sing. neuter), and translate "the many deeds;" but if it be a participle from *thaha*, the sense may be "the aforesaid," and  must be written in the Roman character *pruwa*. Where the latter term occurs as a particle in line 27 of the 1st column, it is true, the is used, but the restoration is doubtful, and on the other hand *pruwama*, *pruviyata*, &c., are written with the ; in the following sentence we have also, I think, *pruwa* with the meaning of former. It is very probable, therefore, that the true translation of the fourth sentence should be, "On that account it has not been inscribed, lest he who may hereafter peruse this tablet, to him the aforesaid that which has been done by me elsewhere should seem to have been falsely recorded." Or, if we read *pruwa thrada* in the nom. sing. neut. *, the sense may be, "To him the old deeds that have been done by me elsewhere should seem to have been falsely recorded."

Nishida, I suppose to be literally "not here," *nish* being substi-

* *Pruwa*, whether declined as a pronoun or adjective, may form its nom. neut. with the *visarga*, elided as a terminal after *a*, the term standing for *pruwas*. *Thrada* also, although in the singular, may very well have a plural signification.

tuted for निर्, as in Zend; but the suppression of the final elongation is calculated to throw some doubt on this reading.

The last word of the sentence I conjecturally restore to *maniyáhya*, obtaining the signification of "recording," or "preserving" from the root *man*, "to remain," common to the Greek, Zend, and Persian; but I am neither sure that the subjunct. passive should be the mood employed, nor can I ascertain whether *tya maná kartam* be the nom. to this verb, or to *warnawátiya*.

The allusion which this paragraph appears to contain to the foreign achievements of Darius, may throw some suspicion on the date that I have assigned to the execution of the tablet. Fanciful enquirers, indeed, may suppose a reference to the Thracian, or Indian, or Grecian expeditions; but as there is internal evidence in the preceding columns which enables us to trace with some distinctness the actual footsteps of the monarch, from the date of his accession to the throne to the second Babylonian revolt, when he would have visited Behistun on his descent from Media, and when he may be presumed to have commemorated his hitherto victorious career, I prefer explaining the distant wars which his modesty declined to submit to the perusal of an incredulous posterity, as the achievements of his lieutenants, undertaken for the settlement of the remote dependencies of the empire simultaneously with the successful progress of his own arms in Persia. The subject is curious, but may hardly be investigated in the present defective condition of our knowledge of Persian history.

Par. 9. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Tyaiya [51]pruwá khsháyath*iyá* - - - - - á áha awaishám awá - iya astiya kar-[52]tam. (3) Yathá maná wa*shná Aura*mazdáha hamahyáyá *thrad(a)* duwartam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Those who have been former kings (in Persia,) in succession, (?) to them it is done. (3) As by me, by the grace of Ormazd has been the performance of the whole, (?) (so it has been) recorded."

Owing to the mutilation of several words and the extreme obscurity of others whose forms are preserved entire, it is impossible to attempt any thing like a minute analysis of this paragraph. *Awaisham* in the gen. plur. is evidently the corelative to *tyaiya pruwá khsháyathiyá* and *awá - iya* may be the loc. of an abstract noun formed from the particle *awa*, signifying "downwards;" but in the uncertainty if *thrada* succeed *hamahyáyá*, and with nothing but conjecture to guide

me in the translation of the participle *duwartam*, I can neither pretend to have determined the division of the sentences, nor can I give any very intelligible meaning, whether the two clauses be connected, or whether they form a single sentence. I will only observe then, that *duwartam* is apparently a participle from the same root द्वृ, *dwři*, "to construct," which had produced *duwarayá* and *duwarthiya*, connected with द्वार्, "a door," and that I hardly understand, therefore, how it can possibly be the complement of the noun *hamahyáyá;* while on the other hand, if *thrada* were the complement, we should not expect to find the pronoun *maná*. If *thrada* could be interpreted as a record, according to the conjecture which I have noted above, and if it were really interposed between *hamahyáyá* and *duwartam*, I would connect the sentences and translate; "Those who have been former kings (in Persia), in imitation of them it is done, that by me, by the grace of Ormazd, a record of the whole has been constructed." It is at any rate deserving of remark, that as the allusion in this sentence to the ancestors of Darius is followed in the next by an appeal to his posterity, it may be presumed that in both passages he is treating of the same subject, namely, the execution of the historical tablet.

Par. 10. (1) Th[53]átiya Dár(a)yavus*h khsháya*thiya: (2) - - - nu - - am thuwám warnawatám tya man[54]á kartam awathá - - - - - - *awa*hyarádiya ma apagaudaya. (3) Yadiya imám [55]dipim - - - - - - - Auramazdá thuwám [56]daushtá biya, ut*átaiya taumá* wasiya biyá, utá daragam jiwá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Be it known to thee, my successor, (?) that which has been done by me, thus publicly, (?) on that account that thou conceal not. (3) If thou publish this tablet to the world, (?) Ormazd shall be a friend to thee, and may thy offspring be numerous, and may thou be long lived."

Perhaps the mutilated words at the commencement of the second clause may be *hya anuwama*, "qui post me (sis)." At any rate, the letter 𒀀 enables us to identify the particle *anu*, "after," and the signification must necessarily be "a successor." *Awahyarádiya*, "on that account," must, I think, refer to the publicity which Darius had courted in the exhibition of his record, and I give the signification accordingly of "publicity" to the word which is wanting after *awathá*. *Tya maná kartam*, also in this passage, is certainly the complement to

the active verb *apagaudaya,* and the imperative *warnawatám* must be used impersonally. The verb *warnawa,* (वर्ण in the eighth class,) appears to signify, "to be made known," when it is used in the middle voice; and simply, perhaps, "to seem," or "appear," in the active voice. *Apagaudaya* is probably for *apagaudayas,* being the 2nd pers. sing. of the aorist deprived of the augment, as an adjunct to the particle of dissuasion *má**.

Clause three. There is no doubt a subjunc. pres. or aorist after *yadiya,* but the line is omitted in my rough copy, and I have no clue to its restoration. *Daushtá* I suppose to be a verbal noun governing the acc. *thuwám,* and *biyá* is the 3rd pers. of the subjunct. imperf., used probably in the sing. in one passage for *biyat,* and in the plur. in the other for *biyán,* to agree with the noun of multitude *taumá. Jiwá* also is probably the 2nd pers. sing. of the subjunct. imperf. for *jiwás,* but it would present the same form in the 2nd pers. sing. of the imperat. I may add, that the use of the subjunc. imperf. with a mere optative signification is universal in Zend†. *Daragam* is a neuter adjective used adverbially.

Par. 11. (1) [57]Thátiya Dár(a)*yavush khsháya*thiya: (2) Yadiya imam ha - - - gám apagaudayá[58]hya niya tháh - - - - *Auramazd*átaya jatá biyá, utátaiya taum[59]á má biya.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) If thou shalt conceal this record, thou shalt not be thyself recorded, (?) may Ormazd be thy enemy, and may thou be childless."

Clause two. I cannot restore the word ending in *gám,* but it must necessarily, I think, signify "a record." The theme would appear to be a masc. in long *a,* like *Auramazdá. Apagaudayáhya* is, I think, the 2nd pers. sing. subjunc. present of the active voice and the 4th conjugat., and the imperfect word which follows *niya* may be perhaps *tháhyáhya,* the 2nd pers. sing. of the subjunc. pres. of the passive voice, and in the causal form. It is possible that *utá* may intervene between this complemental verb and *Auramazdátaya.* Remark also that the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd pers. sing. is written indifferently, *taya* (or *tya*) and *taiya,* and that *biya* for *biyan* is the 3rd

* I am not sure, however, that the sentence may not be more correctly rendered, "Let that which has been done by me thus publicly, be a warning to thee, my successor, to that end that thou conceal it not."

† See the numerous examples given by M. Burnouf, in the "Comment. sur le Yaçna, Notes et Eclair., p. 148."

pers. plur. of the aorist without the augment, which is dropped after the particle of negation.

Par. 12. (1) *Thátiya Dár(a)ya*vush khsháyathiya: (2) Ima tya adam akunavam. (3) [60]Hamahyáyá thra*d(a) washná Au*ramazdáha akunavam. (4) Auramazdámaiya upas[61]tám abara, utá *aniyá Bag*áha tyaiya hatiya.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) This is what I have done. (3) The performance of the whole, by the grace of Ormazd, I have achieved. (4) Ormazd brought help to me, and the other gods which are (brought help to me.)"

Clause four. I am quite unable to discover the reason why *Baga,* which appears to be a regular masc. theme in *a,* should form the nom. plur. in *áha* instead of *á.* In every other instance throughout the inscriptions the *visarga* after an *a* is dropped, but it is here changed from a silent to a vocal letter, and being thus placed between two *a*'s, the sibilant is commuted to an aspirate. *Hatiya* is the 3rd pers. plur. of the indic. pres. of the substantive verb, being identical with the Sanskrit सन्ति.

Par. 13. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavu[62]sh khsháyathiya: (2) *Awahyarádiya* Auramazdá upastám abara, utá ani[63]yá Bagáha t*yaiya hatiya, yathá* niya arika áham, niya daraujhana áham, n[64]iya zurakara áha*m* - - - i - - iya taumá upariya abishtám upariya [65]ya - - - - *tah*iya shabu - - - - - - uwata zuku - - - - - - - - [66] - - - maná vĭthaib*ish* - - - - - - - - kartam adam hya - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - [67]m aparasam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) On that account Ormazd brought help, and the other gods which are, (because) that I was not a heretic, nor was I a liar, nor was I a tyrant . . . . . My offspring above their place, (?) above . . . . . by me with the tribes . . . . . was done. Whoever was an evil doer, (?) him I entirely destroyed."

Awahyarádiya which commences the second clause, appears to apply to the reasons subsequently given, descriptive of the virtues of the monarch, and the construction therefore differs from that of other passages, where there is generally an antecedent to the demonstrative pronoun*.

* Perhaps in every instance except in the third paragraph of the first column, *awahyarádiya* may be understood to have a retrospective application. The term appears to be nearly analogous to the Persian زیرا, which is contracted from از این راه.

After the expression *niya zurakara áham*, it is impossible to connect the fragments of the inscriptions into any intelligible shape. *Upariya* is of course the Sanskrit उपरि, and *abishtam* appears to be a cognate form with *upastám*, but I know not the application of the phrase.

I hope ultimately to obtain some clue to the general tenor of the beneficent acts which Darius here probably describes as having found favour with Ormazd, from the Median transcript, and indeed, from that source I have conjecturally restored the concluding sentence; but I am not sufficiently acquainted at present with the intricacies of the dialect in question, to be able to translate freely from a Median original, and it would be a mere waste of time to attempt to analyze the doubtful fragments of the Persian text.

Par. 14. (1) *Thátiya Dár(a)*yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Tuwam *ká khsháyathiya* [68]hya aparam ahya, *martiya hya* daraujana ahatiya, hyawá - - tar - - - ahat[69]iya, awaiya má i - - - (3) Atifrashtádiya parasá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Thou whatsoever king who mayest be hereafter, the man who may be a liar, or who may be an evil doer, (?) do not cherish them; (?) cast them out into utter perdition."

Clause two. Remark that in *hyawá* we have the copulative वा united to the relative pronoun. The adjective or noun which follow *hyawá* is imperfect; as is also the 2nd pers. of the aorist without the augment which is preceded by *má*, but the general application of the terms is hardly liable to doubt.

Clause three. *Atifrashtádiya parasá* is evidently a kindred expression to the *ufrastam parasá* and *ufrastam aparasam* of former passages, the same root being repeated to obtain intensity of expression. I suppose the first word in this phrase to be the loc. of a noun formed from the root *paras*, with the attributive affix in *tát*, and rendered further impressive by the prefixed particle of excess. *Parasá* is the 2nd pers. sing. of the imperat. as in line 38 of this column.

Par. 15. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)[70]yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Tuwam ká hya aparam imám dipim vaináhya ty[71]ám adam niyapish(ay)am

imaiwá patikará, mátya visanáhya. (3) Yáwá i[72] - - - áhya áwá *parikariyáhya*. (?)

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Thou whosoever hereafter mayest behold this tablet which I have inscribed, and these figures, (beware) lest thou dishonour (them). (3) As long as thou respect them, so long shalt thou be preserved." (?)

Vaináhya and *visanáhya* in the second clause are both, I consider, the 2nd pers. sing. of the subjunct. pres., the one being used conditionally, and the other preceded by *mátya;* the root *vain*, "to see," is still found in Pehlevi, and is merely modified to بین, *bin* in Persian, but the etymology of the other is doubtful; it is formed apparently, however, from घण, (for ज्ञण,) "to honour," with the privative वि. *Imaiwá* is the acc. masc. plur. of the demonstrative pronoun united to the copulative *wá*, and the transitive verb *vaináhya* therefore must govern *imaiwá patikará* as well as *imám dipim*. Remark also in *niyapish(ay)am* that the initial particle is changed from *ni* to *niy* before the temporal augment. I cannot, at the same time, of course, determine whether it followed the 1st or the 4th conjugation.

Clause three. *Yáwá* (Sans. यावान्,) and *áwá*, are apparently in this clause used correlatively, the one before the active, and the other before the passive subjunctive. *Parikariyáhya* from *parikara*, literally, "surrounding," and by extension, "preserving," is however a hazardous restoration, and unless the imperfect word commencing with *i* be a form of इष, "to wish," or "respect," I am altogether unable to identify its etymology.

Par. 16. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Y[73]*áwá* imám dipim *vaináhya* imaiwá patikará, niyadish visanáhya, utá [74]*yadiya* áwá tau - - - *parikaráhadish*, Auramazdá thuwám daushtá biy[75]á, *utá*taiya taumá *wasiya biyá*, utá daragam jiwá, utá tya kunaváhya [76]*awa*taiya aparam *Aura*mazdá danautuwa.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) As long as thou mayest behold this tablet and these figures, thou mayest not dishonour them; and if from injury (?) thou shalt preserve them, may Ormazd be a friend to thee, and may thy offspring be numerous, and mayest thou be long

lived; and that which thou mayest do, may Ormazd bless for thee in after times."

Vainâhya and *visanâhya* are the same as in the preceding paragraph. The construction, however, varies in so far that in this passage the former verb governs *imâm dipim*, while the object of the latter seems to be the suffixed acc. neuter of the 3rd personal pronoun which occurs in *niyadish*, and which refers to *imaiwâ patikarâ* disjoined from immediate connexion with the verb, and used to all appearance in the nom. case. I must confess, at the same time, that the identification of this neuter pronoun *adish* is far from being satisfactorily determined.

In the phrase *yadiya âwâ tau - - - - parikarâhadish* there is some uncertainty. The copulative *utâ*, however, evidently shows that the conditional signification is carried on, and I believe, therefore, *yadiya* to be the true restoration, for the commencement of line 74. *Awâ*, may, I think, also be determined in this passage as the acc. neuter of the demonstrative pronoun (for *awâs*,) rather than the correlative adverb (for *awân*,) referring, in fact, like the subjoined pronoun in *niyadish*, to the tablet and figures mentioned in the early part of the sentence. The word commencing with *tau* cannot be restored, but I suppose it to be the ablat. of an abstract noun derived from the root तुज, "to hurt," or "injure;" and *parikarâhadish*, which may hardly be identified with any form of Sanskrit grammar, I further conjecture to be the 2nd pers. sing. of a conditional or subjunctive aorist employed without the augment.

The conditional formations of the verbs, however, are all exceedingly obscure, and if the usual termination in *âhya* should belong to the 2nd pers. of the indicative, *âhadish* may be the corresponding form of the subjunctive*.

Biyâ and *jiwâ* have been previously explained as forms of the subjunctive imperf., but the employment of an imperative *danautuwa* in the 3rd pers. active voice in reference to Ormazd, at the end of the paragraph, would perhaps rather lead us to assign *jiwa* to the 2nd pers. of the same tense. The optative signification will be the same whichever be the tense employed.

Kunawâhya like *vainâhya, visanâhya, patiparasâhya*, &c., is the 2nd pers. sing. of the present, (either indic. or subjunctive), and *awataiya* must be the acc. sing. of the neuter demonstrative in com-

* These various forms of the verbs will be fully discussed in treating on the Grammar of the Cuneiform language.

bination with the pronoun of the 2nd pers., although it is difficult to understand why the *visarga* should be dropped in this compound, and should re-appear in *awashchiya.*

Par. 17. (1) Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsha[77]yathiya: (2) Yadiya imám *dipim* imaiwá patikará vainiya visanáhadish ut[78]á *yáwá* tau - - - - *niyadish* parikaráhya Auramazdátaiya jatá b[79]iyá, utátaiya *taumá má biya,* utá tya kunaváhya awataiya Auramazd[80]á ha - - - tuwa.

(1) " Says Darius the King:—(2) If seeing this tablet and these figures, thou shalt dishonour (them), and if from injury thou mayest not preserve them, may Ormazd be thy enemy, and mayest thou be childless; and that which thou mayest do, may Ormazd spoil for thee."

Vainiya I conclude to be the present participle of *vain,* "to see," formed in the same manner as *thastaniya chartaniya,* &c., but rejecting according to the genius of the language the duplication of the *n, Visanáhadish* is evidently also a similar formation to *parikaráhadish,* and may be the 2nd pers. sing. of the conditional, or of the subjunctive present or aorist. I am by no means satisfied of the restoration *utá yawá tau - - - - niyadish parikaráhya;* for the broken space on the rock will hardly correspond, and *yáwá,* moreover, should refer to time, rather than be employed in a merely conditional sense like *yadiya.* The expression, however, cannot be *yadiya áwá,* for we have the suffixed pronoun, as it appears to me, in *niyadish.* Assuming the restoration to be correct, and comparing the construction with that of the preceding paragraph, we might suppose the adverb *yáwá* to be employed with the present subjunct., and *yadiya* to require the aorist; but in lines 57 and 58 of this column, we have *yadiya apagaudayáhya,* where the construction is reversed. At any rate, the conditional application of the tenses of which the 2nd persons sing. respectively end in *áhya* and *áhadish* must be nearly identical.

I have finally adopted the reading of *parikaráhya* in preference to that of *parikariyáhya,* as I cannot obtain any intelligible phrase, if the verb be employed in the passive voice.

The remaining words have been already noticed, with the exception of the mutilated term at the close of the paragraph. This is certainly the 3rd pers. sing. of an active imperat. agreeing with *Auramazdá,* and from the context it must evidently be used in contradistinction to *danautuwa,* but I have no clue to the etymology.

Par. 18. (1) *Thátiya* Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Imaiya martiyá tyaiya [81]a*dak*iya (?) awadá *áhata* yátá adam Gaumátam tyam Magum awájanam [82]hya Bardiya agaubatá. (3) Ada*k*iya (?) imaiya martiyá tyaiya anushiyá man[83]á: (4) Vida*f*raná náma V*is* - - -ahyá putřa Pársa; (5) - - - - - *náma* - - - - - rahyá [84]*putřa Pársa;* (6) Gau*b*ruwa *náma Mar*duniyahyá *putřa Pársa;* (7) - - - - ná[85]*ma* - - - - *ahyá putřa Pársa;* (8) ukhsha náma - - - - *hyá putřa Pársa;* (9) [86]- - - - *náma* - - - - *hyá putřa* Pársa.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) These are the men who alone (?) were there when I slew Gomates, the Magian, who was called Bardius. (3) These alone (?) are the men who were my assistants; (4) Intaphernes by name, the son of Hys . . . . , a Persian; (5) Otanes (?) by name, the son of . . . . . , a Persian; (6) Gobryas by name, the son of Mardonius, a Persian; (7) Hydarnes (?) by name, the son of . . . . ., a Persian; (8) Megabyzus by name, the son of Zopyrus, a Persian; (9) Aspethines (?) by name, the son of . . . . . , a Persian."

Clause two. *Adakiya,* both in this clause and in the next is a very doubtful restoration, and the signification which I give of "only," (Turkish *anjak*), is far from certain, even admitting the orthography to be correct. *Yátá* also usually signifies, "until," or "whilst," but the context would in this passage appear to require the translation of "when." In other respects the construction is sufficiently simple.

Clause three. We must suppose the substantive verb *áhata* to be understood in this sentence, for *anushiyá* with which we are already familiar, can hardly be other than a verbal noun, or adjective.

In my notes to the Cuneiform text, I have fully explained the reasons which have guided me in the restoration of the names of the conspirators, and further observation therefore in this place would be superfluous.

In a subsequent section, I shall endeavour to trace the respective individuals in Grecian history, and to correct some of the errors into which Herodotus has fallen regarding them.

Par. 19. (1) Thátiya *Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya:* - - - - -

Column V.

Par. 1. (1) [1]Thátiya *Dár*(a)yavu*sh khsháyathiya:* (2) [2]imat*ya adam* akunava*m* - - - - - - - [3]má r - - - - - - thradam (?) - - - - thá khsháya[4]thiya - - - - wajanam - - - - - (3) *dah*yáush han[5]wa ha*chárna hamitřiyá* abava. (4) 𐎠 *Martiya* - - imim(?)a náma U[6]wajiy*á awam mathi*shtam a*kunava.* (5) Pasáwa ada[7]m k*áram fráisha*yam U*wajam.* (6) 𐎠 *Mart*iya Gaubruwa [8]náma, P*ársa manú ba*daka, a*wamshám ma*thishtam aku[9]navam. (7) Pa*sáwa hauwa G*aubru*wa hadá kárá* ashiyava [10]Uwaja*m.* (8) *Hamar(a)-nam ak*unau*sh hadá hami*třiyaibish. (9) *Pas*[11]áwa - - - - - - - - utáshiya marada [12]utá - - - - - - - *agarbáya utá* ániya abi[13]ya mám - - - - - - - - - - - - - dahyá[14]ush- - - - - - - - - - - - - - janam awadashi[15]m - - - - - - - - - .

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) This is what I have done, by the grace of Ormazd have I achieved the performance of the whole (?) . . . . . king . . . . . (3) The country of Susiana that revolted against me. (4) A certain man named . . . imimus, him the Susians made their chief. (5) Then I sent troops to Susiana. (6) A man named Gobryas, a Persian, one of my servants, him I appointed to be their leader. (7) Then Gobryas with that force marched to Susiana. (8) He fought a battle with the rebels. (9) Then . . . . and his . . . . and . . . . . seized and brought to me . . . . . a country . . . . . there I slew him."

I rather think that in the second clause, the usual phrase *washná Auramazdáha hamahyáyá thrada akunavam* must follow *ima tya adam akunavam*, notwithstanding that in the rough copy I have for the commencement of line 3, 𐎠𐎼𐎹 𐏁 𐎠 𐎧𐎹, and that the orthography of *thradam* appears to be employed instead of *thrada*. All this part of the inscription is so deplorably mutilated, that any attempt at analysis would be a mere waste of time.

Remark in reference to the sixth clause, that it is unusual to employ the depreciative term *martiya* before the names of those entrusted to the command of the Persian armies, and that the restoration therefore may be doubted.

After the eighth sentence it is impossible to connect the fragments in any intelligible sequence, and I will only observe, therefore, that the subject probably relates to the defeat and capture of the Susian rebel by Gobryas, to his being brought before Darius, and to his being

executed by the monarch in a certain named locality. *Marada* in the ninth clause, would appear to be the Sans. मृद्, but its application is obscure, and the substitution of *ániya* for the usual *ánaya* is also difficult of explanation.

Par. 2. (1) *Thátiya Dár(a)*yavush khsháyathi[16]ya: (2) - - - - - - - utá dah - - - - - - Aurama[17]zdá - - - - - - - - áya - - - - washná A[18]uramaz*dáha* - - - - - - thádish akunavam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) . . . . . and . . . . . Ormazd . . . . . by the grace of Ormazd . . . . . I have done."

In this paragraph we have probably the usual thanksgivings, but I hesitate to attempt a connected translation.

Par. 3. (1) [19]*Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathi*ya: (2) Hya aparam ima[20]m y - - - - - - hatiya utá jivah[21]yá.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Whoever may hereafter . . . . this . . . . . and of life . . . . . ."

We have here, perhaps, a repetition of some blessing invoked on the descendants of Darius if they preserve the tablet, but the expressions evidently differ from those of the preceding column.

Par. 4. (1) *Thátiya* Dár(a)yavush khsh[22]áya*thiya:* (2) - - - - - - *ash*iyavam abiya Sak[23]ám - - - - - - Tigram barata[24]ya - - - - - - - - - - iya abiya darayam a[25]wam - - - - - - á pisá viyatara[26]*m* - - - - - - - - ájanam aniyam ag[27]*arbáyam* - - - - - - abiya mám ut[28]*á* - - - - - - - *Saru*khha* náma awam ag[29]*arbáyam* - - - - - - *a*wadá aniyam math[30]*ishtam* - - - - - - ám áha pasáwa da[31] - - - - - - - - .

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) . . . . . I went to the country of the Sacæ . . . . . the Tigris . . . . . towards the sea, him . . . . . I passed over (?) . . . . . I slew; the enemy I seized (?) . . . . . to me and . . . . . Sarocus by name, him I seized . . . . there the other leader (?) . . . . . it was, then . . . . . ."

* The restoration of the name of *Sarukha* is doubtful, as I have explained in my notes to the Cuneiform text, page lxix., but I think it may be received in preference to any other reading.

From the disjointed words which are alone visible in this paragraph, I conjecture that Darius describes his expedition in person against the Sacæ, who dwelt on the Tigris, (the *Saka Tigrakhudá* of the inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam*,) and whose leader, *Sarocus*, is exhibited among the captives on the triumphal tablet. I conjecture that there must have been some difficulty in crossing the Tigris, as on the occasion of the revolt of Naditabirus, and that the rebels had another party in the field towards the shores of the Persian Gulf, ("*abiya darayam.*") The terms, however, *barataya* and *pisá*, are so obscure, that I obtain no further clue to the details of the expedition. *Sarocus* was evidently seized and slain, for his effigy and description will be presently noticed, and the other subordinate leader, no doubt, shared his fate. I consider this paragraph to be of much importance in showing that a powerful tribe of Sacæ did actually in the reign of Darius reside upon the Tigris, for these Scythians I strongly suspect to have been identical with the *Chasdim*, and the very name *Sarukha* may not impossibly reproduce the Saracus of Assyrian history.

Par. 5. (1) *Thátiya* Dár(a)yavush khsháya[32]*thiya:* (2) - - - - - - má niya Auramazd[33]á - - - - - - yadaiya washná Aurama[34]*zdáha* - - - - - - - - - akunavam.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) . . . . . not Ormazd . . . . . by the grace of Ormazd . . . . . I have done . . . . ."

Observe that in this column a separate paragraph is employed for the expression of thanksgiving to Ormazd, both in describing the reduction of Susiana, and the successful result of the expedition against the Sacæ. In the earlier portions of the record, the favour of Ormazd was always acknowledged in immediate connexion with the date and description of the several victories of the Persian arms.

Par. 6. (1) Thát[35]*iya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya:* (2) - - - Auramazdám yadáta [36]- - - - - utá jivahyá utá[37]- - - - - .

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) . . . . . Ormazd . . . . . and of life and . . . . . ."

I conjecture the inscription to have been here closed with an invocation of some blessing on such as might preserve the tablet; the expressions being probably the same as those employed in the fourth paragraph.

* See Lassen's Zusammenstellung, &c., Ins. N. R., line 26.

DETACHED INSCRIPTIONS OF BEHISTUN.

A.

[1]Adam Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya wazarka, khsháya[2]thiya khsháyathiyánám, khsháyathiya Pársaiya, khsh[3]áyathiya dahyaunám Vishtáspahyá putřa, [4]Arshámahyá napá, Hakhámanishiya. Thátiya Dár(a)[5]yavush khsháyathiya: maná pitá Vishtáspa, V[6]ishtáspahyá pitá Arsháma, Arshámahyá pi[7]tá Ariyaram(a)na, Ariyaram(a)nahyá pitá [8]Chishpish, Chishpishahyá pitá Hakhámanish. [9]Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya:—awahya[10]rádiya wayam Hakhámanishiyá thahyá[11]mahya; hachá pruviyata amátá (?) [12]amahya; hachá pruviyata hyá amá[13]kham taumá khsháyathiyá áha. Thá-[14]tiya Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya:— 𐎡𐎡𐎡 ma[15]ná taumáyá tyaiya pruwa[16]ma khsháyathiyá áha; adam na[17]vam 𐎡𐎡𐎡 duvitátar(a)nam wayam kh[18]sháyathiyá amahya.

(1) "I am Darius the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of Persia, the King of the (dependent) provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian." Says Darius the King:—"My father was Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes was Arsames; the father of Arsames was Ariyaramnes; the father of Ariyaramnes was Teispes; the father of Teispes was Achæmenes."—Says Darius the King:—"On that account we have been called Achæmenians, from antiquity we have been unsubdued, (or we have descended,) from antiquity our race have been kings." Says Darius the King:—"There are eight of my race who have been kings before me. I am the ninth. For a very long time we have been kings."

This legend, which is placed immediately over the figure of the monarch on the triumphal tablet, is a mere repetition of the four commencing paragraphs of the 1st column of the great inscription underneath, and as the notes, therefore, on the construction of the one apply equally to the other, any further illustration is unnecessary.

B.

[1]Iyam Gaumá[2]ta hya Magush a[3]durujiya; [4]awathá athaha: adam Ba[5]rdiya amiya hya K[6]uraush putřa; adam khsh[7]áyathiya amiya.

"This Gomates, the Magian, was an impostor. He thus declared, 'I am Bardius, the son of Cyrus; I am the King.'"

Remark that the demonstrative *Iyam* is used in the nom. masc. sing. for the Sanskrit अयं, a variety of grammar which belongs also to the Pali, as we have it in the edicts of *Asoca*.

I have before, I think, observed that those leaders who appeared in *Persis*, and who personated the son of Cyrus, took the title of "*The* King," whilst the provincial impostors and rebels were merely designated as kings of the particular countries which they threw into revolt.

The inscription of Gomates being on the entablature immediately below the prostrate figure upon which Darius tramples, proves beyond question, that the sculpture refers to the arch impostor from whom the Persian throne was recovered. I conceive also an attitude of extreme abjectness to have been assigned to this figure, while the other captives are erect, in order to mark the difference of character between the Magian usurpation, and the partial and temporary disorders of the provinces.

C.

[1]Iyam Atř[2]ina adu[3]rujiya; [4]awathá [5]athaha: a[6]dam kh[7]sháyath[8]iya am[9]iya U[10]wajaiya.

"This Atrines was an impostor. He thus declared, 'I am King of Susiana.'"

The inscription of Atrines is immediately above the first standing figure, which is clothed in a long tunic, and the outline of which is much mutilated.

D.

[1]Iyam Naditabira [2]adurujiya; awa[3]thá athaha: adam Nab[4]ukudrachara ami[5]ya hya Nabunita[6]hya putřa, adam kh[7]sháyathiya amiya B[8]abiráuwa.

"This Natitabirus was an impostor. He thus declared, 'I am Nabochodrossor, the son of Nabonidus; I am King of Babylon.'"

This is engraved over the second standing figure clothed in a short vest.

E.

[1]Iyam Fra[2]wartish [3]aduru[4]jiya; awa[5]thá athaha: adam [6]Khshathrita amiya [7]Uwakhshatarahya [8]taumáyá; adam [9]khsháyathiya amiya [10]Má[11]daiya.

"*This* Phraortes was an impostor. He thus declared, 'I am Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares; I am King of Media.'"

Much fanciful speculation has been wasted on the accident of this inscription being engraved on the dress of the third standing figure*. The reasons, however, of such a position are simply a want of room upon the smooth rock above the head of the figure, and the impossibility of engraving letters on the carved drapery of the angel which hovers over the groupe. It is remarkable that Phraortes, a Median, should be clothed in a short vest instead of the national robe.

F.

[1]Iyam Martiya a[2]durujiya; a[3]wathá athaha: a[4]dam Umanish am[5]iya Uwajaiya kh[6]sháyathiya.

"This Martius was an impostor. He thus declared, 'I am Omanes, the King of Susiana.'"

The legends follow throughout the remainder of the series over the heads of the figures in regular succession, and preclude any possibility of mistaking their application. Martius is the fourth standing figure in the long tunic, but why he should follow Phraortes instead of preceding him agreeably to the order of their respective rebellions, I cannot pretend to explain.

G.

[1]Iyam Chitŭra[2]takhma ad[3]urujiya; [4]awathá a[5]thaha: adam [6]khsháyathi[7]ya As(a)ga[8]rtaiya, Uwa[9]khshatarahya [10]taumáy[11]á.

"This Sitratachmes was an impostor. He thus declared, 'I am King of Sagartia, of the race of Cyaxares.'"

The Sagartian rebel is the fifth standing figure in the short vest. It is curious to find descent from the Median Cyaxares forming a claim to the government of the Sagartians, for according to Herodotus, that tribe was of Persian extraction, and might be supposed, therefore, to be inimical to the Medes.

* See Heeren's Researches, vol. I., p. 227.

H.

[1]Iyam Wahya[2]zdáta adu[3]rujiya; awa[4]thá athaha: ada[5]m Bardiya a[6]miya, hya K[7]uraush putŭra; [8]adam khshá[9]yathiya amiya.

"This Veisdates was an impostor. He thus declared, 'I am Bardius, the son of Cyrus; I am the king.'"

Veisdates is the sixth standing figure in the long robe. In the body of the inscriptions, we find that the revolt of *Frada* in *Margiana* preceded the rebellion of *Wahyazdáta* in *Persis*, and as the same order is observed in the recapitulation in paragraph 2 of the 4th column, I am at a loss to understand why the artist in delineating the captive figures should have deranged the historical succession.

I.

[1]Iyam Arakha [2]aduruj[3]iya; awathá [4]athaha: adam [5]Nabukudra-[6]chara amiya, [7]hya Nabun[8]itahyá pu[9]tŭra; adam khsh[10]áyathiya amiya [11]Babirauwa.

"This Aracus was an impostor. He thus declared, 'I am Nabokhodrossor, the son of Nabonidus; I am the King of Babylon.'"

The seventh standing figure in the short vest represents the Armenian Aracus, who strangely enough is said to have personated the son of Nabonidus. Can we suppose from this any connexion between the Armenian and Babylonian races?

J.

[1]Iyam Fráda [2]aduruj[3]iya; awathá atha[4]ha: adam khsháyath[5]iya amiya Marg[6]auwa.

"This Phraates was an impostor. He thus declared, 'I am the king of Margiana.'"

Fráda, the Margian, is the 8th standing figure. According to the respective dates of the revolts, the Margian rebel should have been placed in the line of figures before Veisdates and Aracus.

K.

[1]Iyam Saru[2]kha*, hya Saka.

"This is Sarocus, the Sacan."

* I prefer the reading of *Sarukha* to that of *Saradkha*, notwithstanding that the Median orthography of the name agrees better with the latter form.

Sarocus, the Sacan, has evidently been added to the line of captives subsequently to the original design of the tablet; for the figure is in a sort of recess, as if the rock had been in the first instance prepared for an inscription, and had been afterwards smoothed away to admit of sculpture. I consider, therefore, the fifth half column and the right hand figure to be supplementary; the third revolt of Susiana and the outbreak among the Sacæ taking place, probably, whilst the artist was occupied in engraving the other portions of the record.

It is interesting to observe the high cap of the Sacan, which we know from Herodotus to have been the peculiar head-dress of the tribe, and which being also worn by the warriors represented in the battle-scenes on the sculptured marbles of Nimrúd, affords a further proof of the habitat of this remarkable race*.

In the notes appended to the respective paragraphs throughout this chapter, I have been led into more detail of etymology and grammar than I had originally proposed to undertake, whilst at the same time, the explanations are not of sufficient extent or clearness to fulfil the condition of an analysis. I have dwelt at some length on those points which have produced embarrassment to myself in obtaining an intelligible meaning, but many other peculiarities of construction which are of equal, or perhaps superior, importance to the due understanding of the language, I have but cursorily noticed, as they are verified by their frequent recurrence, and may be thus considered as uniform and established rules.

To the general reader the comments will appear unnecessarily prolix; by the philologer they will be regarded as superficial. I would recommend the one accordingly to attend exclusively to the translations, and I would claim from the other a suspension of his judgment until he shall have attentively consulted the succeeding

* The sculptures at Nimrúd, now in the course of excavation, will, I think, determinably prove the first Assyrian dynasty to have been Scythian, and the second to have been Semitic; for the high-capped warriors are represented in the early tablets as victors, and on the later marbles as the vanquished. These Scythians or Chasdim were probably expelled from power in Assyria by the race of which Pul is the first monarch on record, but whether having retired to Babylon they may be identified with the House of Nabonasser, or whether, as I think more probable, they held Babylonia synchronously with their empire on the Upper Tigris, and were superseded in the decadence of their power by the first king of Ptolemy's canon in B.C. 747, we are not at present in a condition to decide.

chapters, which comprise the vocabulary and a brief examination of the grammatical structure of the language.

It would also have relieved the tedium of etymological detail, if I had introduced historical and geographical illustration with a somewhat less sparing hand. These subjects, however, I consider to embody the very essence of all my labours on the inscriptions, and rather therefore, than destroy their interest by presenting them to the public in the shape of abrupt and disconnected commentary, I prefer regarding the present chapter, together with the vocabulary, as mere subordinate and preliminary steps, furnishing materials for that historical abstract, which will appear in the sequel, as the true and only valuable result of the inquiry.

CHAPTER V.

Copies and Translations of the Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persepolis, Hamadan, and Van.

The translations which I have given in the preceding chapter of the elaborate inscriptions of Behistun, will enable the reader to follow me with comparative ease through the present portion of the inquiry; for in the several detached legends which occur in other parts of the Persian empire, and of which I now proceed to give amended copies and translations, I shall neither have occasion to explain many new words, nor even to point out any essential varieties of grammar or construction. I cannot pretend, at the same time, that these brief and disconnected legends which have hitherto, as the only available materials of analysis, exclusively occupied the attention of the learned in Europe, will be found to possess nearly the same interest as the great inscription of Behistun. In the place of varied and historical recital, we must be content for the most part to peruse a certain formula of invocation to Ormazd*, and a certain empty parade of royal titles, recurring with a most wearisome and disappointing uniformity. Geographical names, it is true, will occasionally be found to relieve the monotonous phraseology, and there are a few incidental expressions scattered among the records, which throw a faint light upon the faith and usages of the early Persians; but as a general principle, we may consider the value of these inscriptions to be confined to the aid which they afford in identifying the respective works of the early monarchs of the house of Achæmenes.

I proceed, then, without further comment, to give the whole series of inscriptions, in what I conceive to be their chronological order.

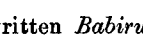
* The evidence which these legends afford, that it was customary with the early Persian kings to invoke the protection of Ormazd and the other gods, for the edifices of their construction, is illustrated by the practice which prevails in Persia to the present day, of chaunting a prayer over every brick as it is laid in the walls of a building; at present, the chaunt of the bricklayers is supposed to render the edifice secure against "the evil eye." Among the Chaldeans, probably, the sacred charm impressed upon the bricks was intended to scare away the evil spirits who infested the dwellings of mankind.

No. 1.—(M, Lassen, p. 152*.)

Inscription of Cyrus the Great, on the ruined pilasters of Murghab, or Pasargadæ.

1 "Adam Kurush, khsháya
2 thiya, Hakhámanishiya."

"I am Cyrus, the King; the Achæmenian."

This inscription, which is repeated without variation in four places at Murghab, has been frequently published. See Morier's Travels, vol. I., p. xxx., No. 5, and Pl. XXIX; Ouseley's Travels, vol. II., Pl. XLIX, Fig. 5; Rich's Babylon and Persepolis, Pl. XII; Porter's Travels, vol. I., p. 500. See also the critique on the Inscriptions of Cyrus, in Burnouf's Mem. sur deux Inscript. Cun., p. 169, where the various readings of St. Martin and Grotefend are examined in detail; and above all, consult Lassen on the same subject in his last Memoir, (Zeitschrift, &c., vol. VI., No. I, p. 152.) The value of this legend, in establishing the identity of Pasargadæ, is not to be overlooked, but in a philological point of view its sole interest consists in the proof which it affords of the near connexion between the letters and . The name of Cyrus being here in the nominative case is written *Kurush*, and at Behistun, where it is always in the genitive, *Kuraush*. The same inflection is found in the name of Babylon, which in the nom. is written *Babirush*, while in the ablat. (which is identical in form with the genitive) we have the orthography of *Bábiraush* ( †).

* In this and the following instances, the letter and page between parentheses refer to the Treatise on Cuneiform Inscriptions, by Professor Lassen, published in the sixth volume of the Zeitschrift.—Ed.

† See column 2, line 65, where however by inadvertence the word is written *Babirush*.

INSCRIPTIONS OF DARIUS.

The inscriptions of Darius, at Persepolis, are far from numerous. It would appear, indeed, that during the lifetime of that monarch, the platform, the pillared colonnade, and the palace which is marked G in Niebuhr's plan, had been alone constructed. The other buildings owe their foundation to Xerxes and to Artaxerxes Ochus, and bear the commemorative legends of these monarchs. The inscriptions upon the doors of the ruined edifice adjoining the colonnade, and which for the sake of distinction, I shall term the palace of Darius, are probably the most ancient that occur at Pérsepolis*. They have been given on this account the first place in Professor Lassen's Memoir, and I may conveniently, therefore, observe the same order.

No. 2.—(B, LASSEN, p. 9.)

(NIEBUHR'S *Inscription* B.—Pl. XXIV.)

Door inscription on the palace of Darius†.

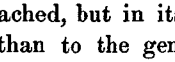
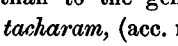
1 "Dár(á)yavush, khsháyathiya
2 wazarka, khsháyathiya khshá
3 yathiyánám, khsháyathiya
4 dahyaunám, Vishtáspahy
5 á putřa, Hakhámanishiya, h
6 ya imam tacharam akunaush."

"Darius the great King, the King of Kings, the King of nations, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian, (he it is) who has executed this sculpture."

I am not sure how many times this inscription is repeated, but I infer from Niebuhr, (see vol. II., p. 112,) that it occurs at least twice,

* Niebuhr, who gives a very accurate and detailed description of all the buildings at Persepolis, supposes the palace of Xerxes, marked I in his plan of the ruins, to be the most ancient edifice in the Platform. (See vol. II., p. 116.) The inferiority of execution, however, from which he inferred superior antiquity, was in reality owing to a decline of the arts.

† Le Brun has also given a very imperfect copy of this inscription, Plate 132. The reading which St. Martin assigned to it after Niebuhr's copy, may be seen in Klaproth's Aperçu, &c. p. 66; and Lassen's interpretation is given at page 9 of his often-quoted Memoir.

and probably oftener*. It is placed over the figures of the king and his two attendants, which are represented on the doorways of the central chamber of the building marked G in Niebuhr's plan, and thus not only serves to identify the historic character of the groupe to which it is attached, but in its probable allusion to the particular sculpture rather than to the general edifice, enables us, I think, to render the word *tacharam*, (acc. masc. sing. of a noun derived from तक्ष, "to engrave,") with a very high degree of probability. The legend descriptive of the monarch is precisely the same as the opening paragraph of the great Behistun Inscription, with the exception of the omission of a single title, "*khsháyathiya Pársaiya*," and the employment of the orthography of  instead of  for the name of Hystaspes. The inscription is as usual trilingual, but I observe with surprise in Niebuhr's copy, that the Babylonian takes precedence of the Median transcript†.

The next inscriptions that I shall give are those which are found on a huge slab, twenty-six feet in length and six in height, built in the southern wall of the great platform at Persepolis, about midway between the hill and the south-west corner of the ruins, and which must accordingly be read by a person standing in the plain beyond the elevated platform.

These inscriptions have been published by Niebuhr, Pl. XXXI, H and I, and also by Porter, vol. I., Pl. LV, a and b; but the copies there exhibited are not nearly so accurate as those obtained by Westergaard, and communicated by him, both to Professor Lassen and myself. I shall have occasion to differ with Professor Lassen in some of the restorations which I have added to the text of Wester-

* I may remark in this place, that although I personally inspected the ruins of Persepolis in 1834, I am unable, at present, to consult the notes which I made on the occasion, and am obliged therefore to refer for all local details to the observations of other travellers.

† It is worthy of remark also, that the Median and Babylonian translations employ the epithet after *dahyaunám*, which is usually represented by *paruwazaná-nám*, but which in this particular tablet is wanting in the Persian original. The Median copy, indeed, reproduces letter by letter the Persian *vispazana*, which, as I shall subsequently show, replaces the ordinary *paruwazana* in the inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, and thus connects those epithets determinately together. With the usual laxity however of Median orthography, the Persian *vispazana* is corrupted at the latter place to *vissadana*.

gaard, and the translations will exhibit a still greater variety; but it will at the same time be hardly necessary to enter on any laboured defence of the readings which I have adopted, as the precedents at Behistun are for the most part ample and satisfactory*.

No. 3.—(H, Lassen, p. 15.)

(Niebuhr's *Inscription* H, Pl. XXXI.)

Par. 1. 1 (1) "Auramazdá wazarka, hya mathishta Bag
2 ánám, hauwa Dár(a)yavum khsháyathi
3 yam adadá. (2) Haushaiya khshatřam frába
4 ra. (3) Washná Auramazdáhá Dár(a)yavu
5 sh khsháyathiya."

(1) "The great Ormazd who is the chief of the Gods, he established Darius (as) King. (2) He bestowed on him the Empire. (3) By the grace of Ormazd (has) Darius (become) king."

In the first clause remark the employment of *adadá*, the reduplicate imperf. of the third conjugation in the place of the aorist form *adá*, which is used in every other passage. It is impossible, at the same time to distinguish positively, whether these terms *adá* and *adadá* belong to the same root as the participles *datá, datam*, &c., which certainly signify "given," (Sans. दत्त,) or whether they may not rather be derived from धा, "to establish," or "maintain†."

The orthography of *haushaiya* in the second clause is remarkable. It is unquestionably the demonstrative pronoun in the nom. masc.

* Professor Lassen has examined these two inscriptions in detail, in both his Memoirs, dated respectively 1836 and 1844, and M. Burnouf derived from the same source many of the names and words with which he illustrated his Essay on the Inscriptions of Hamadan, published at Paris, 1836. I may add in this place, that the Median and Babylonian tablets, which are appended to these two inscriptions, and which have been published by Niebuhr, p. 31, K and L, are translations neither of one nor the other; they do not appear to contain matter of much interest, but they are nevertheless independent records.

† I have finally decided on distinguishing between the simple and reduplicate forms, assigning the former to दा, and the latter to धा. M. Burnouf has elaborately examined the relation which the Zend [illegible] respectively bears to these two Sanskrit roots, and his remarks throughout are equally applicable to the Cuneiform [illegible]. See Comment. sur le Yaçna, Note 217, from page 356 to 365.

sing. united to the pronoun of the 3rd pers., and may be considered an irregular, perhaps an erroneous contraction for *hauwashaiya*.

In the third clause also, observe, that according to the uniform practice at Persepolis, the final *a* of *Auramazdáhá* is elongated, a variation from the Behistun orthography, which can only be explained by a difference of provincial articulation.

Par. 2. 5 (1) "Thátiya Dár(a)yavush
6 khsháyathiya: (2) Iyam dahyáush Pár
7 sa, tyám maná Auramazdá frába
8 ra, hyá nibá, uwaspá, umarti
9 yá, washná Auramazdáhá, manach
10 á Dár(a)yava(h)ush khsháyathiyahy
11 á, hachá aniyaná niya tarsat
12 iya."

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) This province of Persia, which Ormazd has granted to me, which (is) illustrious, abounding in good horses, producing good men, (or well-horsed, well-peopled,) by the grace of Ormazd and of me King Darius, from the enemy feareth not."

The construction of the second clause is more extended than usual, but it is perfectly regular. *Iyam* must be in the nom. fem. to agree with *dahyáush**. *Pársa* is used as a proper name in the nom. masc. sing., and not as an ethnic title. *Tyám* is the fem. acc. agreeing with *dahyáush*, and governed by *frábara*. *Hyá nibá, uwaspá, umartiyá*, are all in the nom. fem., referring to the same antecedent, and having the sub. verb understood. *Manachá* is literally "meique," the elongation being suppressed in the gen. of the 1st pers. pronoun, when the *a* is no longer terminal. The words *Dár(a)yava(h)ush khsháyathiyahyá* are also in the genitive, being placed in apposition to *maná*. *Aniyaná* is the ablatival form of the pronoun, for *anyasmát*, and although literally signifying "other," I translate it by "enemy," according to the double acceptation of the Latin "hostis;" while *tarsatiya* is the verb in the 3rd pers. present of the first conj. to which *Iyam dahyáush Pársa* is the nominative. *Nibá* is the only word

* It is curious that there should be no distinction between the masc. and fem. gender in the nom., either of the immediate demonstrative *tyam*, "this," or the remote demonstrative *hauwa*, "that;" yet such is undoubtedly the case. The Pali, also, employs *iyam* for the Sans. masculine इयं.

throughout this sentence of doubtful etymology; and I shall explain in the vocabulary the reasons which have guided me in it translation.

Par. 3. 12 (1) "Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsháya
13 thiya: (2) maná Auramazdá upastám
14 bartuwa hadá vi*tha*ibish Bagai
15 bish. (3) Utá imám dahyáum Aura
16 mazdá pátuwa hachá haináy
17 á, hachá d*u*shiyárá*, hachá dar
18 augá. (4) Aniya imám dahyáum má
19 ájamiyá, má hainá, má d*u*sh
20 iyáram, má darauga. (5) Aita adam
21 yána - - m *ja*diya*m*iya Auramazd
22 ám ha*dá vitha*ibish Bagaibish. (6) A
23 i*tamai*ya Auramazdá dadát
24 u*wa, hadá vi*tha*ib*ish Bagaibish."

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) May Ormazd bring help to me with the deities who guard my house. (3) And may Ormazd protect this province from slavery, from decrepitude, from lying. (4) Let not war (?) nor slaverv, nor decrepitude, nor lies, obtain power over this province. (5) That I hereby (?) commit to Ormazd with the deities who guard my house. (6) That may Ormazd accomplish for me, with the deities who guard my house."

In the second and third clauses, *bartuwa* and *patuwa* represent the 3rd pers. sing. imperat. of the active voice and probably the second conjugation, the termination being identical with the Sanskrit तु. The nouns which occur in the third and fourth clauses are neither of a very certain etymology, nor are they entirely free from doubt as to their grammatical condition. I consider, however, that *haináyá*, (for *haináyás* or *haináyát*, according as we follow the Sanskrit or Zend inflexion) is the ablat. sing of a fem. theme in long *a*, *hainá*† being

* In both of the passages where this word occurs the second letter is doubtful, and Lassen accordingly has adopted Westergaard's restoration of 𐎠; but the vowel 𐎢 must necessarily follow 𐎡, and Niebuhr's copy of the inscription is certainly in favour of this reading.

† Observe that I follow the Sanskrit orthography in writing *hainá* instead of *hiná*, the short *a* which is unexpressed in the inscriptions intervening, as I consider, between the 𐎡 and 𐎠.

equivalent to the Sanskrit सेना, which as a derivative from षि, "to bind," may have the abstract meaning of "slavery," or "bondage." *Dushiyárá* also (for *dushiyárát*), I suppose to be the ablat. sing. of a neuter noun compounded of the depreciative particle *dush* for दुर्, and a derivative from जॄ, "to become old," or "decayed," the signification of the term being "decrepitude," or "decay*."

Daraugá I must examine at greater length, for misled by the resemblance of the word to the "*Daruges*," or evil spirits of the modern Persian theogony, I had at first fallen into some errors in translating the inscriptions of Behistun. If *hainá* and *dushiyáram* be abstract nouns, it is only natural to infer that *darauga* must be of the same class, and this consideration alone would be sufficient to render the word "lying," a preferable reading to that of "evil spirits." When we observe, moreover, that wherever the term occurs at Behistun, it is in apparent connexion with the "lies," or "deceits," practised on the Persian nation, we obtain a further argument in favour of its identity with the modern word دروغ; and the difficulty of reconciling the orthography of [illegible] with that of [illegible] observed in the verbal formations, being removed by the example of a similar change in the word *darujana*, "a liar," the amended translation which I have here adopted appears to be all but certain. At the same time, the declension of the noun which answers to the Persian دروغ, exhibits considerable difficulty, and tends, as I think, to invalidate the axiom I have frequently announced of a terminal consonant, (with the exception of the [illegible] and [illegible]) being unknown to the language of the Inscriptions.

These obscurities of orthographical usage will however be more appropriately discussed in the synopsis which I shall subsequently give of the different Cuneiform declensions.

Clause four. The construction in this sentence is sufficiently remarkable. *Aniya* is, I think, the 3rd pers. of the aorist of आणी†, contradistinguished from the imperf. *ánaya* for आनयत्; it must cer-

* In my remarks on the alphabet, I have compared the Cuneiform *yára* with the Sanskrit जार, but I am now satisfied that the true correspondent is जरा, the root, however, in both cases being the same.

† In Sanskrit, however, we should have आनैषीत् or आनेष्ट.

tainly be a verbal form governing the acc. *imám dahyáum*, and that the initial 𐎠 is the prefixed particle, or an elemental letter of the root, is shown by its being preserved intact, notwithstanding the employment of the interdictory particle *má*, which we know to have the effect of eliding the temporal augment.

Ajamiyá and *hainá* are, I imagine, true fem. sing. nominatives, the former being an analogous term to the Sanskrit आजिक्रियाः, and the latter being identical, as I have before observed, with सेनाः. *Dushiyáram* is probably the nominative singular neuter, and *darauga* for *daraugas*, must be the nom. plural masculine. The whole of these nouns are certainly in the same case, and that case, as the agent of the verb *ániya*, must, it would appear, necessarily be the nominative*. If, indeed, we should take *dushiyáram* for the acc. sing. masc., and *darauga* for the acc. plur. masc.; the terms *ájamiyá* and *hainá* must be supposed to be in the acc. plur. (standing for *ájamiyas* and *hainás*,) for in the sing. they would form the acc. in *ájamiyám*, (or if masc. *ájamiyam*) and *hainám*, and this change of number from the sing. to the plur. being evidently inapplicable to abstract nouns, the translation would require to be entirely altered. I mention this circumstance, as I was formerly led by a mistaken view of the grammatical condition of the terms to translate the fourth clause:—"Let not barbarians, nor (hostile) armies, nor the wicked spirit, nor the evil genii, obtain possession of this province."

Clause five. I have restored the fifth and sixth clauses after the text of the inscriptions of Nakhsh-i-Rustam, lines 54 and 55, where the construction seems to be absolutely identical, with the exception of the omission of the imperfect word *yán - - m*. It is hazardous in general to depart from the text of Westergaard, but in the orthography of the word *jadiyamiya*, I cannot help preferring the 𐎹𐎼𐎽 of Niebuhr (for 𐎹𐎼𐎽𐎾) to the 𐎾𐎼 or 𐎼𐎾𐎼, which Lassen has published after the text of the former traveller. The word may be the 1st

* I remark in Wilkins' Grammar, page 655, s. 1319, the expression पाताच्छिवं "may Siva preserve (you)," where the accus. appears to be used with the imperative in the place of the nom.; but I can hardly believe this construction to be authentic, and I am unwilling therefore to apply the rule to the present passage. It is remarkable at the same time, that the verb *ániya* should precede not only the object *imám dahyáum*, but the various nouns which I suppose to represent the agents, a most unusual form of construction in the language of the inscriptions.

pers. singular pres. of हा, conjugated as in Sanskrit according to the third class*. If, at the same time, the orthography be *jadiyániya*, we must suppose the imperat. to be employed instead of the pres. and translate "let me commit." *Aita*, "that," I conjecture to refer to the preceding prayer for the preservation of Persia, but the imperfect word commencing with *yán*, unless it be some compound of यान, signifying "means," or "form of conveyance," is altogether obscure to me. The translation which I have given of "hereby," is therefore in no way to be depended on.

In the sixth clause, I read *dadátuwa* instead of *udátuwa* with some confidence, identifying the form as the 3rd pers. imperat. of धा conjugated according to the third class, and signifying "accomplishing;" I may observe also in this place, that Darius always uses the expression *hadá vithaibish Bagaibish*, instead of the more simple *hadá Bagaibish* of the inscription of Xerxes, and that from the evident identity of the expression with the Ζεὺς πατρῶος and Θεοὶ πατρῶοι of the Greeks, we can hardly question but that the allusion is to the deities tutelary of the House of Darius. It is not by any means easy at the same time to determine the exact application of *vitha* in this passage; the term is identical with the Sanskrit विश्, and answers to the English "house," in its double meaning both of "a building," and "a family." If it accordingly were here used as an adjective denoting "household," or "enchorial," I should expect the orthography of *vithiyaibish*, the attributive suffix being used which we shall subsequently find in *vithiya;* but on the other hand, we have the examples of *Pársa, máda*, &c., representing indifferently the proper name and the ethnic title, and I think it very possible therefore, that *vitha* may signify "familiaris," as well as "familia." The paraphrase, indeed, "with the deities who guard my house," appears to be alone applicable to the context, and to the indication of the Greek πατρῶος, and I adopt it accordingly.

* The orthographical transposition in this word is precisely the same which occurs in *jadiya*, "strike," for the Sanskrit जहि; but it is not easy to ascertain why the letters should be employed after the root. Perhaps *jadiyámiya* may be the 1st pers. sing. of the potential for जह्याम्.

No. 4.—(I, LASSEN, p. 42.)

(NIEBUHR's *Inscrip.* I, Pl. XXXI.)

Par. 1. 1 "Adam Dár(a)yavush, khsháyathiya waza
2 rka, khsháyathiya khsháyathiyáná
3 m, khsháyathiya dahyaunám tyai
4 shám parunám, Vishtáspahyá
5 putřa, Hakhámanishiya."

(1) "I am Darius, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of many countries, (or king of the countries of the people,) the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian."

In this paragraph, the expression *dahyaunám tyaishám paruńám* alone requires comment. We have frequently observed the relative pronoun to intervene between the noun and adjective, as in *Gaumáta hya Magush, káram tyam hamitřiyam, vřitham tyám amákham;* &c.; and in every instance we have seen the pronoun to agree with its immediate antecedent in case, gender, and number. How, then, the form *tyaishám,* which is apparently the masc. gen. plur. for त्येषां can be connected with the fem. *dahyaunám,* I am quite at a loss to understand? It would be less objectionable, I think, to refer *tyaishám* to the mas. gen. plural *parunám* which follows it, and to suppose the adjec. *paru,* although literally signifying "many," to be employed in an abstract sense to express "the people," the same connexion, in fact, existing between the two meanings of the words, that we find between the various forms of the cognate terms in Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek; compare पुरु, "many," and पुरुष, "a man;" Latin "plus," and "populus;" and Greek πολὺς and οἱ πολλοί). I give, therefore, as a variant translation, "King of the countries of the people," conjecturing "the people" to refer generally to the many nations of the earth.

Par. 2. 5 (1) "Thátiya Dár(a)
6 yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Washná Aurama
7 zdáhá imá dahyáwa tyá adam
8 adarshiya hadá aná Pársá ká
9 rá, tyá hacháma atarsa, maná báj

10 im abara. (3) Uwaja, Máda, Bábiru
11 sh, Arabáya, Athurá, Mudráy
12 á, Armina, Katapatuka, Sparda, Y
13 uná, tyaiya ushkahyá utá tya
14 iya darayahyá; utá dahyáwa t
15 yá parauviya, As(a)garta, Parthwa, Zara
16 ka, Hariva, Bákhtarish, Sugdá, Uw
17 árazmiya, Thatagush, Harauwatish, H
18 idush, Gadára, Saká, Maka."

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) By the grace of Ormazd these are the countries which I have possessed, together with the Persian State (or Power), which have been afraid of me (and) have brought tribute to me; Susiana, Media, Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparta*, and Ionia, both continental and insular, (lit. which are of the land and which are of the sea) and the Eastern provinces, Sagartia, Parthia, Zarangia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Sattagydia, Arachotia, India, Gandara, Sacia, and Mecia."

In the phrase, *tyá adam adarshiya hadá aná Pársá kárá, tyá* is the fem. acc. plur. for *tyás*, and *adarshiya*, which governs the relative, is probably the 1st pers. sing. of the middle aorist for the Sanskrit अधृषि. I was at one time inclined to suppose *adarshiya* to be the aorist of धृष, and to give to the present sentence accordingly the signification "which I have *overcome* with (the help of) this Persian state;" but as I have observed, that in the two other passages, "*imá dahyáwa tyá maná patiyáisha*," and "*imá dahyáwa tyá adam agarbáyam apataram hachá Pársá*†," the allusion is to the mere fact of the provinces being "possessed" by Darius, I have preferred the derivation of the form in question from ऋ, the Cuneiform aorist only differing from the Sanskrit orthography in the *guna* of the radical vowel‡. *Aná* will, I think, more regularly represent the ablative

* I reserve for the Geographical Section, a consideration whether the Cuneiform *Sparda* can possibly refer to Lacedæmon, or whether it may not rather indicate the regions of Asia Minor inhabited by the Dorian colonists, who were known to the Persians under the name of the chief city of their race.

† See Inscription of Behistun, col. 1, line 16, and Inscription of Nakhsh-i-Rustam, line 16.

‡ The only objection to this explanation is, that in noticing the term *adárya*, (Behistun, col. 1, line 26,) I have supposed the root ऋ to form its middle aorist according to the ninth mode of Wilkins, which is peculiar to verbs of the

अस्मात्, (the sibilant being elided before a nasal, and the nasal itself being changed from *m* to *n*), than the instrumental अनेन, and the union of an ablative pronoun with an instrumental noun and adjective need not so much surprise us, as we have already seen a genitive pronoun joined to a locative noun in the composition of the term *awahyarádia*. I must add, however, that *aná* is used apparently for the locative of the demonstrative pronoun in a phrase which I shall examine hereafter, and that its true condition must therefore remain subject to doubt*.

In the phrase *tyá hachárna atarsa*, "which from me feared," the relative pron. is in the nom. fem. plur. to agree with *dahyáwa*, and the same word, or a copulative conjunction, must be understood, I think, before *maná bájim abara*.

In allusion to the geographical names I may dispense with any detailed observations, as the subject will be examined at length in a future section of the Memoir.

The substitution of the phrase, "*tyaiya ushkahyá utá tyaiya darayahyá*" for the simple "*tyaiya darayahyá*" of Behistun, and the fact of the words being placed in this passage immediately after *Yuná*, while at Behistun, they precede the names of *Sparda* and *Yuna*, are however of consequence, inasmuch as they not only, I think, determinately prove that the expression refers to these two particular countries, but also appear to indicate a certain extension of conquest between the eras of the respective writings. This extension, in fact, I consider to have been the effect of the wars of *Otanes* and *Megabyzus*, which established the Persian authority in Continental Greece, as it had been formerly established, (although on this point history is silent) in the Islands of the Archipelago.

The restoration of *parauvaiya* or *parauviya* is, I confess, somewhat doubtful, for although the space on the slab between the letters and is sufficient for two characters, Westergaard, who examined the writing with much care, is of opinion, that one letter only had been engraved in the original inscription. If, however, as I believe, we have the locative case of पूर्वे East, we must suppose the interval to have contained the characters or , and I have com-

tenth conjugation. We may suppose, however, the verb in question to be of different classes as in Sanskrit, *adárya* being the 1st pers. middle aorist of the tenth conjugation, and *adarshiya* the same form, when the root is conjugated according to the first or sixth class.

* I shall subsequently show that *aná*, in both passages stands for *asmát*, the ablative and instrum. being the same in the language of the inscriptions.

pleted the text accordingly. I must also remark on the introduction of the names of *As(a)garta* and *Hidush*, which are not found at Behistun. The former country, as it was the scene of the revolt of *Chitřatakhma*, was certainly, when the early tablet was executed, already subject to the Persian power, and its omission therefore must have been either accidental, or owing to its want of political consideration; but India, perhaps, was a more recent acquisition, for the expedition of Scylax may be most conveniently placed between the eras of the two inscriptions.

Par.	18	(1) "Thátiya
	19	Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Yadiya
	20	aw*athá* *ma*niyáhya, hachá aniya
	21	ná má *ta*rsam, imam Pársam káram pádi
	22	ya. (3) Yadiya kára Pársa pátáhatiya hyá
	23	duvaishtam shiyátish akhshatá, hauwachi
	24	ya Aurá nirasátiya abiya imám vitham."

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) If thou shalt thus observe (namely) protect this state of Persia, let me not fear from the enemy. (3) If the Persian state shall be protected, the longest enduring life, such shall be the existence continued to this edifice.

Clause two. The restoration of the letters 𒁹𒌋𒁹, 𒁹𒁹𒁹, and 𒁹𒁹𒁹 in the words *awathá*, *maniyáhya*, and *tarsam*, I consider to be unexceptionable, but I am doubtful if *awathá*, "thus," refer to the previous declaration of the payment of tribute by the dependent provinces, or to the injunction which follows regarding the preservation of the state of Persia. In the one case, *maniyáhya* must be necessarily in the 3rd pers. sing. of the passive subjunct. aorist, the translation being, "if it shall be thus observed;" in the other, the term may be in the 2nd pers. sing. of the pres. subj. (or indic.) of the fourth class, the *ya* appended to the root being the mere conjugational suffix.

In a former instance* where this phrase was completed after the present passage, I adopted the passive reading, as I was at a loss to conjecture the object who could be addressed in the 2nd pers. without the employment of the pronoun *tuwam;* but as I find *padiya* for पाहि to be certainly in the 2nd pers. of the imperative, and to be used without the distinctive pronoun of address, I now prefer supposing

* See the note to col. 4, line 39, of the Behistun Inscription, page 245.

the appeal to be made generally to the royal posterity of Darius, and independently of the specification of any particular individual. In *má tarsam*, "let me not fear," we have the 1st pers. sing. of the aorist, the temporal augment being dropped in consequence of the employment of the interdictory particle. The construction at the same time which transposes the condition and its complement, appears to be so irregular, that I have sometimes wished to render the second clause, "If it shall be thus observed, let not fear of enemies extend to this state of Persia," supposing *tarsam* to be a noun in the neut. nom. and *pádiya* to be the aorist, without the augment, of पद्; but a reason which appears to me conclusive against this interpretation is, that the conditional applications of the second and third clauses are evidently connected together, the one being a sequence of the other, and that if *páta*, therefore, be the past participle of पा in the latter, *pádiya* would seem to be necessarily derived from the same root in the former.

I now proceed to the third sentence, of which, while the construction is less difficult, the meaning is equally or more obscure. To show the grammatical condition of the terms, I give the following brief analysis. *Yadiya*, conditional adverb for यदि; *kára Pársa*, nom. to the verb *pátáhatiya*, a contraction for *páta ahatiya*, the past participle of पा, and the 3rd pers. pres. subjunct. of the substantive verb; *hyá duvaishtam shiyátish akhshatá*, an isolated sentence which is the nom. to the complement of the condition; *hyá* being the nom. fem. sing. of the rel. pron.; *duvaishtam*, a superlat. adj. used adverbially; (Sans. द्विष्ठं,) *shiyátish*, the nom of a fem. theme in *i*, and *akhshatá*, a participle, or perhaps a verbal noun, in the nom. fem. also, to agree with *shiyátish*. In continuation we have *hauwachiya aurá*, the fem. demon. pron. united to the indefinite particle, and the nom. of a fem. noun in long *a*, the expression referring immediately to the *hyá duvaishtam shiyátish akhshatá* which precedes it. *Nirasátiya* is the 3rd pers. pres. subj. of *ras*, (Sans. ऋच्छ) preceded by *ni*, and governed by *hauwachiya aurá*, while the conclusion *abiya imám vitham*, is simply "ad hunc domum," the allusion being apparently to the palace upon which the inscription is engraved, that is to the great palace of Persepolis itself. When Darius inscribed this legend on the face of the Platform, he intended probably to construct one immense pile

of buildings, instead of a number of detached edifices such as we see at present.

Regular, however, as the construction is thus shown to be, we can arrive at no satisfactory meaning unless we identify the nouns *shiyátish* and *aurá*, and the determinate settlement of this point I believe to be beyond the reach of criticism. Guided by the evident connexion of the words in the present sentence; by the explanation which Burnouf has given to the Zend [illegible], in the name of Ormazd; by the reflection that *shiyátish* is the predominant attribute of humanity*, and by the idea of "durability," which is indicated by the term *duvaishtam*, I have ventured to translate *shiyátish* by "life;" but unless it be a derivative from षै, "to wane," or "waste," (in allusion to the evanescent character of human life,) I can suggest no possible Sanskrit etymology. *Akhshatá* may be either a verbal noun from अक्ष, to "reach," or "pervade," or the past participle of क्षण, "to break," with a negative prefix†; the signification of the entire phrase, "*hyá duvaishtam shiyátish akhshatá*," being thus literally "the longest enduring (or unbroken) life." The employment of the demonstrative *hauwa* after an isolated nom. is usual, and in this case is particularly called for in consequence of the relative *hyá;* its union also with the indefinite particle *chiya* (for चित्,) appears to connect *shiyátish* and *aurá* in a common ideal category, and as *Aura* in the name of Ormazd, is translated by M. Burnouf, "vivant‡," so I conjecture the abstract noun *aurá*, formed with the attributive suffix in long *a*, to signify "vitality," or the "act of living§." I have only to add, that the effect of the particle *ni*, prefixed to the root *ras*, is probably to indicate "continuance," and that *nirasátiya* will thus literally signify, "shall reach continually," or as I have idiomatically expressed it, "shall be continued." I do not affect at the same time to consider the rendering which I have adopted for this sentence to be unimpeachable. I believe the object of the expression to have been certainly, that the permanence and security of the palace at Per-

* Compare "*hya shiyátim adá martiyahyá*," which occurs in the often repeated address to Ormazd.

† Compare the Sanskrit अक्षत, "unbroken."

‡ For an elaborate examination of the etymology of *Ahura*, see Yaçna, &c., p. 77—82.

§ In my translation given above, I have rendered *aurá* by "existence," but "imperishability" would perhaps more nearly express the sense.

sepolis, which Darius was then occupied in erecting, were dependant on the preservation of the Persian state from foreign dominion, but under what particular form of speech the sentiment may have been embodied, can only be determined by some fortunate discovery of the exact meaning of the terms *shiyátish* and *aurá*.

The inscription which I am inclined to place next in chronological order is, that engraved on the tablet of Darius at the foot of the mountain of Alwand, in the immediate vicinity of the town of Hamadan. It was executed probably in commemoration of some visit paid by the monarch to the Median capital, and its somewhat ostentatious language was adopted on all subsequent occasions, as the most fitting style of honorary record. We may judge of the progress of Cuneiform inquiry within the last two years, by observing that this brief legend, which was deemed by M. Burnouf in 1836 to be poorly illustrated by a hundred pages of elaborate commentary, will be found in the present Memoir to require scarcely the same number of lines for its full and adequate explanation. The sculptures in question have been repeatedly visited and described, and Burnouf, in the Memoir which he devoted to the subject, had also the benefit of consulting two distinct copies of the writing*; but as neither of these copies are free from error, and as I believe that of the many transcripts which have been made by travellers in Persia, no others have been published, I give the following text according to my own manuscript of 1835.

No. 5.—(O, LASSEN, p. 122.)

Inscription of Darius at Alwand, occupying the first column of the left hand recess.

Par. 1.
1 "Baga wazarka Auramazdá,
2 hya imám bumim
3 adá, hya awam asmá
4 nam adá, hya martiya
5 m adá, hya shiyáti

* These copies were respectively made by Mr. Stewart, an Englishman, and by M. Vidal, the dragoman of the French Consulate, at Aleppo; and they were found by M. Burnouf among the papers of the unfortunate Schultz, who was murdered in Persia in 1829.

6 m adá martiyahyá,
7 hya Dár(a)yavum khsháya
8 thiyam akunaush, aiva
9 m parunám khsháyathi
10 yam, aivam parunám
11 framátáram."

"The Great God Ormazd, (he it is) who gave this earth, who gave that heaven, who gave mankind, who gave life (?) to mankind, who made Darius King, as well the King of the people, as the law-giver of the people."

I have before observed upon the difficulty of distinguishing between the roots दा, "to give," and धा, "to maintain." As I have determined *adadá* to be the imperf. of the latter verb, so it would be quite allowable to identify *adá* as the aorist of the same root, and the signification of "creating," or "establishing," would apply perhaps with more precision to the supposed functions of Ormazd, than the mere sense of "giving." I reflect, however, that the two roots could hardly have been used with no recognizable mark of distinction, that the participles *dátá, dátam,* &c., certainly signify "given," while *adadá* and *dadátuwa* may be more readily referred to धा, the former term, in fact, replacing the word *akunaush,* which is never confounded with *adá.* I observe, moreover, from the Median copy of this inscription, that *martiyahyá* is the genitive used for the dative, that Ormazd was emphatically named *dádár,* "the giver," by the early Persians*, and that "cæteris paribus," we may always assume the imperf. to be used in preference to the aorist, as more consonant to the genius of the language: guided accordingly by these combined indications, I suppose *dá* for धा, to have been conjugated in the third class, and to have thus produced *adadá* in the imperf. and *dadátuwa* in the imperat., while *dá* for दा followed the second conjugation, and gave the imperf. *adá* for *adát,* as well as the participles *dátá* and *dátam.*

I must refer to the vocabulary for the identification of the terms *bumish,* "the earth," and *asmána,* "heaven," &c., but in regard to the epithets of Darius which close the paragraph, I may observe that

* M. Burnouf, indeed, would translate the Zend 𐬛𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬭 "by Creator." (See Yaçna, &c., p. 363); but the term دادار is in use in Persian to the present day, and invariably signifies, "a giver," or "renderer of justice."

aivam is certainly the Sanskrit एवम्*, rather than the genitive plural of a noun, and that as the double employment of the particle evidently points to a distinction between the nature of the authority indicated by the terms *khsháyathiya* and *framátára*, the only reasonable explanation than can be given is, that one applies to "executive," and the other to "legislative" power; the Persian monarch being known to have combined the exercise of these double functions, and the Sanskrit etymology of the titles admitting of their being thus distinguished†.

Par. 2. 11 "Adam
12 Dár(a)yavush khsháyathi
13 ya, wazarka khsháyathiya,
14 khsháyathiyánám khsh
15 áyathiya, dahyaunám pa
16 ruzanánám khsháyath
17 iya, ahyáyá bumiy
18 á wazarkáyá duriya
19 apiya, Vishtáspahy
20 á putra, Hakhámanishiya."

"I am Darius the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the many peopled countries, the supporter also of this great world, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian."

A few remarks are required on the word *paruzanánám*. It will be found to be replaced in the next inscription which I shall examine, by the nearly synonymous term of *vispazanánám*. In later monuments the orthography is altered to *paruwazanánám*, and later still, (the genius of the language evidently tending to expansion,) it appears as two distinct words, *paruwa zanánám*. That the first element of the compound is the same with the *paruwa* of *parunám*, (or *paruwanám*) is shown by the Median transcript employing frequently the same term to express both words; and that its true signification is "many," we may gather both from its evident relationship to *vispa*,

* The Median equivalent of *aivam* is unquestionably a particle, for it is not subject to inflexion.

† *Khsháyathiya* is derived from खि, "to rule with unlimited power;" while *framátára* for *framántára* contains the element प्रमाण, "a scripture," or "work of sacred authority."

"all," and from observing that its Median synonym also stands for *wasiya*, (Pers. بسی, *basi*.) The question then for consideration is, whether the compound *paruzana*, (*zana* being the Sans. जन, which signifies simply, "birth," or "production," or in a more extended sense "mankind collectively,") may be most appropriately translated in connexion with *dahyáwa*, by "the many peopled countries," or by "the countries inhabited by the people," that is, "the entire habitable world." I have little doubt but that the allusion should be received in its utmost amplitude—indeed, the following phrase, "supporter of this great world," shows that the Persian king acknowledged no limit to his dominion; but at the same time, I have thought it better to preserve as much as possible of the literal meaning of the words, and to leave the universality of their application to follow as a probable, but not demonstrable, inference.

The phrase, *ahyáyá bumiyá wazarkáyá duriya apiya* must be also briefly noticed. *Ahyáyá*, I consider to be the true fem. gen. sing. of the immediate demonstrative pron., rather than the same case of the present participle of the subst. verb., for the Median transcript employs a pronominal and not a verbal formation*. The pronominal inflexions, indeed, exhibit a marked variety from those of the Sanskrit, and *ahyáyá* may as well stand for अस्याः as *aná* for अस्यात्. *Bumiyá* for *bumiyás*, and *wazarkáyá* for *wazarkáyás* are perfectly regular, the one being the gen. of a fem. theme in *i*, and the other, the same case and gender of a theme in *á*. *Duriya* for the Sanskrit धृत्यैः is the nom. of a verbal noun; and that *apiya* is a copulative conjunction† rather than a derivation from आप I infer from observing that the Median translation usually omits the word altogether, as superfluous to the sense, and that where it does employ an equivalent, the term has every appearance of being a mere copulative adjunct. Perhaps, also, the circumstance of *apiya* being employed in another passage as a suffix to the term *duriya*‡ may be a further argument in favour of assigning it to the class of supplementary particles (*chiya, wá, &c.*), which are used in the same manner, as (although without the prosodaic influence of) the enclitical particles in Greek and Latin.

* The Median equivalent is, in fact, the same word which answers to *iyam, ima*, &c., with the inflexion of the genitive case.

† Compare the Sanskrit अपि.

‡ See line 12 of the Inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, where we have *duriápiya*, a barbarous orthography for *dur(a)yápiya*.

In succession to the Tablet of Alwand, I now proceed to examine the important records of Nakhsh-i-Rustam, (in the vicinity of Persepolis,) which adorn the rock-hewn sepulchre of Darius. That the inscriptions at this place are posterior by many years, not only to those at Behistun, but to the legends which are engraved on the outer wall of the platform at Persepolis, is sufficiently attested by the many additional names that are found in the catalogue of conquered nations. And it would be strange if it were not so; for the latter inscriptions may be assigned, with tolerable certainty, to an early period in the reign of Darius, and sovereigns are not wont to construct their tombs while they are still in the vigour of youth and power; but at the same time, if the story of Ctesias is to be believed, regarding the accidental death of Hystaspes* as he was being drawn up by ropes to examine the work after its completion, we can hardly fix the era of the sculpture at the end of the long reign of his son. There is so much obscurity still attaching to the supplemental names which occur in the Geographical catalogue, that it would be hazardous to attempt to draw from them any direct chronological inference; but we may, I think, identify the Greeks among the Scythians beyond the sea, who are said to have submitted to the Persian arms; and to obtain any reasonable explanation of such a boast, we must accordingly, at any rate, suppose the work to have been executed subsequently to the expedition of Mardonius, in B.C. 492, which first brought the Persian arms into the neighbourhood of European Greece.

I am unable to explain with precision the exact collocation of the inscriptions at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, for the accounts of Rich and Westergaard exhibit in this respect a marked discrepancy†. I may state however, that they are four in number, two in the Persian character

* See Photii Biblioth. Rothomag. 1653, p. 114.

† Rich observes in "Babylon and Persepolis," p. 256; "On the third tomb from the point are two long tables of Cuneiform Inscriptions in the upper compartment, and on each side of the priest and altar, and two on the lower, one on each side of the door . . . . The two tables on the top contain, I conclude, the original Zend, and the other two which are rather larger, the two translations or copies in the second and third species." Westergaard, on the contrary, in a letter written on the spot, observes, "There are three inscriptions in the upper compartment, one on the side wall, and two on the front wall, all these being to the left of the priest. On the right there is nothing. Lower down there is on the left of the door a long inscription, and on the right side the two translations in the Median and Assyrian languages." The three inscriptions in the upper compartment were, I imagine, subsequently found by Westergaard to compose a single tablet. I may add also, that the translations, although in the lower compartment, belong to the upper Persian tablet, to that in fact, which contains the important list of geographical names.

and two others, which are the Median and Babylonian transcripts of the upper Persian original, and that they occur upon the third of the tombs from the point where the hill abuts upon the river. The upper Persian tablet is in tolerable preservation and extends to sixty lines; the lower is of about the same length, but is in so mutilated a state as to be almost illegible. The Median and Babylonian transcripts also of the former are sufficiently perfect to be of some assistance in restoring the Persian original, but the lower Persian tablet is without a translation.

Frequently as these inscriptions have been examined by travellers, and valuable as they were always recognised to be, as well from their great extent as from their remarkable situation, they had nevertheless, until within the last few years, maintained their character as virgin tablets. The French artists, MM. Coste and Flandin, appear to have been the first who attempted to render the inscriptions accessible to the enquiry of Orientalists. They are said during their tour in Persia, in 1840, to have been drawn up into the tomb, and to have taken fac-simile impressions of the lower portion of the writing, but the livraisons of their magnificent work on Persian antiquities, which contain their Persepolitan labours, have not yet, I believe, been prepared for publication. To Mr. Westergaard are we indebted for the copy now consulted. That indefatigable traveller, after various unsuccessful efforts to obtain a view of the writing from the interior of the tomb, was at length enabled in the summer of 1843, by the aid of a powerful telescope, to take a copy from below of the entire upper Persian tablet, of a portion of the lower Persian tablet, and of the Median and Babylonian transcripts. I received from Mr. Westergaard a copy of the Persian text, in the autumn of the same year, which I have since compared, both with the copy furnished by the same gentleman to Professor Lassen, and published by the latter in his Magazine, vol. VI., No. 1., Pl. II., and with an independent copy taken at the same time by Mr. Westergaard's fellow-traveller, M. Dittel; and I have been guided in the restoration of several of the imperfect passages in the Persian text by a close comparison of these copies with a duplicate transcript of the Median translation, obtained in one instance directly from M. Dittel, and in the other from a gentleman in Teheran, who was permitted by Mr. Westergaard to make the necessary extract from his note book*.

* Sir William Ouseley (Travels, vol. II., p. 296,) has collected all the various notices of the old travellers regarding these tombs. Dr. Fryer, prudent and quaint, was satisfied "to stare on them from beneath, they being fit only for

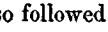
I shall here examine the upper inscription in some detail, and I hope to be able to give a connected translation of the whole; but it would be, I think, a mere waste of time and ingenuity to endeavour to obtain any intelligible reading of the doubtful and imperfect fragments of the lower tablet, which Mr. Westergaard could alone recover.

No. 6.—(NR, LASSEN, p. 81.)

Upper Inscription on the sepulchre of Darius, at Nakhsh-i-Rustam.

Par. 1.
1 "Baga wazarka Auramazdá, hya im
2 ám bumim adá, hya awam asm
3 ánam adá, hya martiyam adá, h
4 ya shiyátim adá martiyahyá,
5 hyá Dár(a)yavum khsháyathiyam ak
6 unaush, aivam paruwanám khsháyath
7 iyam, aivam paruwanám framáta
8 ram."

(1) "The Great God Ormazd, (he it was) who gave this earth, who gave that heaven, who gave mankind, who gave life (?) to mankind, who made Darius King, as well the King of the people, as the lawgiver of the people."

There is nothing whatever in this paragraph requiring annotation, excepting the expanded orthography of *paruwanám* in the place of *parunám*, and the omission of the second in *framátaram**. The former reading is also followed in the inscription of Artaxerxes, and may be considered a legitimate variant; but as we find *framátáram* in every other passage, and Westergaard and Dittel agree in giving  for the commencement of the eighth line, without any indication of a broken space upon the rock, we may fairly believe the lapse of the to have been an error on the part of the artist.

atlasses or winged folk to look into, there being no passage into them." (See Fryer's Travels, p. 253.) Hoeck has also a good account of the tombs, collected from a very wide range of authorities, in his Vet. Med. et Pers. Monum., p. 25.

* Lassen believes the letter to have been effaced at the commencement of line 8.

Par. 2. 8 Adam Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya, wa
9 zarka khsháyathiya, khsháyathiyánám
10 khsháyashiya, dahyaunám vispazaná
11 nám khsháyathiya, ahyáyá bumi
12 yá wazarkáyá duriápiya, Vishtás
13 pahyá putřa, Hakhámanishiya, Pársa, *P*
14 ársahyá putřa, Ariya, Ariya *chi*
15 třa.

"I am Darius the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of all inhabited countries, the supporter also of this great earth, the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenian, a Persian, (and) the son of a Persian, an Arian, and of Arian descent."

The substitution of *vispazanánám* for *paruwazanánám* is remarkable, and proves not only the near connexion of the terms *vispa*, "all," and *paruwa*, "many," but confirms, as I think, the application of the passage in question to the entire habitable world.

The orthography of *duriápiya* in line 12, in which Westergaard and Dittel agree, may be confidently ascribed to an error of the artist, for according to the genius of the Cuneiform language, it is absolutely impossible for the vowel 𐎡 to open on the 𐎢. I suspect the 𐎡 in this compound to have been erroneously employed for the 𐎠, that is, that the artist intended to use the orthography of *dur(a)yápiya;* for in another passage of the inscription we find *dur(a)ya* substituted for the usual *duriya*;* and we have also a similar instance of confusion between the 𐎡 and 𐎠 in the equally faulty orthography of *adári* for *adáraya*, in line 22. In line 13, the restoration of the letter 𐎧 is certain, for the Median copy gives distinctly, "a Persian, (and) the son of a Persian;" but I am by no means satisfied of the sense of the concluding phrase. Westergaard and Dittel both give the first letter of the word which follows the second *Ariya*, as 𐎢, and Lassen, accordingly, hazards the restoration of *dáthra*. I cannot, of course, determinately reject this reading, but the following considerations appear to me to be opposed to it. 1stly, The Sanskrit धातृ would in the language of the inscriptions form the nom. in *dátá*. 2ndly, We must certainly look out for a word implying some sort of family connexion, the phrases *Pársa, Pársahyá putřa*, and *Ariya,*

* See lines 44 and 46.

Ariya - - - - *tř̆a*, being evidently conceived in a kindred spirit. 3rdly, The Median copy gives for the word following the second Ariya the same form *chissa*, which answers to the first element of the name of *Chitř̆atakhma;* and 4thly, there actually is in Zend and Pehlevi a word of this orthography, which is, I believe, without any equivalent in Sanskrit, but which is universally allowed to signify "descended from," or "of the race of*". I conjecture, accordingly, that the 𐎠 of Westergaard should be in reality 𐎠𐎹, and that it should be followed by 𐎠𐎹, the epithet *Ariya chitř̆a*, being an analogous formation to the name of *Minucheher*, and signifying "Arian descended," or "of Arian descent." That *Ariya* refers to the Arian race, rather than to an abstract idea of nobility, is proved by the Median copy employing and repeating the term in this passage with the same orthography, evidently as a proper name†, as well as by the descriptive epithet applied to Ormazd in the Median translation at Behistun of "God of *Ariyanam*‡", and an allusion apparently to the same people as the *Ariyama* or *Ariyawa*, in another Median inscription at that place; although I cannot at the same time pretend to define the exact application of the ethnographic title; or to say indeed, whether the Persian and Arian races are here brought together with an immediate view to their identity or contrast. In the Historical section, I shall examine the question of the Arian race in some detail, and I shall have occasion to refer particularly to the very remarkable notice which is here preserved.

Par. 3. 15 (1) "Thátiya Dár(a)yavush khsh*áya*
16 thiya: (2) Washná Auramazdáhá im*á*
17 dahyáwa tyá ada*m* agarbáya*m*
18 apataram hachá Pársá. (3) Adamshá*m*
19 patiyakhshaiya. (4) Maná bájim aba*ra*. (5) - -
20 *ha* tyashám hacháma atha*hya*, *awa a*
21 kunava. (6) Dátam tya maná a*wa* - - - -

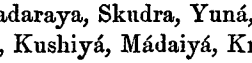
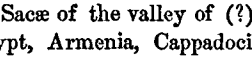
* See De Sacy's examination of the name of *minucheher* مینوچهر in his Antiq. de la Perse, p. 93. Burnouf does not explain the Zend [illegible] in any passage of the Yaçna, but it is perhaps allied to क्षेत्र, "the body."

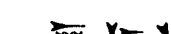
† In the Babylonian copy, the name of *Ariya* is too much obliterated to be of any use.

‡ For the *Airyaman* of the Zend Avesta, see Yaçna, Notes et Eclair. p. cvi.

22 adári. (7) Máda, Uwaja, Parthwa, *Hari*
23 wa, Bákhtrish, Shug*da*, Uwára*zm*
24 ish, Zaraka, Harauwatish, Thatagu*sh*, *Ga*
25 dára, Hidush, Saká Humawa*dá*, *Sa*
26 ká Tigrakhudá, Bábir*ush*, *A*
27 thurá, Arabáya, Mudráyá, *Armina*,
28 Katapatuka, Sparda, Yuna, Saká tyai*ya pá*
29 radaraya, Skudra, Yuná, Takabará, Pu*tiy*
30 á, Kushiyá, Mádaiyá, Kraká."

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) By the grace of Ormazd these are the countries which I have gained besides Persia. (3) I have established my power over them. (4) They have brought tribute to me. (5) That which has been said to them by me, that they have done. (6) That which has been given (to them) by me, that they have possessed. (7) Media, Susiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Zarangia, Arachotia, Sattagydia, Gandara, India, the Sacæ of Emodus, (?) the Sacæ of the valley of (?) the Tigris, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparta, Ionia, the Scythians beyond the sea, (namely,) the Scodræ, the Ionians, the Tiberines, (?) the Budians, (?) (or Bœotians, ?) the Cosseans, the Sauromatæ, (?) and the Greeks."

I must devote a few preliminary remarks to my emendation of the text. In line 16, I restore the final in *imá*, and in line 17 the both in *adam* and *agarbáyam*, with entire confidence. Westergaard closes line 18 with  , but Dittel omits the sign of disjunction, and is no doubt right, for the true reading can only be *adamshám*. In line 19, also, I follow Dittel in reading *patiyakhshaiya* with a , rather than *pamiyakhshaiya* with a ; but I find great difficulty in restoring the end of the line. From the Median copy, I should suppose, that the sixth clause commenced with *tyashám*, but Westergaard and Dittel agree in giving for the first letter of line 20, and if that reading be correct, a word must have followed *abara*, of which the initial letter is lost at the close of line 19. This term may have been , "it was," or , "the word" (?); but either expression would be superfluous to the sense, and I strongly suspect therefore that the of Westergaard, which commences line 20, should be altered to . At the end of this line, I have no hesitation in restoring 

 , for the construction in line 20, col. 1, at Behistun, is almost identical.

I find a further difficulty in completing line 21, for the Median copy employs a word between the equivalents for *awa* and *adáraya*, which is entirely obscure to me, and the sense is independent of any expletive.

In line 22, I know not whether the final in *adari* be a mistake of Westergaard's or an error of the artist. It is impossible for a word in the language of the inscriptions to end in , and the character in question should certainly be . The restoration of for the conclusion of this line, is confirmed by the Median copy.

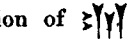
In line 23, the orthography of the name of Sogdiana is remarkable. Westergaard has , but unless a character be lost at the end of the word, the second must necessarily be an error for .

Remark also in line 24, the termination in *ish* instead of *iya*, for the name of *Chorasmia*.

In line 25, I restore the letters on the authority of the Median copy, which certainly has a *d* in the final syllable of the name applying to the Eastern Scythians, and which also repeats *Saká* before the second territorial epithet *Tigrakhudá*.

My restoration of line 27, varies from that of Professor Lassen, inasmuch as I suppose the isolated of Westergaard's copy to be the final letter of *Mudráyá*, instead of the initial letter of *Armina*. There can be no doubt of the identification of the names, for in the Median copy they are perfect.

In line 28, I restore *tyaiya* after *Saká* with confidence, for the Median translation uses the relative pronoun, and as I also perceive that in the following compound, one element of the Median equivalent is the same which answers to the term *darayahyá* in line 15, col. 1, at Behistun, I am certainly authorized in recognising *daraya*, "the sea," at the commencement of line 29; an identification which leads to the conjectural restoration of for the beginning of the preceding particle. It is to be regretted at the same time, that this orthography of *páradaraya* cannot be verified in a more satisfactory manner; for upon it almost exclusively depends the geographical application of the following names.

The restoration of  at the end of line 29, may be considered hazardous, for not only is the name under this form exceedingly difficult of identification, but we cannot even be sure that the Median text, which undoubtedly gives a termination in *tiya*, and which I have accordingly followed in the Persian reading, reproduces the original orthography, the initial syllable of the Median name, exhibiting, in fact, but little resemblance to the Persian , and an example being given of varying nomenclature in the following line, where the Persian *Mádaiyá* is replaced in the Median text, by a synonym of a totally different orthography*.

I now subjoin a few notes on the construction of this very interesting paragraph.

Clause two. *Apataram hachá Pársá*, I translate "besides Persia," *apataram* being an adverb compounded of the particle अप, implying "difference," and the comparative suffix in *taram*. We shall find the adverb employed in another passage in contradistinction to *idá*, "here," with an evident application to "difference" of place†; the literal rendering of *apataram hachá Pársá*, I suppose to be "different from Persia."

Clause three. In *adamshám* I conclude the suffixed particle of the 3rd pers. plural to refer to *dahyáwa*, and to be placed in the gen. instead of in the acc. case, as the verb *patiyakhshaiya* is used in a neuter rather than an active sense. *Patiyakhshaiya* is a difficult word. I can only indeed explain it as the 1st pers. of the mid. aorist of a root *khsha*, (Sans. क्षि,) which being of the tenth class, (compare *khsháyathiya*,) forms its aorist without the conjugational suffix, and according to the ninth mode of Wilkins. The initial *patiya* is of course the particle प्रति united to the temporal augment, and the termination in *aiya*, probably answers to the Sans. ए. The entire phrase certainly refers to the establishment of the power of Darius, for it answers to the *maná badaká áhata* of line 19, 1st column, at Behistun.

* All the names of the Scythian tribes beyond the sea, appear to me to be altered or displaced in the Babylonian copy. As far as the name of *Gadára* the series follows the same order, and the various titles may be determinately identified; but I find it extremely difficult to decypher the remaining names, according either to their Persian or Median orthography.

† See Inscription, No. 14, line 25.

Clause five. I doubt exceedingly, as I have already stated, whether any word can intervene between *abara* and *tyashám*, for the neuter pronouns *tya* and *awa* evidently answer to each other, and it would be quite unusual to employ the substantive verb at the commencement of a sentence.

Clause six. Comparing this sentence with clause five, paragraph 8, col. 1, at Behistun, I was inclined at one time to translate it, "What has been given to me, that I have possessed;" but I observe in the Median copy, that the pronoun of the 1st pers. is in the instrum. rather than the dative case, and that the verb which answers to *addraya* is certainly in the 3rd pers. and not in the 1st. I feel pretty confident, therefore, notwithstanding the omission of the pronoun of the 3rd pers. plural as a complement to *dátam*, and the uncertainty of the word which follows *awa*, that I have given the sense of the clause with sufficient accuracy.

Clause 7. I shall reserve for a future page, all detailed discussion upon this very interesting catalogue of names; but a few remarks on the grammatical construction are nevertheless indispensable in support of the reading which considers the terms *Humawadá** and *Tigrakhudá*, to refer to the Eastern and Western branches of the Sacæ, rather than to independent countries, (being, in fact, ethnic titles, instead of proper names). I must observe, then, that the repetition of the word *Saká* favours this explanation, and that the Median translation determinately connects the epithet *Tigrakhudá* with the second *Saká*, by introducing the relative pronoun between them. We perceive also, in this double allocation of the Sacæ, the artifice by which the series is suddenly transferred from the extreme East to the extreme West, without any violation of geographical order. The term which I read *páradaraya* (पारम्, "across," and دریا, "the sea,") and which I suppose to be an indeclinable compound attributive of the *Samása* class, referring to the nations beyond the Hellespont, has been conjectured by Professor Lassen to represent a proper name; but the Median translation precludes the possibility of such an explanation, for it employs a noun signifying "the sea," in composition with a postfixed particle, and if the translation therefore, "beyond the sea," be rejected, we must, at any rate, adopt some kindred expression denoting "insular," or "littoral."

I shall only add, that strange as it may appear to find the victors

* Lassen would read this name *Humawargá*, and apply it to the Σκύθαι Ἀμύργιοι. The Median orthography appears to be *Uhmado*.

of Marathon classed among the subjugated nations of Scythia, I have a very strong persuasion that does really denote the Greeks; for not only is the geographical indication in unison with this reading, but the Median orthography of the title is still nearer to the true classical form, the initial Median character being that which is used in the name of *Tháigarchish*, and thus representing a guttural of the sonant rather than of the surd class, a *g* in fact, rather than a *k**.

Par. 4. 30 (1) Thátiya D
31 ár(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) Auramazdá *yath*
32 á avaina, imám bumim yu - - - - -
33 paráwadim maná frábara. (3) Mám *khshá*
34 yathiyam akunaush. (4) Adam khsh*áyathiya*
35 amiya. (5) Washná Auramazdah*á* a
36 damshim gáthwá niyashádayam. (6) *Tyashá*
37 m athaham, awa akunav*atá*. (7) *Yathá* mám
38 káma áha yadipa*diya* mani*yáhya t*
39 ya chiyakarma, *awá dahyáwa*
40 tyá Dár(a)yavush *kh*sháya*thi*ya
41 adáraya patikarma d*idiya* - - *i* - - *hya* g
42 áthum baratiya - - - - á khshanása - - - - -
43 (8) Adataiya *a*zadá bav*áti*ya Pár*sahyá*
44 martiyahyá du*r*(*a*)ya ara - - - - - sh pa
45 rágamatá. (9) Adataiya azadá baváti
46 ya, Pársa martiya, dur(a)ya *hach*á Pá
47 rsá *bata*ram patiyajatá.

* I take this opportunity of observing, that I have lately received from a friend at Teheran, a transcript of Mr. Westergaard's copy of the Babylonian tablet at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, in which I find, from line 11 to line 19, the entire series of geographical names given in the Babylonian character. Unfortunately the writing is much mutilated, and I doubt if the Persian titles are not in many instances translated rather than reproduced; but still the aid afforded by this extension of material, in improving my acquaintance with the Babylonian alphabet, is of the utmost importance, and I can now predict the explanation of the Assyrian tablets as an almost certain consequence. It may assist the labours of other students if I add, that geographical names in the Babylonian character, are always preceded by the sign , while the names of men are distinguished by the simple .

For further remarks on the Babylonian names, see the preceding note in page 296.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) Ormazd, as he saw (fit), bestowed this . . . . . dependent (?) world on me. (3) He made me King (of its many nations). (4) I am the King (of them). (5) By the grace of Ormazd I have established them firmly. (6) That which I have said to them, that they have done. (7) If all parties shall respectively observe a line of conduct agreeably to my wishes, the stability which produces permanence shall be enjoyed by those countries which Darius the King has possessed (?) (8) This shall be assured to thee, O ruler of the Persian people! supremacy over . . . . . (?) (9) This shall be assured to thee, oh, Persian people! thy ruler shall inherit prosperity from Persia." (?)

The difficulties of this paragraph are such as may hardly yield to the most careful scrutiny; for not only are many of the words employed entirely new and of a very doubtful etymology, but the extensive mutilation of the writing, rendering hopeless any attempt at a complete restoration, removes at the same time the aid which we usually derive from the context, in ascertaining the grammatical construction and the due distribution of the sentences. Had I not been enabled indeed by the Median transcript to supply several of the words which are defective in the Persian copy, I should have abandoned the attempt to render the latter part of the paragraph at all intelligible, and even with this aid, I consider the translations which I have assigned to the three latter clauses of the paragraph, as entitled to the least possible confidence. I shall now consider the different sentences in some detail.

Clause two. I have restored 𐎠 𐎠 𐎡 𐎹 𐎹 𐎹 at the end of line 31, on the authority of the Median copy, where the name of Ormazd is in the nominative, and where it is followed by the conditional particles. *Avaina* in line 32 is certainly the 3rd pers. imperfect of *vaina*, "to see," for the same root is employed in the Median transcript, which answers to *vainatiya* and *vaináhya*, in other passages. I conjecture the concluding word of this line (𐎹 𐎹 - - -) to be an epithet in the feminine accusative referring to *bumim*, "the earth;" but I am altogether unable to identify the term, as the Median copy employs an equivalent which does not occur elsewhere. The following word also, *paráwadim*, I compare with the Sans. fem. acc. परवतिं, although the elongation of the *a*, and the employment of the sonant *d* for the surd *t*, throw some doubt on the etymology. It is possible, indeed, that *yu* - - - - - *paráwadim* may form a compound epithet; for in the Median copy the collocation appears to be

reversed, and in that case the uncertainty attaching to the former word will be extended to the second. I have accordingly given the signification of "dependent," as a doubtful rendering.

The third and fourth clauses are independent of remark, except in so far as it may be doubtful, whether *washná Auramazdáhá* belong to the fourth sentence or to the fifth.

Clause five. In Westergaard's copy the space between *Auramazdáh* and the letter at the end of line 35, would appear to be more than sufficient for , but the Median copy which gives the first personal pronoun immediately after the genitive case of the name of Ormazd is conclusive as to the restoration; *adamshim gáthwá niyashádayam*, is evidently an identical expression with the *adamshim gáthwá awástáyam*, of lines 62 and 63, col. 1, at Behistun. At least there is only this difference between the phrases, that the antecedent to the suffixed pronoun *shim* is in the one case *bumim*, "the earth," or *dahyáwa*, "the nations of the earth," and in the other *khshaťram* "the empire;" *gáthwá*, as I have before observed, I consider to be the ablative case of a fem. thome in *u*, (from गाध, "to stand," "stay," or "remain,") used adverbially; and the causal form of पद with *ni* prefixed, will give the same signification of "establishing" that I have assigned to *awastáyam*.

Clause six. The only question in the restoration of this sentence is, whether it may commence with *tya* or *yathá*. I have preferred the former, as the Median copy uses the relative and not the conditional particle, and as the demonstrative *awa* in the complement of the phrase appears to require a pronoun as its antecedent. It is worthy of remark, however, that the plural suffix of the 3rd person *shám* is used after *tya* instead of the singular *shiya*, notwithstanding that the antecedent is *bumim*, "the earth." This may be explained either by our supposing *bumim* to be used itself as a noun of multitude, or at any rate to indicate "plurality," in virtue of the imperfect epithet which follows it; or we may believe *dahyáwa*, which is the antecedent to *shám* in all the other similar passages, to be understood. The substitution of the middle imperfect *akun(a)vatá* for the active imperfect *akunava*, has been already observed in line 12, col. 3, at Behistun. I will only add, that it appears to me impossible to refer the *shám* of this sentence to the *gáthwá* of the preceding clause, considering the latter word to be a plural accusative; for in that case the final *a* would not be elongated. *Shám* in the sixth clause, and *shim* in the fifth, evidently refer to the same antecedent; and it is this circum-

stance which induces me to assign the latter term to the acc. of both numbers, and to suspect the orthography of *shish*, which occurs for the plural acc. suffix of the 3rd person in col. 3, line 52, at Behistun, to be spurious.

Clause seven. I have now to examine a passage of real difficulty. I restore 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 before *mám* at the end of line 37 on the faith of the Median copy, where the conditional particle certainly commences the sentence, and where it is answered by the equivalent of the correlative *awathá* immediately afterwards. *Yathá mám káma*, ("as to me was agreeable," or "according to my wishes,") occurs also at Behistun, col. 4, line 35 and 36, and in my note to that passage I have observed on the peculiarity of the construction, the acc. case being governed by a postfixed particle. (See p. 244.) In the Median copy, the particle answering to *awathá*, "thus," follows the expression *yathá mám káma áha*, and thus enables us to connect the periods of the sentence determinately together.

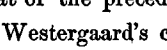
Westergaard and Dittel represent the next word by 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠, and if this be correct, the interval must be filled up by 𐎠𐎢𐎠, for the Median copy employs as the equivalent, the two words which answer respectively in other passages to *yadiya*, (Sans. यदि,) "if," and *padiya*. *Yadiya* in composition, would of course be written *yadi*, the 𐎠𐎢𐎠 being no longer final. The identification of the term is therefore certain, but the application of *padiya* in this passage, is obscure. In the paraphrase of this clause, however, which I have given above, I have conjecturally rendered *padiya* by "respectively."

The next word *maniyáhya* is an uncertain restoration; the letters 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠, are alone legible on the rock; but as the construction appears to be similar to that of clause 2, paragraph 3, inscrip. No. 4, and clause 4, paragraph 5, col. 4, at Behistun, I have ventured to add 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠. I cannot at the same time pretend to say, whether *maniyáhya* may be the 3rd pers. of the pass. conditional, or the 2nd pers. sing. of the active subjunc. present, for the inflexion of the Median correspondent is doubtful. In the latter case, Darius must be supposed to address the empire collectively in the 2nd pers. sing., and *tya chiyakarma* must be the object to the verb; in the former, the verb must either be used impersonally, or *tya chiyakarma* must be the nominative, notwithstanding that it follow, instead of preceding the verb.

After *maniyáhya,* the Median has the relative pronoun, and I accordingly restore the letter at the end of line 38. *Chiyakarma* is a very obscure word; it cannot possibly represent any reduplicate form of कृ, nor indeed, as I think, can it be a verbal formation at all. I conjecture it to be a compound neuter noun, of which the last element is the Sans. कर्म्मन्, signifying "action," (involving "reward," according to the ninth explanation of Wilson); but whether *chiya* be for चय indicating "totality," or whether it be the mere indefinite particle चित्, I am at a loss to determine. The former, however, would seem to be the most reasonable explanation; for although *chiya* replace the Sans. चित् as a suffix, the Cuneiform orthography would probably be simply , if the particle were used as a prefix. I conjecture *tya chiyakarma,* therefore, to be a phrase which might be translated in Latin, "omne quod agendum," and I observe further, that the sense appears to require the same relation of "action," and "reaction," between *chiyakarma* and *patikarma,* which we should be inclined to assign to the terms from their apparently kindred etymology*. In continuation of line 39, the text of Westergaard merely gives the disconnected letters - - - - - - - - - - - - with a remark that the blank after *chiyakarma* is partly natural; but in the Median we have distinctly the word answering to "countries," and the demonstrative pronoun, and I think, therefore, there is no great risk in restoring . The only variation, indeed, which this reading gives from the Median text being, that in the latter, the collocation of the noun and pronoun is reversed. The next question to be consi-

* It would be quite allowable to believe in the existence of a particle *chi,* which has produced the pronouns *chish* and *chiya* in the language of the inscriptions, and many similar derivatives both in Zend and Sanskrit, but the cause of the introduction of the in the Cuneiform *chiyakarma,* must still remain exceedingly obscure. Lassen reads the word *chiyakaram,* and supposes it to be the 1st pers. sing. of the reduplicate aorist, being equivalent, in fact, to the Sans. *achikaram,* and if this were correct, we might translate the phrase,—"If thou shalt preserve that which I have done, according to my wishes," &c., &c., a form of expression perfectly regular, but I cannot admit the substitution of *chiya* for *achi,* nor can the Median correspondent possibly represent an active verb. I shall examine the word further in the vocabulary.

dered is the grammatical condition of the phrase, *awá dahyáwa tyá Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya adáraya,* "those countries which Darius the King has possessed." It may either govern, or it may be the object to a verb, for the nom. and acc. of the fem. plur. are the same; and the sentence, perhaps, would admit of translation under either form of construction. I shall give the variant readings accordingly, when I have closed my analysis of the different words.

Patikarma appears to be identical with the Sanskrit प्रतिकर्मन्, and if it be, as I suppose, of the neuter gender, it will form its nom. and accus. equally in short *a*. While I translate it therefore by the term "reward," I leave its grammatical condition to be determined, in connection with that of the preceding phrase. The following word, which appears in Westergaard's copy as  , but of which Dittel has the initial letter complete, may be certainly read as *didiya,* for the necessarily follows the . The termination in *diya* is that which we have frequently remarked in the 2nd pers. sing. of the imperative, (compare *pádiya, pridiya, jadiya,* &c.); and we might accordingly translate *didiya,* by "possess," the root *di,* for the Sans. धि having been already met with in *ditam, ádina,* &c.; and the Cuneiform verb being possibly of the second and ninth conjugation, instead of the fifth and sixth, as in Sanskrit. In this case, however, we must divide the seventh clause, and translate the first part of it literally, as follows:—"Ut mihi in votis erat, si quidem observes omne quod agendum, eas terras quas Darius Rex tenuit (quasi) remunerationem habe." The employment of the 2nd person without the specification of any particular object of address is certainly embarrassing, but we have observed a similar irregularity in the second clause, third paragraph of Inscription No. 4, and the records of Darius may, perhaps, be considered to be generally addressed to his royal posterity, the *tuwam ká khsháyathiya hya aparam ahya* of Behistun. The chief objection which I have to this reading is, that it is unusual to employ the imperative as the complement to a condition. The aorist without the augment or the imperfect subjunctive, would more properly answer to the conditional of the preceding clause, and if the present sentence therefore really signified, "thou shalt possess those countries which Darius the King has held, as a reward," I should expect to find the orthography of *diya,* instead of *didiya.*

It occurs to me accordingly that the sense may possibly be con-

tinued, *didiya* being a noun in the nom. for the Sanskrit दिधि*, and the verb which is the true complement to the condition occurring at the end of the sentence. I have no means whatever of restoring the following word, in which the only letter that is legible, according to Westergaard and Dittel, is a medial 𐎠; but I find the mas. nom. of the relative pronoun employed in the Median before the words which appear to answer to *gáthum baratiya*, and I therefore introduce *hya* in the Persian text; *gáthum* is evidently the accus. of the abstract noun, derived from गाध, "to stand," or "remain," of which we have the ablative form in *gáthwá*†: *baratiya*, also, is the regular 3rd pers. sing. of the present indic. from *bara*, "to bring," and the entire phrase therefore, would appear to signify, "the - - - - - - stability which brings permanence."

After *baratiya* there is another imperfect word ending in 𐎢, which I cannot restore, and we have then *khshanása* - - - - - - - - which occurs at Behistun, in the subjunctive form *khshanásátiya*, and the root of which is evidently identical with the Persian شناس *shinás*. The Median copy of this phrase is almost complete, but I have hitherto failed to obtain any certain clue from it, as to the identification of the grammatical condition of the Persian corresponding words. I observe, indeed, that the equivalent for *khshanása* - - - has the same inflexion as that for *bavátiya* in the eighth and ninth clauses, and I should be tempted accordingly to complete the orthography to *khshanásátiya*, did not this particular Median inflexion denote in all other passages the 2nd pers. sing., a form of the verb which, whatever be the tense employed, I find it impossible to reconcile with the Persian *átiya*. The only fragments, therefore, which admit of identification are, "- - - - which brings permanence - - - - known - - -." If the whole sentence be connected together, the literal translation may be:—"Ut mihi in votis erat, si singulatim curabitur omne quod agendum, illæ provinciæ, quas Darius rex tenuit, remuneratio (nempe) stabilitas - - - - quæ perennitatem ferit ea illis (provinciis) cognita sit;" but if the sentence be divided, and the first clause terminating with *didiya* be understood as an address in the 2nd person, according to the Latin translation which I have given in the preceding

* The theme, at the same time, must be supposed to follow the first, instead of the second declension.

† It is remarkable, however, that the Median text employs different words for *gáthwá* and *gáthum*.

page, then I would conjecturally render the present passage, "The observances which bring strength, (or permanence of empire,) may they be duly regarded by thee." I consider it to be a mere waste of time to bestow further attention on this obscure and unimportant sentence, and I proceed therefore to consider the sequel of the paragraph.

Clause eight. The Median copy has precisely the same expressions for the commencement both of this and the following sentence, and the restorations therefore which I have introduced in the text of Westergaard, so as to give the reading *adataiya azadá bavátiya* in both places, are determinately verified. The signification at the same time is exceedingly obscure. I observe that the Median employs the verb in this passage in the 2nd pers. sing.; and as it appears impossible that *bavátiya* can represent that person, I am led to explain the disagreement between the two copies, by supposing *adataiyá* to contain the suffix of the 2nd pers.; *adataiya*, in fact, I conjecture to be a compound term like *awataiya*, the first element being a neuter demonstrative, (Sans. अदः, Zend 𐬀𐬛𐬀,) and the literal meaning of the word being thus, "hoc tibi*." *Bavátiya* may be pronounced also with some confidence to be the 3rd pers. subjunctive present of *bava*, "to be," and the only real difficulty, therefore, lies in the identification of *azadá*. We have before met with the expression *kárahyá azadá abava*, where the construction is evidently the same as in the present passage, but where the application was equally uncertain†. The termination in *dá* may be that of an adverb, (compare *awadá idá*, &c.), and *aza*, may be for the Sans. अह, a particle denoting "certainty;" or *aza* may represent the Sanskrit root अञ्ज, "to make clear," and *azadá* may be a noun formed with the same suffix which occurs in the name of *Auramazdá*. According to either etymology we may obtain the meaning of "sure," or "certain," which will apply sufficiently well to both of the passages where the term occurs, and I accordingly, with some diffidence, hazard the translation, "This shall be assured to thee."

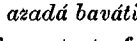
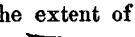
* I do not find 𐬀𐬛𐬀 used as a pronoun in Burnouf's Yaçna, but it occurs in Anquetil's Vocabulary, (Zend Avesta, tom. II., p. 473,) with the signification of "ce," and I think, also, I recognize it in several passages of the Vendidád; *adataiya* and *awataiya* may be supposed to stand for *adastaiya* and *awastaiya*.

† See line 32, col. 1, at Behistun, where the best translation, perhaps, is, "When Cambyses had slain Bardius, it was believed by the state that Bardius was still alive."

The following expression *Pársahyá martiyahyá dur(a)ya**, "leader of the Persian people," may either be the nom. to the verb *parágamatá*, in which case we must refer the pronoun of the 2nd pers in *adataiya* to the object addressed in the preceding clauses, or it may be the vocative case constituting itself the particular object of address. That the orthography which is here employed is , and not , I infer from observing that the Median copy employs precisely the same term which answers to *dur(a)ya* in the next clause, a term moreover which repeatedly occurs in the Median translation of the royal titles, for the word which is usually written in the Persian text *duriya*. To continue, I cannot even conjecturally restore the blank in Westergaard's text between and , for the Median transcript is altogether obscure to me; and owing to this break in the sense, the grammatical condition of *parágamatá* must also remain doubtful. The root to which the word is to be referred, is of course गम, "to go," which we have already frequently met with in *hagamatá;* but it is uncertain whether the prefix be पर, coalescing with the temporal augment, or परा, immediately preceding the theme; and the termination in *tá* will answer equally well for the 3rd pers. singular of the first future and of the middle imperfect; for the 2nd pers. plural of the imperative; for the nom. plur. of the past part.; for the nom. sing. of the verbal noun; and perhaps for the same case of a fem. noun of attribution. From the Median equivalent I derive no assistance whatever, except in so far as it invalidates the relation which I should otherwise have supposed to exist between *parágamatá* at the close of the eighth, and *patiyajatá* at the close of the ninth sentence. These words would certainly appear to be used in apposition or contrast to each other, and I should have conjectured them accordingly to represent the same verbal formation; but the inflexions of the Median correspondents are totally different, and although therefore there must be a connexion in the sense, we cannot assume an identity of grammatical construction. It must suffice, then, that I assign to *parágamatá* the signification of "supremacy," and that I leave it doubtful whether the phrase should be translated,—"This shall be assured to thee, the leader of the Persian people shall be superior over - - - - - - - - - ," or "this

* *Dur(a)ya* or *duriya*, is literally "supporter," but it appears, nevertheless, to be used in the sense of "ruler," or "leader."

shall be assured to thee, oh, leader of the Persian people!—supremacy - - - - - -."

Clause nine. This sentence is not of less obscurity than the preceding. *Adataiya azadá bavátiya*, is, I consider, a certain restoration, notwithstanding the extent of the blank space on the rock between the letters and in the last word, for the Median translation is absolutely identical with that which commences the eighth clause. That *dur(a)ya*, also, is a complete word in the nom. case, and that the imperfect word which follows it should be  , I am enabled to assert positively on the authority of the Median copy; and I may add, on the same authority, both that *Pársa martiya* is certainly, "the Persian people," (and not "a man of Persia,") and that *Pársá* is the ablative of the proper name; but, notwithstanding all my efforts I have failed to identity the imperfect word  which follows *Pársá;* and while the application of this term remains uncertain, the etymology of *patiyajatá* must be subjected equally to doubt. We may read the imperfect word *bataram* or *bamaram*, *rataram* or *ramaram*, and I have searched in vain for a suitable correspondent in Zend or Sanskrit to any one of these various forms.

According also, as *patiyajatá* may or may not contain the temporal augment, we must seek for a Sanskrit root commencing with ज or ह, the correspondents of , or with य the equivalent of ; or again, we may suppose प्रति to become *patiy* before a root commencing with अ. I should certainly prefer a derivation from यज, if that root would give any satisfactory meaning, for I doubt if the verb can be in the past tense, and I rather think that *pati* before a root commencing with अ would become *patiyá;* but it appears impossible to understand the phrase as referring in any way to the national worship; and I am obliged therefore to confess that I am fairly at a loss as to the etymology of the term. The verb is, I think, in the 3rd pers. sing. of the future, and the imperfect word which precedes it I believe to be the object; but whether the meaning may be, "This shall be assured to thee, oh, Persian race! thy leader shall inherit fortune from Persia," (*bataram*, Sans. भद्रं?) or "thy leader shall drive away evil from Persia," (*bataram* allied to بد, "bad,"?) or whether some

still more appropriate meaning may be eventually found, I will not at present venture to offer an opinion*.

I have perhaps bestowed more attention on this paragraph than it merits, and notwithstanding the length of the inquiry, I have certainly arrived at no very satisfactory results. The only credit which I claim is, that of having to a certain extent restored the text of Westergaard. Neither the distribution of the sentences, nor the grammatical construction, nor the identification of many of the words is entitled to much consideration; but the clue which I have given to the general bearing of the paragraph, in showing it to contain a preliminary condition and a series of complemental phrases, may perhaps, at any rate, induce Professor Lassen to re-examine it, and I feel assured in that case, that we may receive his amended reading with confidence.

Par. 5. 47 (1) Thátiya Da
48 r(a)yavush khsháyathiya: (2) a*ita tya* karta
49 m, awa visma washná Auramazdáhá ak
50 unavam. (3) Auramazdá*ma*iya upastám aba
51 ra, yátá kartam akuna*vam*. (4) *Mám* A
52 uramazdá pátuwa ha*chá* sara - - *utáma*
53 iya vitham, utá imám dahyáum. (5) Aita ada
54 m Auramazdám jadiyámiya. (6) A*itama*
55 iya Auramazdá dadátuwa.

(1) "Says Darius the King:—(2) That which has been done, all of it I have accomplished by the grace of Ormazd. (3) Ormazd brought help to me so that I accomplished the work. (4) May Ormazd protect from injury me and my house and this province. (5) That I commit to Ormazd. (6) That may Ormazd accomplish for me."

I must again devote a few remarks to the restorations in this paragraph. In line 48 Westergaard gives after *khsháyathiya* 𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢; but the true orthography should certainly be 𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢𐎢, for the Median copy has the regular demonstrative pronoun; and the Zend 𐬎𐬀𐬌 was unknown to the language of the inscriptions. The neuter relative 𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎢𐎢 is also required to agree with *aita*, instead of *tyam*, as Professor Lassen reads the following imperfect word. In line 50,

* It may be as well to mention, that the Median correspondent of *patiyajatá* presents nothing in common with *jadiya*, *jatá*, or other derivatives from 𐎢𐎢, "to strike." The word will be fully examined in the vocabulary.

the artist, according to Westergaard's copy, has by an oversight omitted the letter [cuneiform] in the suffix of the 1st pers., which is joined to the name of Ormazd, and with this proof of careless engraving, I have the less hesitation in correcting the previous orthographical errors in *adári* and *duriápiya.*

The restoration of the letters [cuneiform] in line 51, is rendered certain by the Median copy; and I am indebted to the same authority for the means of correcting to *hachá* the word in line 52, which Westergaard gives as [cuneiform]; but the noun which follows is obscure to me. It certainly is no form of the verb कृ*, and I alter therefore the half obliterated [cuneiform] of Westergaard to [cuneiform], supposing the Cuneiform word to be derived from शॄ, "to injure." In line 54 also, I have no hesitation in changing the [cuneiform] of Westergaard to [cuneiform], for the Median copy has the demonstrative pronoun before the name of Ormazd, and the pronoun of the 1st pers. after it.

The construction of this paragraph is almost independent of remark. I will only observe, in the first clause, that I suppose *visma* (for *vismas*) to be an analogous form to the Sans. विश्व, "all," as it appears at Persepolis in every instance to have a general, rather than a particular application, and as the Median equivalent is the same term which answers to *haruwa,* (Sans. सर्व्व,) at Behistun. The literal rendering of the words *aita tya kartam, awa visma,* is, "id quod factum, illud omne." Lassen has translated *kartam* by "a palace," but the Median equivalent shows it to be unquestionably the past participle of the verb, "to do."

In the third clause, the construction is precisely similar to that of clause three, paragraph 9, column 1, at Behistun, *yátá* signifying "so that," or "until that."

In the fourth clause, the imperf. word commencing with [cuneiform] may, perhaps, be the same as the Sans. शरणं. It is at any rate a noun in the ablative case.

The fifth and sixth clauses are a mere abbreviation of those which occur at the end of the third paragraph of inscription No. 3, and I must refer therefore for an explanation to my former notes.—p. 277, 278.

* I state this on the authority of the Median translation.

Par. 6. 56 Martiyá, hyá Auramazdáh
57 á framáná, hauwataiya gas
58 tá, má thadaya. (2) Pathim
59 tyám rástám má
60 awarada. (3) Má stabava.

(1) "Oh, people! The law of Ormazd, that having returned to ye, let it not perish. (2) Beware lest ye abandon the true doctrine. (3) Beware lest ye oppress it, (or lest ye stumble.")

Clause one. *Martiyá*, with the final vowel elongated, must be necessarily in the plural number, (the Median copy exhibits even more distinctly the numeral characteristic), and it is therefore not a little curious to observe, that the pronoun of the 2nd pers. in *hauwataiya* which refers to this antecedent, as well as the verbs *awarada* and *stabava*, should be placed in the sing. I can only indeed account for this irregularity of grammar, by supposing Darius to address the Persian race collectively, and to use the singular number in token of their inferiority to himself.

In the phrase *hyá Auramazdáhá framáná*, which is an isolated fem. nom., the relative is used as a mere expletive, as in *hyá amákham taumá* and other passages. *Framáná* is of course the Sans. प्रमाण and Persian فرمان, with a mere difference of gender, and it denotes, I believe, "divine law or precept," the construction in the Median appearing to be, "that which Ormazd has ordered." *Hauwataiya* is certainly the nom. fem. of the remote demonstrative pronoun united to the suffix of the 2nd pers. sing. This is placed beyond dispute by the Median equivalent, and *hauwa*, "that," must therefore, I think, necessarily be the nom. to the verb *thadaya*. *Gasta* is a doubtful word. I have conjecturally referred it to the Persian گشته, supposing it to be nom. fem. of a past participle, (for which however there is neither I believe a correspondent in Sans. nor in Zend); but if there be any reliance to be placed on the signification given in the Borhán-i-Káti' to گشتاسب, "a channel of divine communication," it may very possibly be a fem. noun, and the true translation may be, "the law of Ormazd, that sacred precept, let it never perish from thee." *Thadaya* (for *thadayat*,) I derive from शद, "to perish," or "decay," conjugated in the fourth or sixth class, and I consider the form to be that of the 3rd person aorist or imperfect, which loses the temporal augment after the interdictory particle.

Clause two. *Pathim tyám rastám* may signify either "the straight path," or "the true doctrine;" but the latter translation is more in accordance with the *Auramazdáhá framáná* of the preceding clause. The noun, relative, and adjective are in the fem. accusative, as the object to the verb *awarada* (for *awaradas*), which again, is evidently the 2nd pers. sing. of the aorist or imperfect (without the augment) of a verb compounded of अव and रह, "to quit," or "abandon," the Sans. ह, as I have repeatedly shown, being regularly represented by the Cuneiform 𐎭.

Clause three. *Stabava* for *stabavas* is a word of uncertain orthography. Lassen reads the third character as 𐎱 instead of 𐎹, (Westergaard has simply 𐎹) and compares the root with the Sans. स्तृ; but I prefer a derivation from स्तम्भ or ष्टभ, with which are of course connected the various terms, "stop," "stumble," "stupid," "stubborn," &c., and I leave it optional to translate the word by "opposing," with an active, or by "stumbling," with a neuter signification. The latter, is probably, however the best interpretation, for I should otherwise expect an accus. pronoun to precede the verb. *Stabava* is of course the aorist or imperf. without the augment, and the termination is probably the conjugational suffix of the eighth class, which we have already seen in *ashiyava* and *warnava*. I will only add, that the Median equivalents are decisive as to *awarada* and *stabava* being in the 2nd pers. sing., for the inflexion used is the same that answers to *áhya* in the correspondents for *vaináhya, visanáhya,* and *kunaváhya,* &c., and that this identification of person confirms in the most satisfactory manner the explanation which I have given of *hauwataiya* in the first clause.

I have already observed, that there is a second Persian inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, of which Westergaard copied a few lines, but which he was unable to complete. This tablet I would strongly recommend to the attention of future travellers, for it is of considerable length, and evidently contains new and interesting matter; and notwithstanding the extensive, and probably intentional, mutilation to which it has been subjected, I am strongly inclined to believe, that an experienced transcriber might yet recover sufficient of the writing to enable us to detect its general application, and perhaps, also, to improve our acquaintance with the ancient language of Persia. It

would be indispensable, however, in order to make the experiment with a fair chance of success, that scaffolding should be erected against the face of the rock, for the finger, as well as the eye, must be employed in tracing characters when the outline is thoroughly destroyed.

I will observe, also, as a stimulus to the exertion of travellers who may visit the spot hereafter, that this is the only portion of Persian Cuneiform writing throughout *Irán*, which now remains uncopied; that the tablet is evidently preceptive, not historical; and that it probably contains the last solemn admonitions of Darius to his countrymen, addressed to them from his place of sepulchre, as a guide to their future conduct in polity, in morals, and in religion.

No. 7.

Fragments of the lower Inscription on the Tomb of Darius, at Nakhsh-i-Rustam.*

1 Baga wazarka Auramazdá hya adá- - - - -
2 - - - f- - - - m tya wa - - - - - - adá shi
3 yátim martiyahyá - - - - - - - u - - - - - -
4 á aruwastam upariya *Dár(a)yavum* khshá
5 yathiyam - - - iyasaya. Thátiya *Dár(a)yavush* khsh*á*
6 *ya*thiya: washná Auramazd*áhá* - - - - - kar - - - -
7 - - iya tya - - - - á - - - - tam - - - - - - - - ya
8 - - - daush - - - - - - - - - athiya n - - - - - - - -
9 - - - - - sh - - - - - -uwa - - - yá - - - - - yim kari*m*ish
10 - - - - - - wasim tya - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - r
11 - - - - iya - - - im - - - - riyish - - - - - - awa - - m
12 - - - - - - m m - - - - - m dar - - - - - - ush - - - á
13 - - - - - - uvish á - - - - - - - miya - - - - - - -
14 yá - - - - astiya darshama dá - - - - ya - - - - - a
15 u - - - - - - - - iyahyá darshama - - - - - - - - - -

(This inscription extends like the preceding to about sixty lines, but it is throughout so deplorably mutilated, that Mr. Westergaard left the remaining portion entirely uncopied.)

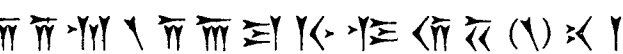
I will not attempt to collect these fragments into any connected sense. The preliminary invocation to Ormazd evidently varies from

* From Mr. Westergaard's MS. communicated to myself.

the usual formula, and although I am unable to translate the terms *aruwastam* and *v(?)iyasaya*, I suspect that the sentence in which these words occur contains some interesting allusion to the protective influence that was supposed to be shed by the divinity over the person of the king. In the second paragraph the only terms which I recognize are *athiya*, "near;" *astya*, "is;" and *darshama*, "opposing;" *karimish*, or *kariyish* is of doubtful etymology, and there is no other single word of which the orthography is complete.

The memorials of Darius are almost exhausted. I know not, in fact, of more than three other inscriptions of this monarch. One is upon a Babylonian cylinder in the British Museum, and may be read as follows*.

No. 8.

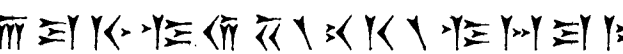


Adam Dár(a)yawush Naqa.

"I (am) Darius the king."

The second is that which is found upon the Suez stone near the embouchure of the ancient canal leading from the Nile to the Red Sea†. It may be thus restored.

No. 9.



Dar(a)yavush naqa wazarka.

"Darius the great king."

The third is that which is usually called the window inscription of the palace of Darius. It is repeated, together with its Median and

* I am indebted for my knowledge of this inscription to Lassen's Memoir, p. 79. It appears to have been first published by Dr. G. F. Grotefend, in the Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Babylonischen Keilschrift, 1840, p. 34.

† For notices of this canal, see Grotefend's Memoir, in the Mines de l'Orient, vol. VI, No. 3, p. 252, where extracts are given from the work of Dénon, and from Roziere's paper on the subject in the Descript. de l'Egypte, tom. I. III., p. 269. See also Talboys' Heeren, vol. II., p. 320.

Babylonian translations, according to Sir William Ouseley*, no less than eighteen times on the window frames of the two principal chambers of the building marked G in Niebuhr's Plan of Persepolis. Copies of this legend have been long ago published, by Chardin, by Kæmpfer, by Grotefend (from Sir Gore Ouseley's original?), and by Sir William Ouseley†; but the recent examination of Westergaard proves the entire series to be more or less faulty; a circumstance which is the more remarkable as the means of verification were so extensive.

The first accurate transcript that has ever appeared is given by Professor Lassen after Westergaard's original‡, and I now reproduce the legend from the MS. of the latter gentleman.

No. 10.—(L, LASSEN, p. 72.)

Inscription on the upper side of the windows in the building marked G *in Niebuhr's Plan of Persepolis.*

Ardastána áthagaina Dár(a)yava(h)ush naqahyá vithiyá karta.

Brief as this legend is, and accompanied as it is both by a Median and Babylonian translation, it may hardly admit of being rendered with any certainty. I will make a few observations therefore on each particular word before I attempt a translation.

Ardastána being repeated with the same orthography in the Median transcript may be conjectured to represent a proper name; but this is by no means certain; for on the one hand it is extremely difficult to obtain any approximation to the sound in the Babylonian equivalent, and on the other it was not unusual for the Median dialect to adopt

* See Ouseley's Travels, vol. II., p. 249—, and p. 256.

† See Voyages de Chardin, tom. IX., p. 107; Kæmpfer's Amœn. Ex., p. 347; Ouseley's Travels, vol. II., Pl. 41, Fig. 21. Grotefend translated this inscription in the edition of Heeren, published in 1815; but his reading was expunged from the subsequent edition of 1824. Le Brun has also a very imperfect copy of the legend, Pl. 134.

‡ See his Memoir in the *Zeitschrift*, &c., p. 72.

compound epithets from the Persian, with no other alteration than was required by the phonetic structure of the language*. As the name of an object, *ardastána* would be compounded of a derivative from धा, and of *arda*, an attribute of excellence, which may be referred either to ऋध, "to flourish," or "prosper," (from which I presume also is the Zend *ĕrĕdhwa*, "lofty,") or to अर्ह, "to honour," (for the Cuneiform 𐎭 represents the ह, as well as the dentals of the Devanagari alphabet;) and with the signification of "loftily placed," or "worthily placed," it might thus be employed to denote the particular palace in which the inscription is found. The next question to be considered is the case and gender of this compound *ardastána*. If it were a nom. the last element being identical with the Sans. स्थानं, "a place," it would, I think, be written with a final 𐎢𐎭𐎭, for the noun *stánam* is found in the inscriptions in the neuter gender†, and we should also have the orthography of *kartam*, instead of *karta*, for the participle at the end of the sentence. The termination in *na* must, I think, therefore be for ात: the genitive or ablative of the fifth class of the eighth declension; and if we follow Sans. analogy it must be of the masculine or neuter gender‡.

Athagaina. I consider this word to be as difficult of explanation as any which occurs in the whole range of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. There is certainly an apparent connexion between the present legend and the phrase which occurs in the Inscriptions of Artaxerxes, "*imam ustashanám áthaganám mám upá mám kartá*," but the total want of grammatical precision in the latter passage renders the connexion of no great value. It is impossible, in fact, to say, whether *áthaganám* be the 1st pers. sing. of an imperf. of the ninth class, or the accus. of a noun governed by *kartá*. In the former case, the initial 𐎭 would be the temporal augment, and the identity of the

* Among the many words thus adopted into the Median dialect, I may mention *framátára, vispazana, paruzana, dahyáush, shiyátish, tacharam*, &c., &c.

† See the Inscription of Xerxes, at Van, line 20/21, where the accusative *stanam* is united to the neuter pronoun *ima*.

‡ It was in consequence of my not having paid sufficient attention to the distinction between the masc. and fem. genitives of this class, that I was formerly inclined to translate the present legend, "Executed in honour of Artystone, the wife of King Darius." *Ardastána* cannot, however, I now think, possibly represent a feminine genitive.

term with *áthagaina,* where the same letter must be a radical, or at any rate a prefixed particle essential to the power of the root, would be subjected to considerable doubt. But in the latter, (and after the most attentive inquiry I am inclined to adopt the latter reading,) the terms would be unquestionably of kindred origin and signification.

The explanation, then, which I venture to suggest for *áthagaina* and *áthaganám,* is, that they are derivatives from the root *thag,* allied on one side with the Sans. सग or षग, "to cover*", and on the other with the Greek στέγω, Latin *tego,* &c.† The initial letter may be the prefixed particle आङ, employed to modify the sense from "covering" to "building," and the suffixes may have the respective powers of agency and attribution. In this view *áthagaina* (for *áthagainas*) will be the ablative (or genitive) mas. sing. of a noun in इन् following the 3rd class of the eighth declension, and the signification of the theme will be "a builder." It is only proper, however, to observe, that the Median equivalent for *áthagaina* approaches very nearly to the Persian orthography of the word, (so that it would appear to have almost the same claim as *ardastána* to be considered a proper name,) and that the Median inflexions in the correspondents, both for this term and for *ardastána,* are those which usually denote the genitive, rather than the ablative.

Dár(a)yavaush naqahyá. These words are unquestionably in the genitive sing., and that *naqa* is strictly synonymous with *khsháyathiya,* is proved by the Median and Babylonian transcripts universally employing the same equivalent for both terms. In my remarks upon the alphabet, I have detailed at some length, the suggestions which have inclined me to represent the Cuneiform 𒁹𒌋 by the letter *q;* and at present, therefore, I need only add, that upon the correctness of those suggestions must depend the propriety, both of connecting together the three brief Inscriptions of Darius in which the Egyptian(?)

* I suppose the root to have been originally written with the palatal श, instances of this letter interchanging with the स being far from uncommon.

† Burnouf derives τέκτων from τεύχω, and compares the latter root with the Sans. तक्ष, Zend 𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬀. See Yaçna, p. 299; but if the Cuneiform *thaga* be authentic, we may rather, I think, refer τέκτων and τέγος to στέγω, (for τέγω,) and connect this root with the Sans. सग (for शग). Perhaps, also, the Persian سنگ, *sang,* "a stone," and سنگین, *sangín,* "heavy," may be from the same root.

title of *naqa* replaces the vernacular *khsháyathiya*, and of assigning them the latest place among the records of that monarch*.

Vithiyá is of course a derivation from *vitha*, "a house;" but it is neither easy to determine the particular case which it may represent, nor indeed the theme to which it is immediately to be referred. I doubt exceedingly if the noun *vith*, of which we have the various forms, *vitham*, *vithá*, *vithabish*, and *vithaibish*, can in any case adopt an inflexion in *iyá*, which especially belongs to a theme in *i*. It is true, that, as we meet with the indifferent orthography of *ahyáyá* and *ahiyáyá*, *dur(a)ya* and *duriya*, so *vithiyá* may be irregularly substituted for *vithayá* or *vithyá*, a form that would appertain to *vitha*, supposing it to be a fem. theme in short *a*; but on the other hand if we follow rule, we must necessarily refer *vithiyá* to the adjectival form of the noun, that is, to *vithiya*, "a relative," where the adjectival suffix in *iya* is added to the theme *vith*; and I think also that I can recognize this distinction between the noun and adjective in the inflexion of the Median equivalent†.

Karta. That this term is certainly the nom. mas. sing. of the past participle of the verb "to do," is proved by its being represented in the Median transcript by the same term which answers to *kartam*, "done," both in line 48 of the Inscription of Nakhsh-i-Rustam, and in line 16 of the Portal Inscription of Xerxes; and if any doubt could exist regarding the meaning of *kartam* in those passages, and in the numerous other places where it occurs, it would be removed by our finding the Median translation of *tyamaiya kartam*, "quod à me factum," and *tya adam akunavam*, "quod ego feci," to be very frequently identical.

In considering the true meaning of the sentence of which I have

* It has sometimes occurred to me, as the title 𐎠𐎢𐎼 is alone employed in the later inscriptions of Xerxes, that these legends, where the epithet is coupled with the name of Darius, may refer to Darius Nothus; but the hypothesis is hardly tenable, for, although where Herodotus and Pliny speak of the Egyptian Canal, they may possibly be understood to attribute the work to the latter king, Strabo, on the contrary, expressly names Darius I. as the monarch who engaged in the undertaking, and subsequently abandoned it for fear of inundating Egypt. See Larcher's Herodotus, tom. II., p. 489, Note 502; and the notes to the passage in Strabo, in the famous edition of the French Academy, tom. V., p. 379.

† I may observe in this place, that *vith*, "a house," is one of the many Cuneiform terms, by which we are enabled to connect the Arian with the Semitic language. It is evidently an intermediate form between विश and بادس on the one side, and בית, ܒܝܬܐ, بيت, &c., on the other.

thus examined the individual words, I have first become aware of the fact, that the language of the Inscriptions is without any distinct inflexion for the instrumental case, but that it employs the ablative universally in that sense, both in the sing. and plur. number. Supposing, then, that I have accurately identified *Ardastána, áthagaina,* and *vithiyá* as ablatival forms, the most obvious meaning of the sentence will be,—"Done by Ardastá, the builder, the relative of King Darius;" but if on the other hand, *Ardastána áthagaina* be in the nom., we must then, I think, understand the phrase, "a worthily placed building, (or the building of Ardastana) made for the family of Darius the King." The translation, indeed, may be indefinitely varied according to the different manner in which we may explain the terms *Ardastána, áthagaina,* and *vithiyá;* certainty is not to be attained, and every conjecture which has hitherto occurred to me has been opposed by difficulties of grammar, by incompatibility with the Median and Babylonian transcripts, or by a manifest impropriety of sense. In the reading which I consider preferable to all others, "done by Ardasta, the builder, the relative of King Darius," the employment of the mas. *karta* instead of the neuter *kartam,* is hardly reconcilable with grammar, the name of Ardasta is not, I think, to be recognized in the Babylonian translation, the prefix in *áthagaina* is most suspicious, and it appears presumptuous that an architect should claim kindred with a king; yet these objections, serious as they may be deemed, are to my mind of less consequence than the entire disregard of all inflexional rule that must be encountered in every other interpretation*.

* Since writing the above, I have observed, that not only the Median, but the Babylonian translation also, employs the same word to express the Persian *vithiyá,* which in other passages answers to *hadish.* Now, it appears to me extremely improbable, that the three languages should have each possessed a word with the double meaning of the English "house." The Persian *vitha,* and its Median correspondent, were certainly used both to denote "a domicile," and "a family;" but I can hardly extend the same double application to the Babylonian term, and I believe, therefore, after all, that we must suppose the *vithiyá* of the window inscription, to refer to the particular "building" or "palace" of Darius, which contains the sculpture in question. The declension of the noun *vith* or *vitha* at the same time, presents considerable difficulty, and I shall re-examine this point accordingly, hereafter. At present, I will only give as a variant translation, "Executed by Ardastá, the architect for the palace (or in the palace) of King Darius."

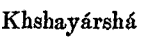
INSCRIPTIONS OF XERXES.

The inscriptions of Xerxes are sufficiently numerous; but they possess no great variety or interest. They are found at Hamadan, at Persepolis, and Van, and in almost every instance commence with the invocation to Ormazd, and the formal declaration of the royal name and titles which had been adopted in the preceding reign. Their chronological order, also, must depend chiefly on conjecture, for the geographical indications afforded by the words of Darius are altogether wanting, and the varieties which they exhibit of grammar and orthography are too scanty and too uncertain to be entitled to much consideration. In default, however, of any better evidence, I must follow that clue as my general guide in their distribution, and I assign accordingly the first place to the Inscription of Elwand, which, with the exception of a single letter, is, as far as orthography is concerned, an exact counterpart of the legend of Darius, engraved on the adjoining tablet*.

No. 11.—(F, LASSEN, p. 143.)

Inscription of Xerxes, at Elwand, occupying the first column of the right hand recess; copied from my own MS.

1 (1) Baga wazarka Auramazdá,
2 hya mathishta Bagánám,
3 hya imám bumim ad
4 á, hya awam asmánam
5 adá, hya martiyam ad
6 á, hya shiyátim adá
7 martiyahyá, hya Khsha
8 yárshám khsháyathiyam
9 akunaush, aivam parun
10 ám khsháyathiyam, aivam
11 parunám framátáram.
12 (2) Adam Khshayárshá khshá

* For M. Burnouf's examination of this inscription, see Mem. sur deux Inscriptions Cunéiformes, &c., p. 121. The reading of  in M. Burnouf's copy, at the close of line 13, is erroneous. Upon the rock we have the usual orthography of *khsháyathiya*.

13 yathiya, wazarka khsháyathi
14 ya, khsháyathiyánám khsh
15 áyathiya, dahyaunám par
16 uzanánám khsháyathiya,
17 ahiyáyá bumiyá wa
18 zarkáyá duriya apiya,
19 Dár(a)yava(h)ush khsháyathiya
20 hyá putřa, Hakhámanishiya.

(1) "The great God Ormazd, the chief of the Gods (he it is) who has given this world, who has given that heaven, who has given mankind, who has given life (?) to mankind, who has made Xerxes king, both the king of the people and the law-giver of the people. (2) I am Xerxes the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the many peopled countries, the supporter also of this great world, the son of King Darius, the Achæmenian."

There is positively nothing in this inscription requiring to be noticed, but the epithet "Chief of the Gods," *mathishta Bagánám*, which is applied to Ormazd, and the substitution of the orthography of *ahiyáyá* for the more usual contraction of *ahyáya*. On the one point I will only observe, that *Auramazdá* is of course the Ζεὺς μέγιστος of the Greeks, while the Bagas of which he was chief are the πάντες ἄλλοι θέοι, whom the Cyrus of Xenophon so frequently addresses; and on the other, it is sufficient to remark that, although the primitive form of *ahyáyá* is universally employed in the Inscriptions of Darius for the genitive fem. sing. of the demonstrative pronoun, under the reign of Xerxes it appears to have been optional to insert the euphonic 𐎹. On all other points of construction and etymology, I must refer to my preceding notes on the corresponding Inscription of Darius.

The object of these inscriptions at Hamadan would appear to be nearly similar to that which induces travellers, at the present day, to cut their names in localities difficult of access. There is no building or sculpture to be commemorated as at Persepolis, no historic incident to be related as at Behistun, no admonition to mankind, no solicitation of the divine protection. The legends were probably engraved on the occasion of one of the annual journeys which the monarchs respectively made between Babylon and Ecbatana, and their chief interest consists in the indication which they afford of the ancient line of communication crossing Mount Orontes. This road, it is well known, was ascribed in antiquity to the fabulous age of Semiramis, and I was able to assure myself by a minute personal inspection, that throughout

its whole extent, from the Ganj Nameh to the western base of the mountains, it still presents the most unequivocal marks of having been artificially and most laboriously constructed*. It is currently believed at Hamadan, that there is a third series of tablets in the immediate vicinity of those engraved by Xerxes and Darius, but having repeatedly examined the spot with the utmost care, and having met with nothing of the sort, I am altogether incredulous as to their existence.

I have already observed, that Darius Hystaspes left the Palace of Persepolis in an unfinished state, and that to his successor is to be attributed the completion of that pile of building. The only edifice upon the great platform that can be determinately assigned to the former monarch is the elevated building immediately south of the colonnade. As the pillared Hall of Audience would seem to be the work for which the platform was principally designed, I have conjectured that it may also owe its origin to Darius†; but this is by no

* Ctesias, whose description of this work is preserved by Diodorus, (Lib. II., c. 1,) pretends that it was still called "the road of Semiramis," in the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon. The route of Isidore also, conducting from Κογκοβάρ, (*Kangawar*, a name equivalent to *Kang-diz*[1],) to 'Απο-βάτανα, necessarily followed the same track, his Βαζινιάβαν, or "toll-house," (probably باژ یابان, "taking toll,") being at *Valáthgird*, and the ruins of his palace of 'Αδραπάν, being, as I think, still visible at the delightful village of *Artamán*, near the western foot of the mountain. On the western ascent of Orontes, the artificial road is very clearly marked, and on the summit of the mountain the pavement is still in tolerable preservation, but in the defile of the *Ganj Nameh*, the greater part of the work has been destroyed by the force of the torrent. Hoeck, on the authority of Olivier, (tom. III., p. 30,) speaks of, "*rudera viarum stratarum montem Elwind trajectarum*," in allusion, no doubt, to these ruins. See Vet. Med. et Pers. Mon. p. 155.

† Sir William Ouseley (Travels, vol. II., p. 245,) has well observed, that as the portals are not upon the alignment of the Hall of Columns, but at a right angle to that building, which must nevertheless have always been the most important and splendid edifice on the Platform, it may be presumed that in executing the several works there was some deviation from the original design. As the portals were certainly constructed by Xerxes, I consider then their misplacement to be a further argument in favour of attributing the Hall of Columns to Darius.

[1] The Pehlevi *Kang*, as I have observed in another place, is the Sans. स्वर्ग, "heaven;" and the name of Kangdiz, (or Dizhukht دژهوخت, which has the same meaning,) was applied to Babylon, as well as to a fabulous Paradise in the far East.

means certain, for on the staircase which leads from the portal to the colonnade, there is an inscription of Xerxes which contains the words *ida*, "here," and *apataram*, "elsewhere," and which may, perhaps, therefore, refer to the erection, by the latter monarch, of certain buildings in that particular locality. The magnificent portals, the sculptured staircase, the palace in the south-western corner of the platform, these are at any rate, unquestionably, to be ascribed to Xerxes; and, as he alludes in one of his inscriptions to a multitude of similar architectural achievements, it is not improbable that he may have constructed several of these minor edifices, of which the foundations only are now to be traced. The building which is marked I, in Niebuhr's plan of the ruins, was, perhaps, his earliest work*, and I shall accordingly give the first place to the inscriptions which are found there.

Numerous as the legends are in this edifice, they will be found to consist but of two varieties. The one, which with its Median and Babylonian translations must have been repeated, at least twenty times, when the building was complete, and which in the door-ways on the north and east, (both over the King's head and on the folds of his robe,) and as a border to the false windows on the north and west, is still (as I infer from a comparison of Niebuhr, Rich, and Westergaard,) to be traced with more or less distinctness in twelve different positions, is merely an abridged statement of the titles of Xerxes†. The other, which occurs on two high pilasters in the interior of the edifice, and on the eastern and western staircases which lead up to the building from the level of the platform, is of more importance, as it distinctly assigns to the same monarch the construction of the palace. It is needless, I imagine, to note the particular errors which Rich and Niebuhr have committed in copying the short inscription, for they must be self-evident to any one at all acquainted with the language, and Westergaard, moreover, has verified the necessary corrections. I reproduce the text accordingly, without further observation.

* This is the building which Niebuhr considered to be the most ancient on the Platform of Persepolis; he has described it minutely in his travels. See tom. II., p. 118.

† Le Brun has some very incorrect fragments of this inscription in Plate 133. For the remarks of Grotefend on this legend, see Talboys' Heeren, vol. II., p. 344. Rich's notes on the different places where the inscription occurs are copious and satisfactory, (see Bab. and Persepol., Pl. XIX,) but his text required to be amended in several passages by Westergaard, who favoured me with his manuscript notes taken on the spot. The variants in the Median and Babylonian transcripts are some of them extremely valuable.

No. 12.—(G, LASSEN, p. 144.)

(NIEBUHR'S *Inscription* G., Pl. XXIV ; RICH, Pl. XVIII, No. 3, a, and Pl. XIX, No. 4, a and b*.)

Inscription on the doorways, on the frames of the false windows, and on the folds of the King's robe, in the Palace of Xerxes.

1 Khshayárshá, khsháyathiya wazar
2 ka, khsháyathiya khsháthiyá
3 nám, Dár(a)yava(h)ush khsháyath
4 iyahyá putřa, Hakhámanishiya.

"Xerxes, the great King, the King of Kings, the son of King Darius, the Achæmenian."

The second Inscription I give after the text of Rich, Plate XVI, No. 2, completed and corrected according to the manuscript of Westergaard†.

No. 13.—(E, LASSEN, p. 133.)

Inscription on the pilasters of the Palace of Xerxes, (marked I *in Niebuhr's Plan,) and on the staircases leading up to the terrace of that building.*

1 (1) Baga wazarka Auramazdá, hya i
2 mám bumim adá, hya awa

* In the division of the text into lines, I follow the legend over the king's head in the east portal; on the folds of the king's robe, the inscription is written in one single line.

† Rich, in his heading to Pl. XVI, and at p. 251, distinctly mentions that there was a duplicate of the inscription No. 2, which he copied from the pilaster at the north-west corner of this building, on the pilaster immediately facing it, which may be seen in Niebuhr's view of the ruins, Plate XIX; but Westergaard, in his manuscript notes, does not even allude to the duplicate on the north-east pilaster, and I conclude, therefore, that he must have found the legend entirely destroyed. I am not aware that any traveller before Westergaard examined the copies on the staircases; they have at any rate never been published, and yet the Median translation on the western, and the Babylonian on the eastern staircase, which two copies are alone perfect, afford some very valuable variants. Porter, (vol. I., p. 679,) alludes to these inscriptions on the staircases, but seems to have thought them too much mutilated to be worth copying.

3 m asmánam adá, hya martiya
4 m adá, hya shiyátim adá mar
5 tiyahyá, hya Khshayárshám kh
6 sháyathiyam akunaush, aivam par
7 unám khsháyathiyam, aivam paru
8 nám framátáram. (2) Adam Khshayársh
9 á khsháyathiya, wazarka khsháyathiya,
10 khsháyathiyánám khsháyathiya, dahya
11 unám paruwazanánám khsháyathiya,
12 ahiyáyá bumiyá wazarkáyá
13 duriya apiya, Dár(a)yava(h)ush khsh
14 áyathiyahyá putřa, Hakhámanishiya.
15 (3) Thátiya Khshayárshá khsháyathiya w
16 azarka: washná Auramazdáhá ima had
17 ish adam akunavam; mám Auramaz
18 dá pátuwa, hadá bagaibish, utama
19 iya khshatřam, utá tyamaiya kartam.

"(1) The great God Ormazd, the chief of the Gods, (he it is) who has given this world, who has given that heaven, who has given mankind, who has given life (?) to mankind, who has made Xerxes King, both King of the people and law-giver of the people. (2) I am Xerxes the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the many-peopled countries, the supporter also of this great world, the son of King Darius, the Achæmenian. (3) Says Xerxes the great King: by the grace of Ormazd I have made this house; may Ormazd protect me together with the (other) Gods, and my empire, and that which has been done by me."

In the two first paragraphs of this inscription, I have only to observe on the orthography of *paruwazanánám*. This word occurs but once in an inscription of Darius, namely, at Hamadan, and it is there written *paruzanánám*, a form which is also followed in the tablet of Xerxes, at the same place. In other inscriptions of Xerxes at Persepolis, we shall find the compound divided into two distinct words; and from this gradual orthographical expansion, *paruzanánám*, *paruwazanánám*, and *paruwa zanánám*, I infer the relationship, in point of time, of the respective tablets.

The third paragraph, also, need not delay us long. Darius was content to employ the phrase, "Says Darius the King," before the various historical or admonitory statements which he was supposed to deliver; but his successor will be almost always found to commence his autolocutary sentences with, "Says Xerxes, the *great* King."

In the next phrase, *hadish* is a remarkable word. The signication is placed beyond dispute by our finding it to be represented in the Median copy by the same word which answers to *vith*, a peculiarity which I have only lately remarked, and which I think determinately connects the latter word with विश् rather than with वीज*. We can only indeed, as I think, explain this identification of *vith*, which evidently in most cases denotes "a family," with *hadish*, which must refer to "a domicile," by supposing the former term, together with its Median equivalent, to have had the double signification, which appertains to the English "house†." *Hadish* is evidently an accus. neuter, and is to be referred, I think, to the twelfth class of the third declension, rather than to a theme in *i*, being, perhaps, an analogous formation, though with a difference of gender, to the Sans. सधिस्. Etymologically, however, we must compare the word with सदन् or सद्मन्, which are, in fact, only distinguished from the Cuneiform term by the employment of a different suffix‡.

As we are already sufficiently acquainted with the indifferent use of the suffixed particle *maiya* to represent the possessive pronoun as well as the instrumental case of the 1st person, I shall only add, that "et meum imperium, et quod me factum," is the literal translation of *utamaiya khshatřam, utá tyamaiya kartam.*

The next inscription which I shall give is that upon the sculptured staircase, leading to the great terrace at Persepolis, upon which are the ruins of the building usually termed the Hall of Columns. It is to the left hand of the spectator on the extreme edge of the

* It is worthy of observation also, that there is a new phrase in the Babylonian copy intervening between the first and second clauses of the third paragraph; see Rich's text, Pl. XVIII., No. 2, c, line 8. The Median transcript agrees exactly with the Persian original.

† The Babylonian correspondent of *hadish* also replaces *vithiyá* in the window inscription of the palace of Darius, but *vitham*, in line 53 of the great inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, where the word certainly signifies "a family," and not "a building," appears to have a different Babylonian equivalent. The Hebrew בית, *beth*, however admitted of the same double application as the Cuneiform *vith*.

‡ Lassen cites the Sanskrit सर्पिस् as an example of a neuter noun in *is*. As the Cuneiform 𐎠𐎠 however, is unquestionably a neuter termination in *awash-chiya* and *aniyash-chiya*, it might perhaps be allowable to suppose that a theme in *i* in the language of the inscriptions, formed its neuter nom. and acc. in *ish*.

tablet which represents the procession conveying offerings to the king. The corresponding slabs to the right hand of the procession, which have evidently been prepared for the Median and Babylonian translations of the Persian legend, are left blank*, and this would lead to the suspicion, that the artist had been interrupted in his design by the death of the monarch†; but on the other hand, the orthography employed is more pure than that of the supplementary tablets of Xerxes in the palace of Darius, and an expression also in the Portal inscription may be presumed to indicate the elaborate sculpture on this ornamented staircase, among the numerous noble works which are stated to have been elsewhere executed by the king. The upper portion of the inscription, (five lines, according to Westergaard) is entirely broken off, but the mutilation is of little consequence, as it merely contains the usual formula of invocation to Ormazd. For the text of the inscription, we may refer to Niebuhr, Plate XXIV, A; and to Porter, vol. I., Plate XLIV, p. 631; and for the restorations I am indebted to Mr. Westergaard's notes communicated to myself‡.

No. 14.—(A, LASSEN, p. 126.)

(NIEBUHR'S *Inscrip.* A, Pl. XXIV.)

Inscription on the sculptured staircase conducting to the terrace of the Hall of Columns.

1 (1) Baga wazarka Auramazdá,
2 hya imám bumim
3 adá, hya awam asmá
4 nam adá, hya martiya
5 m adá, hya shiyáti
6 m adá martiyahyá,
7 hya Khshayárshám khshá

* I find a memorandum to this effect in my manuscript notes, but I know not from whence I drew my information. Rich appears to notice the circumstance; Bab. and Persep. p. 253.

† Grotefend seems to have had this inscription in view in making the following remark:—"Xerxes made considerable additions to the buildings, without however completely finishing them; for in the portions constructed by that prince, we still meet with stones bearing no inscription; see Talboys' Heeren, vol. II., p. 345-6."

‡ Niebuhr's copy commences at the sixth line, Porter's at the tenth line. Kæmpfer and Le Brun also, published copies of this inscription; but so carelessly executed, as to be of no value whatever.

8 yathiyam akunaush, ai
9 vam parunám khsháyath
10 iyam, aivam parunám
11 framátáram. (2) Adam Kh
12 shayárshá khsháyathiya,
13 wazarka khsháyathiya, khsh
14 áyathiyánám khsháyath
15 iya, dahyaunám paruwaza
16 nánám khsháyathiya,
17 ahiyáyá bumiyá wa
18 zarkáyá duriya a
19 piya, Dár(a)yava(h)ush khsh
20 áyathiyahyá putřa, Hakh
21 ámanishiya. (3) Thátiya Kh
22 shayárshá khsháyathiya wa
23 zarka: tya maná kartam
24 idá, utá tyamaiya
25 apataram kartam, awa v
26 isma washná Auramazdá
27 ha akunavaim; mám Aura
28 mazdá pátuwa hadá ba
29 gaibish, utámaiya khshatřa
30 m, utá tyamaiya kartam.

(1) "The great God Ormazd, (he it is) who has given this world, who has given that heaven, who has given mankind, who has given life (?) to mankind, who has made Xerxes King, both the King of the people and the law-giver of the people. (2) I am Xerxes the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the many-peopled countries, the supporter also of this great world, the son of King Darius, the Achæmenian. (3) Says Xerxes the great King: that which has been done by me here and that which has been done by me elsewhere, all of it have I accomplished by the grace of Ormazd; may Ormazd protect me together with the (other) Gods, both my empire and my works, (lit. that which has been done by me.)"

The two first paragraphs of this tablet present exactly the same orthography which is used in the preceding Inscription, with the exception of a possible distinction between *ahyáyá* and *ahiyáyá*. On the staircase the latter orthography is certain, but in the inscriptions of the palace of Xerxes, the word happens to be defaced in each of the four tablets, and Westergaard was accordingly in doubt as to the employment or suppression of the 𐎹𐎹.

In the third paragraph we have a new expression for the second clause, viz.: "*tya maná kartam idá, utá tyamaiya apataram kartam.*" *Idá*, "here," however, and *apataram*, "elsewhere," are neither of them entirely unknown; the one, which is the Sans. इह, and Zend 𐬌𐬎, occurs at Behistun, col. 1, line 29, and the other I have particularly explained in my note to line 18 of the Inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam*. (See p. 296.) I may notice, also, in this clause the orthography of the genitival form *Auramazdáha*, where the final elongation is suppressed according to the usage at Behistun. At Persepolis, in the inscriptions of Darius, we uniformly find *Auramazdáhá*, and in the Portal inscriptions of Xerxes also, we observe the final 𐎹𐎹 ; but in the other legends of the latter monarch the letter is invariably omitted. I doubt, however, if this circumstance may authorize our attributing the portals at Persepolis to an earlier date than the palace I, or the sculptured staircase; for the suppression of the final 𐎹𐎹 in *Auramazdáha* is not a corruption, but a return to the primitive orthography of Behistun.

The inscriptions on the portals of Persepolis, (A and Æ of Niebuhr's plan,) long ago attracted observation; but their elevation and inconvenient position appear to have deterred all the early travellers from attempting to copy them†. Mr. Rich, indeed, anxious as he was to exhaust the records of the place, was obliged by a weakness in the head to confide the task of transcribing these inaccessible tablets to a native assistant; and, as might have been expected, the result of the

* The only question is whether the expression refers to a distinction between the sculpture on the staircase, (and possibly the superstructure on the terrace,) and other edifices constructed by Xerxes on the platform; or whether *idá* may be understood to apply to Persepolis, and *apataram* to other parts or cities of the empire. I am inclined to adopt the former explanation, from a phrase of nearly similar import in the inscription on the portal.

† Grotefend has the following remark:—"Gemelli Carreri, who visited Persepolis about the end of the seventeenth century, alone pretends to have transcribed two lines. (Voyage, tom. II., Fig. 1., p. 246.) * * * * * Tavernier, (Paris, 1663,) had already given the same characters and in the very same order." See Talboys' Heeren, vol. II., p. 346. Porter, (vol. I., p. 649,) mentions among the desiderata of Persepolis, "twelve small tablets, which are seen over the colossal animals on the two great portals immediately after ascending the platform staircase." Sir William Ouseley, also, noticed that the four copies with their translations were precisely identical. See Travels, &c., vol. II., p. 249.

experiment was singularly infelicitous. The copy of the Seid may have been executed in good faith; but it forms a miserable contrast to Mr. Rich's own delineations, and I would strongly recommend that Plates XXIV, XXV, and XXVI, be accordingly expunged from any future edition of "Babylon and Persepolis." To Westergaard are we indebted for the first faithful copy of the legend. He examined with much care the four different copies of the inscription, which occur with the Median and Babylonian translations on the northern and southern walls of each of the two portals, and was enabled to assure himself of the identity of the whole; and having succeeded by the help of ladders in seating himself on the heads of the mythological animals of the southern portal, he took an exact transcript, not only of the Persian, but also of the Median and Babylonian writing. His Persian copy has been published and translated by Lassen, in his last Memoir, and I now reproduce it after Mr. Westergaard's MS. communicated to myself.

No. 15.—(D, LASSEN, p. 135.)

Inscription on the portals of the Palace of Persepolis, immediately above the great staircase, conducting from the plain to the Platform.

1 Baga wazarka Auramazdá, hya imám bumim a
2 dá, hya awam asmánam adá, hya martiyam
3 adá, hya shiyátim adá martiyahyá, hya
4 Khshayárshám khsháyathiyam akunaush, aivam
5 parunám khsháyathiyam, aivam parunám fram
6 átáram. (2) Adam Khshayárshá khsháyathiya, wazarka
7 khsháyathiya, khsháyathiyánám khsháyathiya, dahya
8 unám paruwazanánám khsháyathiya, ahyáy
9 á bumiyá wazarkáyá duriya apiya, Dá
10 r(a)yava(h)ush khsháyathiyahyá putŕa, Hakhámanish
11 iya. (3) Thátiya Khshayárshá khsháyathiya wazarka: washná
12 Auramazdáhá imam duwarthim visadahyaum
13 adam akunavam. Wasiya aniyashchiya nibam
14 kartam aná Pársá, tya adam akunavam,
15 utamaiya tya pitá akunaush; tyapatiya ka
16 rtam vainatiya nibam, awa visma washná A
17 uramazdáhá akumá. (4) Thátiya Khshayárshá
18 khsháyathiya: mám Auramazdá pátuwa, utamai

19 ya* khshatřam, utá tya maná kartam, utá tyamai
20 ya pitřa kartam, awashchiya Auramazdá pátuwa.

(1) "The great God Ormazd, (he it is) who has given this world, who has given that heaven, who has given mankind, who has given life (?) to mankind, who has made Xerxes King, both King of the people and law-giver of the people. (2) I am Xerxes the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the many-peopled countries, the supporter also of this great world, the son of King Darius, the Achæmenian. (3) Says Xerxes the King: by the grace of Ormazd I have made this gate of entrance (or this public portal?). There is many another noble work besides (or in) this Persepolis, which I have executed, and which my father has executed. Whatsoever noble works are to be seen, we have executed all of them by the grace of Ormazd. (4) Says Xerxes the King: may Ormazd protect me and my empire. Both that which has been executed by me, and that which has been executed by my father, may Ormazd protect it."

In the last two paragraphs of this inscription, we have several phrases which require to be briefly noticed.

Paragraph three. In the clause *imam duwarthim visadahyaum adam akunavam, duwarthim* is evidently the accusative of a masculine theme in *i*, and *visadahyaum* appears to be an adjectival form in the same case agreeing with the preceding noun; the former term is from the root दॄ, "to cover," (a root from which we have already met with the derivatives *duwaraya* and *duwartam*†,) and it may either signify "a building," in general, or it may be a cognate form with *duwara*, answering to the Sanskrit द्वार; Greek *θύρη*; Persian در; English "door," &c.; while the latter, which is compounded of *visa* and *dahyaush*, "a country," is of obscure signification. I know not, indeed, whether *visa* may be used in this compound as "an entrance," or whether it may denote "universality," according to its employment in the Sans. विश्व, Zend 𐬬𐬌𐬯𐬀, and Cuneiform *visma* and *vispa;* or whether again it may not rather be compared with विषु, signifying "many," or "like." An adjective, which should convey the meaning

* Observe, that in this inscription, in lines 15 and 18, the final 𐎡𐎡 in *utá* is elided before the suffix *maiya*, an orthographical change which is perfectly regular, and which also occurs in the tablets of the palace of Xerxes, Inscription No. 13, line 18. (See p. 324.) In every other passage however where *utá* is united to a suffix, the terminal elongation is preserved.

† See Behistun Inscription, col. 2, line 75 and 89, and col. 4, line 52.

of "entrance," would certainly be the most appropriate epithet for a gateway; but the Sans. विश्, "to enter," which has undoubtedly originated the Zend 𐬬𐬀𐬱, "a house*," becomes in the inscriptions when employed in the latter sense *vith;* and it is moreover by no means easy to understand the exact meaning that could be obtained by the union of two nouns, signifying respectively, "entrance," and "a country." The same difficulty is encountered if we translate *visa* by "all;" and there is the further incongruity that, whereas the term "public," or "for all nations," could hardly fail to have a correspondent in the other dialects of the country, the Median copy employs the original Persian word in this passage with the least possible difference of orthography; and I think even that we may detect in the Babylonian equivalent a similar attempt at reproduction, rather than translation. I should infer from the latter circumstance, that *visadahyaush* must be the name of the particular building on which the inscription is found; or at any rate a very peculiar epithet applying to the portal, or perhaps to the entire palace; and while I give accordingly in the translation the variant reading of "a gate of entrance," or "a public portal," I shall reserve for the vocabulary a further consideration of the etymology and application of the term.

In the next clause, *wasiya aniyashchiya nibam kartam aná Pársá, tya adam akunavam, utamaiya tya pitá akunaush,* the words are all sufficiently familiar to us. *Wasiya,* "multum," is the Persian بسی; *aniyashchiya* has been already met with at Behistun†; it is the nom. neuter of *aniya,* "other," united to the indefinite particle; *nibam,* although of uncertain etymology, is unquestionably an attribute of excellence; it is here in the nom. neuter, and the neuter participle *kartam,* with which it agrees, is probably used as a noun to denote "that which is done," or "a work;" *aná Pársá* is alone a doubtful construction; the case employed is certainly the ablative, *aná* being for *asmát,* (as in *hadá aná Pársá kárá;* compare also *hachá aniyaná* for *aniyasmát,*) and the most obvious meaning, therefore would be "(other) than this *Pársá;*" but the ablative, as I have before remarked, is commonly used for the instrumental; and I am not sure, also, that it may not sometimes replace the locative, in which case *aná Pársá* would be "in this *Pársá.*" It may be

* For an examination of the Zend 𐬬𐬀𐬱, see Burnouf's Yaçna, p. 207.

† See col. 4, line 46.

doubted, I think, if the word *Pársá* represent the name of the country; it would rather appear to have a special application to the city, or perhaps to the palace; and I derive a further argument in favour of such a distinction being intended, from observing that the orthography, both of the Median and Babylonian equivalent, varies (although perhaps, with no essential change of pronunciation) from either of the forms which answer respectively to the proper name of the province and to the ethnic title. The contiguity, indeed, of *kartam* and *Pársá* in this passage might lead to the belief, that in these terms we had the original of the Greek Πασαργάδαι; and as the Median correspondent for the former term is slightly altered from the usual orthography, a distinction might also be inferred between *kartam*, "a work," or "building," and *kartam*, "done;" but I consider the hypothesis sufficiently disproved by our finding the Babylonian equivalent of *kartam* in the phrase *wasiya aniyashchiya nibam kartam*, to be absolutely identical with that of *akunavam* in the preceding clause. That the Palace of Persepolis had the special and particular name of *Pársá*, we may gather from various passages in Greek and Latin authors*, and such I believe to be the true application of the term in the *aná Pársá* of the Portal Inscription of Xerxes; but the etymology of Pasargadæ is still, I confess, in a great measure obscure to me, and such observations as I have to make upon the name, I shall reserve for the Geographical Section of the Memoir. I will only further add, that if the employment of the immediate demonstrative pronoun both in this and the preceding clause be considered to connect the two sentences determinately together, then we must suppose *imam duwarthim visadahyaum* to refer to the palace, rather than the gate-way, and we may perhaps most appropriately render the terms by "this metropolitan building†."

* Xenophon. Cyrop. lib. II. c. 1., has the expression εἰς Πέρσας; and the same form occurs in Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. I., c. 31. Justin also, lib. I., c. 5, employs the phrase "in Persis," and throughout the fragments of Ctesias, Πέρσις, the province, is clearly distinguished from Πέρσαι, the city or palace. Sir William Ouseley has particularly remarked on this distinction.—Travels, &c., vol. II., p. 338.

† I am not at all sure that the Persian در may not have originally signified "an edifice," rather than "a door." The palace at Persepolis at any rate, in which were deposited the sacred leaves of the Zend Avesta, is always named by the early Persians در نبشت, and I would rather suppose this title to refer generally to the tablets scattered through the ruins, than to the mere "lettered portal," at the entrance.

A difficulty occurs also in the next clause with regard to the identification of *vainatiya*. This term is to all appearance the 3rd pers. sing. of the active indic. present of *vaina*, "to see;" but the sense at the same time will hardly admit of its being translated by the word "sees." *Tyapatiya** must be, I think, the relative in the nom. neuter united to the distributive particle प्रति; for the Median makes use of a similar compound, identical in both its elements with the Persian original, instead of employing the ablative form which replaces *tyipatiya*, "quibus," (Behistun, col. 2, line 73,) where the postfixed participle gives an instrumental power to the accus. pronoun; and, if such be its true condition, it must, in conjunction with the other neuters *kartam* and *nibam*, be the nominative to the verb. It would seem, therefore, indispensable, that *vainatiya* should be here understood in a neuter or a passive sense, the signification being, "whatsoever noble work is seen," or "whatsoever work shows nobly;" and in corroboration of this reading, I may add that the Median equivalent derived from the same root which answers to *vaináhya*, *vainiya*, *avaina*, &c., exhibits the guttural inflexion that is remarked in the correspondents of all other passive forms. *Awa visma*, "illud omne," in the complement of the phrase, I consider to be the correlative to *tyapatiya kartam vainatiya nibam*; and the verb *akumá* at the end of the sentence, (for *akunmá*) is used in the plural number, as it includes a reference both to Xerxes and to his father Darius.

In the last clause also, I must briefly notice the words *pitřa* and *awashchiya*. The former word appears to be an ablative used in the sense of an instrumental, and probably stands for *pitřas*; but Sanskrit themes in तृ form their ablative in तुः instead of त्रः, and if I have rightly determined the power of the Cuneiform 𐎠, there will thus be a remarkable difference between the two languages in the inflexions of the fourth declension. *Awashchiya* also is the accus. sing. neuter of *awa*, united to the indefinite particle; it is a precisely analogous formation to *aniyashchiya*, and it furnishes, I think, a valuable proof that the *visarga* is the true neuter pronominal termination, which being elided as a terminal, or before the *m*, *p*, or *t*, (compare *tyamaiya* for *tyas-maiya*, *tyapatiya* for *tyas-patiya*, *awataiya* for *awas-taiya*) is still reproduced before the palatal, that letter having, in the language of the inscriptions as in Zend, a particular affection for the sibilant. The postfixed particle, both in *aniyashchiya* and *awashchiya*, must be considered to give an indefinite signification to the pronoun.

* *Tyapatiya* is for *tyaspatiya*, as *vĭthápatiya* is for *vĭtháspatiya*.

I shall now quit Persepolis, and give a copy and translation of the Inscription of Xerxes which is found at Van, and which was probably engraved on the return of that monarch from his expedition into Europe. It is found in three columns, high up on the southern face of the rock, and was first published after Schultz's copy, in the Journal Asiatique, IIIme. Ser., tome IX., No. 52, p. 277. I have no means, at present, of consulting that publication, (which I the more regret, as I should probably be able to restore after the Median translation, the closing lines of the Persian original,) and I follow, therefore, the manuscript copy which was obligingly communicated to me by M. Eugene Boré, on his return from Van in the winter of 1828, and which I find to be more complete than the transcript that Professor Lassen has given, in his late Memoir, from the Paris Plate.

No. 16.—(K, LASSEN, p. 145.)

Southern inscription upon the rock of Van.

1 (1) Baga wazarka Auramazdá, hya mathi
2 shta Bagánám, hyà imám bum
3 im adá, hya awam asmánam
4 adá, hya martiyam adá, hya
5 shiyátim adá martiyahyá,
6 hya Khshayárshám khsháyathiyam
7 akunaush, aivam parunám kh•
8 sháyathiyam, aivam parunám
9 framátáram. (2) Adam Khshayárshá
10 khsháyathiya, wazarka khsháyathiya,
11 khsháyathiyánám khsháyathiya, da
12 hyaunám paruwa zanánám khsh
13 áyathiya, ahyáyá bumiyá wa
14 zarkáyá duriya apiya, Dár(a)ya
15 va(h)ush khsháyathiyahyá putřa, Ha
16 khámanishiya. (3) Thátiya Khshayárshá
17 khsháyathiya: Dár(a)yavush khsháya
18 thiya, hya maná pitá, hauwa wash
19 ná Auramazdáha wasiya tya
20 nibam akunaush, utá ima st
21 ánam hauwa niyashtáya; vataniya
22 yaniya dipim niya napisht

23 ám akunaush. Pasáwa adam ni
24 yashtáyam, imám dipim nip
25 ishtana - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - .

"The great God Ormazd, the chief of the Gods, (he it is) who has given this world, who has given that heaven, who has given mankind, who has given life (?) to mankind, who has made Xerxes King, both King of the people, and law-giver of the people. (2) I am Xerxes the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the many-peopled countries, the supporter also of this great world, the son of King Darius, the Achæmenian. (3) Says Xerxes the King, King Darius who was my father, he by the grace of God executed many a noble work; he also visited this place; in celebration (?) (of which) why (?) did he not cause a tablet to be engraved? After that I arrived here, I caused this tablet to be written . . . . . ."

In the first paragraph remark the epithet *hya mathishta Bagánám*, (the Ζεὺς μέγιστος of the Greeks) applied to Ormazd, as in the Inscription of Xerxes at Hamadan; and in the second paragraph observe the division of *paruwa zanánám* into two distinct words, a variation of orthography from which I infer the tablet to be of a later date than those already examined at Persepolis.

Paragraph three. *Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya, hya maná pitá, wasiya tya nibam akunaush*, is literally, "Darius rex, qui meus pater, ille multum quod nobile fecit;" *utá ima stánam hauwa niyashtáya*, I suppose also to be, "et hunc locum ille adivit," the verb having in this passage the sense which in Sanskrit appertains to ष्ठा preceded by उप; it is at the same time remarkable, that the 𐎱 which occurs in every other derivation from ष्ठा, (compare *stánam, upastám, awastáyam, ardastána*, &c.), should be here replaced by the 𐎲, notwithstanding that the temporal augment and the euphonic *y* intervene between the *i* and the sibilant; I cannot doubt, but that the orthographical change is owing to the presence of that vowel, but it appears singular that its aspirative influence should be so far extended.

In the next clause, *vataniya yaniya* are new and obscure words; Lassen reads for the former *kataniya* after Schultz's copy; but Boré's manuscript gives the initial letter as 𐎱, and if the horizontal 𐎲 be thus really found upon the rock for the first sign of the character, it must be necessarily 𐎱. I conjecture the term to be the locative of a noun from वद, (participle वत,) "to praise," or "eulogise;" but it may with equal propriety be the present participle

(nom. sing.) of the same root; *yaniya* also, I suppose to stand for यस्मिन् (as *aná* for *asmát*,) the relative pronoun, (which also occurs in the particles *yathá, yadiya, yátá*,) being here placed in the locative to express the interrogative adverb. If the orthography of the first word were *kataniya*, we might believe that the root कथ were employed instead of चद्, and the sense would be nearly the same; or we might consider the interrogation to be implied by this term, as the locative of a pronoun allied to the Sanskrit particle कथम्, and *yaniya* would then probably be the locative of a noun agreeing with the interrogative pronoun. Unable as I am at present to consult the Median translation, I will not pretend to say which is to be preferred of all these various readings, and I am moreover by no means confident that I may have caught the sense of the original, in supposing the phrase to contain an interrogation. The remaining words of the paragraph are all sufficiently identified by their frequent occurrence at Behistun. I need only in fact, observe, that the participle *nipishtám*, (Persian نوشتہ *,) is placed in the accus. fem. to agree with *dipim*, "a tablet;" and that *nipishtana*, of which the terminal 𐎢𐎠 is perfectly distinct in Boré's copy, is, I believe, the only word occurring in the inscriptions in which we may possibly recognize the infinitival inflexion of the modern Persian. M. Boré's manuscript observes, that the closing lines of the inscription are concealed from view by weeds and moss, and it is likely, therefore, that these obstructions may be some day cleared away, and we may thus obtain a complete copy of the writing†.

* That the original Persian orthography was *napishtah* rather than *nawishtah*, is proved by the title of در نپشت, *Dar napisht*, (or as the Arabs write it, در نبشت, *dar nabisht*,) applied to the palace of Persepolis. I know not, however, the Sanskrit etymology of this verb.

† The Babylonian transcript of this inscription is perfect; the following is the translation of the concluding lines:—"May Ormazd protect me, with all the Gods: and the kingdom also, and that which I have done."—Ed.

There remains to be examined but one other Inscription of Xerxes. It is found in the palace of Darius, at Persepolis, and is evidently supplementary to the erection of the building, being designed, in fact, by Xerxes, after he had appropriated by specific records the works of his own construction, to establish his father's claim to this particular and primitive edifice. It occurs in two copies, the one being a tablet of fifteen lines engraved upon the isolated pilaster at the south-west corner of the building; and the duplicate, which was first laid bare by Mr. Rich*, and which only differs from the preceding in the length and number of the lines, (twenty-five short instead of fifteen long lines), being found upon the southern face of the elevated terrace that supports the edifice. Copies of these tablets were published in "Babylon and Persepolis," Pl. XIII., No. 1, and Pl. XX., No. 5, and the errors, which are neither frequent nor of much consequence, have been since corrected by Westergaard.

It will be sufficient, of course, to give a single transcript, and as the pilaster inscription is the most perfect, I shall follow that copy in the present text.

No. 17.—(C, LASSEN, p. 130.)

Inscription on the pilaster in the south-west corner of the palace of Darius, marked G *in Niebuhr's plan of Persepolis.*

1 (1) Baga wazarka Auramazdá, hya imám bumim
2 adá, hya awam asmánam adá, hya marti
3 yam adá, hya shiyátim adá martiyahyá,
4 hya Khshayárshám naqam akunaush, aivam pa
5 runám naqam, aivam parunám framátáram.
6 (2) Adam Khshayárshá naqa, wazarka naqa, naqánám naqa,
7 dahyaunám paruwa zanánám naqa, ahyáyá b
8 umiyá wazarkáyá duriya apiya, Dár(a)yava
9 (h)ush naqahyá putřa, Hakhámanishiya. (3) Thátiya Kh
10 shayárshá naqa wazarka: washná Aurahya Mazdáha i
11 ma hadish Dár(a)yavush naqa akunaush, hya maná
12 pitá. Mám Auramazdá pátuwa hadá Baga
13 ibish; utá tyamaiya kartam, utá tyamaiya
14 pitřa Dár(a)yava(h)ush naqahyá kartam, awashchiya
15 Auramazdá pátuwa hadá Bagaibish.

* See Babylon and Persepolis, p. 250. The inscription in both places is accompanied with the usual Median and Babylonian translations, and Mr. Westergaard has kindly favoured me with the corrections for those transcripts which it is necessary to introduce into the text of Rich.

(1) "The great God Ormazd, (he it is) who has given this world, who has given that heaven, who has given mankind, who has given life (?) to mankind, who has made Xerxes King, both the King of the people and the law-giver of the people. (2) I am Xerxes the King, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the many peopled countries, the supporter also of this great world, the son of King Darius, the Achæmenian. (3) Says Xerxes the great King, King Darius who was my father, by the grace of Ormazd built this house. May Ormazd protect me together with the Gods; both that which has been done by me, and that which has been done by my father King Darius, may Ormazd protect it together with the Gods.

There is not a single new word throughout this inscription, but a few points of orthography and language require to be noticed. We have in the first place, in both copies, the title *naqa* uniformly substituted for *khsháyathiya*, and as this is the only instance of such a substitution in the tablets of Xerxes at Persepolis, I have been sometimes inclined to think that the introduction of the term should be assigned to the later period of the reign of this monarch, rather than to that of his father Darius; the legends on the Suez stone, and on the cylinder in the British Museum, being referable to Darius Nothus*, and the window inscription at Persepolis, where the title is also met with as an epithet of the son of Hystaspes, being perhaps of the same age as the supplementary inscription which I am now examining.

It is impossible, however, to draw any certain chronological inference from the employment of these terms; for we shall presently find, that in the following century, the old and vernacular title of *khsháyathiya* was revived under Artaxerxes Ochus, and we know moreover, that an abbreviated form of the word (شاه, *sháh*,) remains in use to the present day. Of more importance is it to remark the disjunction of *paruwa* and *zanánám*, and the resolution of the name of Ormazd in paragraph three into its separate elements. I regard, indeed, the orthography of *Aurahya Mazdáha* as particularly interesting; for it not only enables us determinately to disunite the elements which compose the name, but it indicates also, as I think, the first lapse which the language underwent in its transition from its early concrete form to the expanded structure of the Zend. In *Aurahya Mazdáha* we have the genitival inflexion appended to each element of the name, (the terminal elongation in *hya* being omitted, as we have so often observed in the orthography employed at Behistun,) and the

* See note * in page 317.

same peculiarity attaches throughout to the declension of the Zend correspondent.

In the phrase *tyamaiya pitřa kartam,* I have before remarked that *pitřa* (for *pitřas*) probably represents the ablative, used for the instrumental; but as we find in the last clause of the third paragraph of the inscription *tyamaiya pitřa Dáray(a)va(h)ush naqahyá kartam*, we should perhaps rather consider *pitřa* to be the genitive, a form of the noun, indeed, which appears in the language of the inscriptions, as in Sanskrit, to have been identical with the ablative in every declension but the first.

The only other legend of Xerxes with which I am acquainted is the trilingual Cuneiform writing on the vase of the Comte de Caylus, which is accompanied with a translation in hieroglyphics. When the knowledge of the Cuneiform character was in its infancy, the phonetic indications afforded by these hieroglyphic equivalents were considered to be of the utmost value, and the inscription of Caylus, accordingly, was subjected to repeated examination*. At present, perhaps, we may reverse the process, and verify the hieroglyphic powers from their Cuneiform correspondents. We may at any rate affirm, that if the Egyptian form of Xerxes contain an aspiration, as is asserted by M. Champollion, it follows the Median or Babylonian rather than the Persian orthography, for in the vernacular spelling of the name, the letter is wanting. The Persian legend is as follows:—

No. 18.—(LASSEN, p. 145.)

Khshayárshá naqa wazarka.

"Xerxes, the great King."

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* See Grotefend's remarks in Talboys' Heeren, vol. II., (p. 230 and 340.) Champollion's reading is given in his Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique, p. 179, sqq.; and a copy also of the legend may be seen in fig. 2 of the 3rd Plate appended to vol. III. of Talboys' Heeren, where Grotefend quotes the work of Count Caylus, tom. V., Pl. 30.

After the time of Xerxes the Cuneiform writing appears to have fallen into disuse. Neither of Artaxerxes Longimanus nor of Artaxerxes Mnemon has any record been yet discovered, and the attribution of the cylinder and Suez stone to the intervening reign of Darius Nothus depends on a mere conjecture. The buildings at Persepolis, which may be ascribed with most reason to this period of the Achæmenian dynasty, although elaborately sculptured, are altogether devoid of writing*, and the tombs which must also necessarily belong to the same monarchs present no trace of a memorial record†. To this neglect, then, of the language and character, must it be, I think, attributed that, when after the lapse of a century, Artaxerxes Ochus, the fourth in descent from Xerxes, resumed the ancient art of composition, barbarisms, both of grammar and orthography, which would not have been tolerated in the early records, were permitted to deface his tablets. We have two inscriptions of this monarch at Persepolis, and there is also a brief legend recording his name and title, on a relic of the same class as the vase of Caylus. The inscriptions are respectively found on the northern face of the platform, which is marked H in the plan of Niebuhr, and on the western staircase, which has apparently been added by Artaxerxes to the palace of Darius, (Niebuhr's G). The former inscription was first laid bare by Mr. Rich‡, and is published in his "Babylon and Persepolis," Pl. XXIII., No. 6. For our own acquaintance with the other, which is in a state of perfect preservation, we are indebted to Mr. Westergaard; but it is probable, that before the visit of that traveller to Persepolis, a fac-simile of the tablet had been taken by Messrs. Coste and Flandin, for I learn from the letters of the former gentleman that the excavation by which the staircase had been exposed to view, appeared to be a recent work. The contents of the two inscrip-

* I allude particularly to the edifice marked L in Niebuhr's plan of the ruins, which is in the best preservation of any building on the platform, but in which nevertheless no inscription has yet been discovered.

† In the hill at the back of the ruins are two complete sepulchres; another unfinished tomb is found at a short distance to the south, and there are four at Nakhsh-i-Rustam. Ctesias expressly mentions the interment at this place of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and his son Xerxes the Second. It was intended also, we learn from Ælian, (Var. Hist., lib. vi., c. 8,) that the body of Artaxerxes Ochus should have been deposited in the same spot, and indeed we may infer from a passage in Arrian, that the βασιλικαὶ θῆκαι of Persepolis formed a general place of sepulture for the Achæmenian kings; καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ πρὸ Δαρείου βασιλεῖς. (Lib. iii., c. 22.) It would be hazardous, however, to attempt to identify the respective monuments.

‡ See his notice of this tablet, Bab. and Persep., p. 251.

tions, with the exception of a single letter, are absolutely identical, although the lines are differently divided*, and it will be sufficient, therefore, to give a single copy from the manuscript with which Mr. Westergaard has supplied me. Mr. Rich's copy, I may add also, is a good deal mutilated, (the two first lines are altogether lost,) and is disfigured by more errors of transcription than he was usually in the habit of committing; the tablet, on the contrary, which Westergaard copied was perfect, and the fidelity of his transcript is unimpeachable†.

No. 19.—(P, LASSEN, p. 159.)

Inscription of Artaxerxes on the western staircase, conducting to the elevated terrace which supports the palace of Darius. (*Niebuhr's* G.)

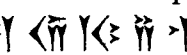
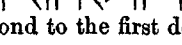
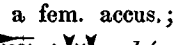
1 (1) Baga wazarka Auramazd
2 á, hya imám bumám
3 adá, hya awam asmán
4 ám adá, hya martiyam
5 adá, hya sháyatám a
6 dá martihyá, hya má
7 m Artakhshatřá khsháyathi
8 ya akunaush, aivam paruwa
9 nám khsháyathiyam, aiva
10 m paruwanám framatáram.
11 (2) Thátiya Artakhshatřá, khsh
12 áyathiya wazarka, khsháya
13 thiya khsháyathiyanám,
14 khsháyathiya dahyaunám,
15 khsháyathiya ahyáyá
16 bumiyá (?): Adam Artakhshatřá kh
17 sháyathiya putřa, Artakhshatřá
18 Dár(a)yavush khsháyathiya

* Rich's copy numbers twenty-five lines, while Westergaard's extends to thirty-five.

† A partial and not very accurate copy of Rich's Inscription, Pl. XXIII., No. 6, was first published by Grotefend, in the Neue Beiträge, &c., p. 13. Lassen subsequently undertook its full examination in his Magazine, (Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,) vol. III., No. XVI., p. 442, published in 1840; but the errors of Rich's copy were in some instances insuperable obstacles to analysis. Lassen's improved reading after Westergaard's duplicate is given in his last Memoir in the Zeitschrift, p. 159.

19 putřa, Dár(a)yavush Artakhsha
20 třá khsháyathiya putřa, Arta
21 khshatřá Khshayárshá khsháya
22 thiya putřa, Khshayárshá Dár(a)
23 yavush khsháyathiya putřa,
24 Dár(a)yavush Vĭshtáspahy
25 á náma putřa, Vĭshtáspahy
26 á Arsháma náma putřa, Ha
27 khámanishiya. (3) Thátiya A
28 rtakhshatřá khsháyathiya:
29 imam ustashanám áthaga
30 nám mám upá mám
31 kartá. (4) Thátiya Artakshatř
32 á khsháyathiya: mám Aura
33 mazdá utá Mĭthřa baga pá
34 tuwa, utá imám dahyaum
35 utá tya mám kartá.

(1) "The great God Ormazd, (he it is) who has given this world, who has given that heaven, who has given mankind, who has given life (?) to mankind, who has made me Artaxerxes King, both the King of the people and the law-giver of the people. (2) Says Artaxerxes the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the nations, the King of this world: I am the son of King Artaxerxes, Artaxerxes (being) the son of King Darius, Darius (being) the son of King Artaxerxes, Artaxerxes (being) the son of King Xerxes, Xerxes (being) the son of King Darius, Darius (being) the son of one named Hystaspes, (and) Hystaspes (being) the son of one named Arsames, an Achæmenian. (3) Says King Artaxerxes: I have made this well-sculptured piece of masonry for my own convenience (?). (4) Says King Artaxerxes: May Ormazd and the God Mithra protect me, (may they protect) both this province and that which I have done.

The grammatical construction throughout this inscription is barbarous in the extreme. In the first paragraph  replaces the usual  , the noun being apparently changed from the second to the first declension. *Asmánám* also, while it preserves the mas. pronoun, is written with an in the last syllable, as if it were a fem. accus.; and *shiyátim* is transfigured to  , *sháyatám*, a corruption which might have been expected to indicate the modern correspondent, but which is unfortunately as obscure as the primitive form. In continuation we

have *martihyá* for *martiyahyá.* The nominatives *Artakshatřa* and *khsháyathiya* are used as the objects to *akunaush,* notwithstanding that the pronoun of the 1st person, with which they are combined, is in the accusative; and notwithstanding that the succeeding epithets even are placed in the same case. *Paruwanám* also, according to the orthography at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, replaces the usual *parunám,* and in *framatáram,* the 𐎠 in the second syllable is suppressed.

In the second paragraph, we have a similar suppression of the 𐎠 in the genitival inflexion of *khsháyathiyanám;* a compound character, (which in Rich's Inscription has the form of 𐎡, and in Westergaard's that of 𐎡𐎠,) replaces the usual 𐎠 𐎢 *dah* in the word *dahyaunám;* and we then meet with the extraordinary orthography 𐎢𐎢𐎢 𐎡𐎢 𐎠 for the word, which in the other tablets is invariably written *bumiyá.*

In my remarks on the alphabet, I have conjectured that the singular letter 𐎢𐎢𐎢 may be a stenographic contraction from 𐎢 𐎢 𐎡𐎢 𐎠; but this is, to say the best of it, a very doubtful explanation, for in the first paragraph we have the word *bumám* written at length, and it seems difficult to believe, that the literal and stenographic orthography should have been employed indifferently. The word, in fact, commencing with 𐎢𐎢𐎢, is doubtless a synonym for "earth;" but it seems impossible to decide whether it be really connected with भूमिः, or whether it may not rather be a correspondent of زمین, *zamin,* or گیتی, *gíti,* both of which are found in Zend, and which may be referred to Sanskrit roots. In continuation of this sentence, which merely gives the name and titles of the monarch, Artaxerxes proceeds to record his genealogy; and the line of succession which he traces from Arsames, in direct descent through Hystaspes, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes (Longimanus), Darius (Nothus), and Artaxerxes (Mnemon), to himself, is a valuable confirmation of the authenticity of Grecian history. It is also interesting to observe, that the royalty of his immediate ancestry which Darius asserts at Behistun, appears to have found little favour with his descendants; for while the line of kings is distinctly marked by Artaxerxes in the present inscription as high as the fifth generation, the names of Hystaspes and Arsames are neither the one nor the other dignified with the royal title.

The grammatical errors at the same time with which this sentence is encumbered, are even more glaring than those of the preceding paragraphs. In defiance of all rule, the nom. is throughout employed for the genitive; and by the most unaccountable carelessness or ignorance, the name of Hystaspes is altered from its true orthography to the inflected form which it exhibits on the tablets of Darius, where it is placed in the genitive case. The omission of the in the first syllable of the name is of no consequence, for as I have observed in the inscriptions of Behistun, the vowel may be considered to be inherent in the letter ; but that the termination in is intended to represent a part of the name, (and not the genitive inflexion), and that the artist has been thus guilty of a gross and most unpardonable error, is shown by the structure of the preceding clauses, where the nom. is put for the genitive, as well as by the repetition of the same barbarous orthography in the concluding phrase, *Vîshtáspahyá Arshâma náma putŭra*, where the initial name must necessarily be in the nominative case.

Paragraph three. The phrase *imam ustashanám áthaganám mám upá mám kartá*, is beset with difficulties. It is doubtful, in the first place, whether it should not rather be divided into two separate clauses, *imam ustashanám áthaganám*, and *mám upá mám kartá;* the etymology of several of the words also is obscure, and the grammatical construction altogether barbarous.

Imam is the accus. masc. sing. of the demonstrative pronoun, and *ustashanám áthaganám*, accordingly, if the sentence be connected throughout, should be in the same case and gender; but the elongated inflexion would indicate the noun and adjective to be feminine. *Ustashanám* is evidently a compound, and in the last element we may probably see an analogous formation to the Sans. नक्षण. Lassen supposes the initial *us* to be for *ut**, the dental, as in Zend, being converted to a sibilant, to avoid the duplication; but I doubt if this orthographical rule applied to the language of the inscriptions; I find, moreover, that the particle denoting superiority is represented by the Cuneiform , (compare *udapatatá*). The signification of height is inappropriate to a sculpture on the foundations of an edifice, and I prefer, therefore, supposing *us* to be a particle of excellence, cor-

* See his Memoir in the Zeitschrift, &c., p. 165.

responding to the Persian خوش, *khush*. I have already conjectured in my notes on *áthagaina*, that *thaga* with the prefixed particle *á* may denote "building," *áthagaina* being "a mason," and *áthaganá*, "masonry;" and I am inclined, accordingly, to render *imam ustashanám áthaganám*, by "this well-sculptured piece of masonry." I must add, that *áthaganám* cannot possibly in this inscription signify "a building" or "superstructure," for it is doubtful if the terrace H, upon which is found one copy of the inscription, was ever surmounted by any permanent edifice; and the palace upon the platform G, to which the *áthaganá* of the staircase legend would apply if it were translated as "a building," was unquestionably a work of Darius Hystaspes. The word, perhaps, may simply denote "masonry," and the epithet *ustashaná*, may apply in one case to the row of figures sculptured on the terrace H, and in the other to the mere fashioning of the staircase which was added by Artaxerxes to the palace of Darius, or possibly to the engraving on the staircase of the inscription which I am now considering.

If *áthaganám*, however, be the 1st pers. sing. imperf. of *thaga* conjugated in the ninth class, we must suppose *ustashanám* to be a noun, and we must then translate, "I have executed this beautiful engraving," supposing the allusion to be in both cases to the lettered tablet.

Mám upá mám kartá will not admit of grammatical analysis; if the phrase be isolated we must translate, "it has been done by me (for) myself," supposing the participle to be put in the fem. instead of the neuter, and the accusative *mám* to be used for *maná*. I prefer, however, connecting the entire sentence together, and considering *kartá* to be the nom. of the verbal noun, which is here, as in Zend, used for the verb, and which accordingly governs *imam ustashanám áthaganám* in the accusative case. By an extraordinary carelessness of composition, I imagine also, that the accus. *mám* is used for the nominative, notwithstanding that in the preceding paragraph, the distinction between *mám* and *adam* being duly recognised, the terms were employed respectively as the object and the nominative to the verb.

The application of the remaining terms *upá mám* is of equal obscurity. Professor Lassen translates, "*in meum usum*," and if we suppose the staircase to have been constructed by Artaxerxes as a private entrance to the palace of Darius, conducting from a pavilion which surmounted the terrace H, the sense will be unexceptionable; but I am not sure if the Sanskrit उप will admit of such an inter-

pretation *. Where the phrase *upá mám* occurs at Behistun, it evidently signifies "near me," or "with me," as in Sanskrit, a sense which is wholly inapplicable to the present passage, and I derive, accordingly, no assistance whatever from Cuneiform precedents. We might translate *upá mám*, "by my command," or "of myself," (*i. e.*, with my own exertions,) equally as well as "for my own convenience," but the latter rendering is probably the most appropriate to the locality of the inscriptions.

Paragraph four. The last sentence of the inscription is particularly interesting, inasmuch as it affords the only indication throughout the entire range of Cuneiform writing, that Mithra was worshipped by the Achæmenian kings. Notwithstanding the confusion which prevailed amongst the Greeks as to the Persian worship of Mithra and Anaitis, I have no doubt whatever, but that the deity whom Artaxerxes here addresses is "the sun," the form of expression being nearly identical with the Ζεῦ πατρῶε καὶ Ἡλιε καὶ ἄλλοι θέοι, which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Cyrus. I shall examine this subject in detail hereafter, and will here therefore merely observe in regard to the orthography of the name, that the omission of the [cuneiform] after [cuneiform] may either be considered another proof of the ignorance of the artist, or may be placed in the same category as the indifferent orthography of [cuneiform] [cuneiform] and [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform]; while the employment of [cuneiform] [cuneiform], to express the Grecian θρ, or Zend [cuneiform], is, I think, fatal to the reading of Professor Lassen, which assigns that particular compound articulation to the Cuneiform [cuneiform].

In line thirty-four we have again the orthography of [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] or [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] for the word which is usually written [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) [cuneiform] [cuneiform]; and we derive a further argument in favour of the identity of the terms from observing that the noun is here used with the feminine pronoun.

The closing phrase also, *utá tya mám kartá*, again supplies us with an example of the substitution of the accus. *mám* for the nominative *adam*, and the employment of the verbal noun *kartá* with the transitive power of the verb; we might of course suppose *tya mám kartá*

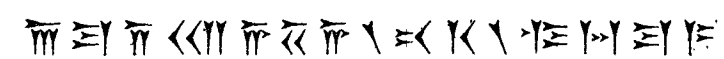
* Lassen appears to have followed the employment of the particles in the Sanskrit उपकार, which signifies "use," "advantage," as well as "protection," or "assistance."

to be used for *tya maná kartam*, but the former explanation, perhaps, presents less of grammatical inconsistency.

It is greatly to be deplored that we are without the Median and Babylonian copies of this inscription, for they could not fail to afford us valuable aid, both in fixing the phonetic powers of those alphabets, and in determining the doubtful phrases of the Persian original. Mr. Rich appears to have thought that such tablets had formerly existed upon the terrace from which he copied his inscription, No. 6*; but as Westergaard's duplicate is equally deficient, we may fairly question if at so advanced a period of the Achæmenian line as the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, the artists of Persia Proper were competent to furnish transcripts.

I shall close the present chapter with the notice of a legend of Artaxerxes Ochus, which is found upon an Egyptian vase of grey porphyry, in the treasury of St. Mark's, at Venice, and for a copy of which I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Gardner Wilkinson. The legend is engraved in hieroglyphics, and in the three species of Cuneiform writing; and the Persian text may be read as follows:—

No. 20.



Ardakhchashcha naqa wazarka.

"Artaxerxes, the great King."

It will be sufficient to observe of this inscription, that the orthography of the name of Artaxerxes, regardless altogether of etymological precision, and following to a certain extent the corrupted pronunciation by which the Medes and Babylonians sought to adopt the compound Persian articulations to their peculiar organs of speech, is decisive, I think, as to the foreign origin of the legend; and I would infer also, from the same circumstance, that the relic must be assigned even to a later date than that of the latest Achæmenian inscriptions at Persepolis.

* Rich observes, p. 251, (Bab. and Persepol.) that "the platform (H) facing the north, apparently also had three inscriptions, but only the centre one is left;" and again in his heading to Pl. XXIII., No. 6, where he gives the Persian text, "the corresponding tablets of this inscription (C and E) have entirely disappeared."

We cannot of course positively affirm, that the Artaxerxes who is here mentioned may not be either Longimanus or Mnemon, but as the vase must be supposed to have been prepared for the use of the monarch, or at any rate under his inspection, it seems very improbable that either of these kings would have countenanced an orthographical corruption of the name, which was not admitted in Persia Proper, even under the reign of Ochus. It would be inconvenient at present to examine in any detail the degradation from *Artakhshatřá* to *Ardakhchashcha.* The change will admit of copious illustration from a comparison of the Median and Babylonian correspondents with the equivalents of *Khshathrita, Uwakhshatara, Chitřatakhma,* and other names in which we have the Persian groupe 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠, or the compound letter 𐎧, and in which we shall usually find the guttural to be disfigured, and the dental to give way to a sibilant; but the subject will be more appropriately discussed when I undertake an analysis of the other species of Cuneiform writing; and I will only add therefore to the above remarks, that Sir Gardner Wilkinson without any aid from the Cuneiform translation, had no difficulty whatever in reading the hieroglyphic name, as *Artasharssha**, and that the Hebrew form of אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׁתְּא† affords another link in identifying the variant orthographies‡.

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* The name is thus figured in Hieroglyphies:—

† See Ezra, c. iv., v. 7; in Nehemiah, c. ii., v. 1, the orthography is אַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתְּא

‡ I do not at present undertake the examination of the incongruous inscription of Tarkou, as I have unfortunately mislaid the plate attached to M. Burnouf's Memoir, in which the copy of Witsen is reproduced, and as some doubt attaches to the authenticity of that traveller's text; I shall recur however to this singular legend on a future occasion.

I have now exhausted the Persian Cuneiform records. It is not too much to expect that excavations on the site of Pasargadæ, or around and within the terraced buildings of Persepolis, may some day supply us with fresh tablets, extending our acquaintance both with the ancient language of Persia, and with the history of the house of Achæmenes. With regard to the general interpretation that I have adopted in these two chapters, I shall not fear the test of any such augmentation of materials; but there are many particular parts of the translation of which I should see the verification with pleasure, and the refutation without surprise. Remembering that St. Martin, a short time before his decease, declared his readings to be "à l'abri de la critique*;" and that Grotefend is still inclined to champion the antiquated notions of the last century, I am provided with a useful lesson against over-confidence. When Professor Lassen shall have perused my translations and the vocabulary which I shall give with full etymological explanations in the succeeding chapter, I shall be quite prepared to bow to his superior Oriental knowledge in all cases of disagreement between our respective readings.

BAGHDAD,
April 20, 1846.

* See Burnouf's Mém. sur deux Insc. Cun., p. 2.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING

OF THE SOCIETY,

HELD ON THE 8TH OF MAY, 1847,

THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF AUCKLAND, G.C.B.,

PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

THE HONORARY SECRETARY read the following Report of the Council:—

IN submitting the Annual Report of the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society during the past year, it is the gratifying duty of the Council to remark that while their operations have been of more than usual interest and importance, the increased number of elections, and the diminution in the total of losses by retirement and death, stand in favorable contrast with parallel fluctuations during the preceding twelve months. Fourteen Contributing Members, and seven Corresponding Members, have been added to our strength. Only one Contributing Member has retired. One Honorary and two Corresponding Members have died. Among our resident and non-resident Members the number of deaths has been nine, including several distinguished individuals, whose loss the Society has reason to deplore*.

* *Elections, Resident and Non-Resident*:—James Alexander, Esq. B.C.S.; James R. Barnes, Esq.; Major Gen. De la Motte, C.B.; W. W. Hull, Esq.; John Lawford, Esq; Lieut. Col. G. P. Le Mesurier; Col. John Low, C.B.; W. H. Morley, Esq.; Dr. F. G. Mouatt, M.D.; the Duke of Northumberland; Major H. C. Rawlinson; W. A. Shaw, Esq.; Sir Claude M. Wade, C.B.; J. Warden, Esq.

Corresponding Members:—Dr. E. Carmoly; Dr. J. F. J. Cassel; James Finn, Esq.; Professor A. D. Mordtmann; Monsieur C. M. Noy; the Rev. Mr. Thomson; W. H. Medhurst, Esq.

Retirement:—The Rev. Dr. Pearson.

Deaths; Resident and Non-Resident:—W. Bridgeman, Esq.; the Right Hon. Sir E. H. East, Bart.; E. Fletcher, Esq.; General Vans Kennedy; A. Macklew, Esq.; the Right Hon. Lord Metcalfe; W. Oliver, Esq.; Captain T. Postans; Major J. Smith; *Honorary*;—The Raja of Travancore. *Foreign*:—The Chevalier A. Jaubert. *Corresponding*; Robert Thom, Esq.

His Highness the RAJA OF TRAVANCORE, who died at his palace of Trivandram on the 27th of December last, an Honorary Member of this Society, was eminently distinguished among the princes of India as an enlightened patron of learning and science. To an extensive acquaintance with the languages and literature of Southern India, he added the knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian, and English. His early appreciation of the value of literary pursuits, and his freedom from the prejudices which might have operated unfavourably to the extension of researches in science conducted on European principles, may probably be traced to his early education under an enlightened Brahman, who had been a pupil of the celebrated Schwartz. His Highness ascended the musnud on attaining the age of 16, the period of majority according to the Hindu law, in 1829. A hospital, schools, and a printing establishment were among the early evidences of the liberal principles of his rule; but the most noble proof of his desire to extend the practical benefits of true science was the erection of an Observatory at his capital, and the appointment of an able English Astronomer to the superintendence of this fine institution. Here, with the aid of a very complete collection of excellent instruments, provided by the Raja's liberality, Mr. Caldecott has conducted a regular series of astronomical and meteorological observations, has annually published an Astronomical Ephemeris, and given instruction in the Mathematical School. Of the talents and acquirements of Mr. Caldecott, Sir David Brewster made honorable mention in a letter to our distinguished Vice-President, Sir Alexander Johnston, adding, that he was in possession of the results of a fine series of hourly meteorological observations made by that gentleman for 1839-40, which he had found to possess peculiar interest and value. Mr. Caldecott himself informed Sir Alexander Johnston, in 1843, that his magnetic and meteorological observations were conducted on the plan of the Royal Society, and were made regularly every fifteen minutes, that in the course of two months after the transit instruments had been brought into use upwards of 9000 transits had been taken, and the observations reduced exactly as at Greenwich.

From such active use of the means of discovery furnished at so great a cost by the liberality of a Hindu Prince, the most important benefits, not only scientific, but moral, might be expected to result to the country over which the Raja presided. The early death of this enlightened and princely patron of true science is a subject of just regret; and much anxiety will be felt until it shall be ascertained that the Observatory and the other institutions which he so munificently established, will not be suffered to fall into decay.

MAJOR GENERAL VANS KENNEDY, of the Bombay Army, has been long known to the public as a profound Oriental scholar, and an Antiquary and Philologist of the highest order. From the time that he entered the service of the Company in 1800, he applied himself to the cultivation of the languages and literature of that portion of India which

was the scene of his official occupation; and soon became conversant with the Guzerati, Mahratta, and Persian languages. Upon the establishment of the Literary Society of Bombay, in 1804, he became one of its most active Members; and contributed several Memoirs of great interest to the Transactions of the Society. Of these may be particularized two papers on the Ancient Chronology and History of Persia, from the earliest periods to the commencement of the Sassanian dynasty, derived from original authorities, especially the work of Tabari, and the Shah Nama; the first part of these was published in the second, the latter in the third volume of the Transactions. The second volume also contains a Memoir on Persian Literature; and a notice of the religious innovations of the Emperor Akber; and the third, Remarks on the Character of Mohammed. The same volume presents also a remarkable paper by Major Vans Kennedy, entitled "Remarks on the sixth and seventh chapters of Mill's History of British India," in which he has zealously vindicated the Hindus from the severe condemnations passed upon them by the historian. Concurrently with these investigations, Major Vans Kennedy prosecuted the cultivation of the vernacular dialects; and in 1824, published a Dictionary of the Mahratta Language, in two parts; the first containing Mahratta and English, and the second English and Mahratta. With the exception of a very short Dictionary, by Dr. Carey, this was the first attempt to provide the study of the Mahratta language with so indispensable a requisite.

From the literature of the Mohammedans, Major Vans Kennedy transferred his attention to the cultivation of Sanskrit; and devoted his principal labours thenceforward to the sacred language and literature of the Hindus. Besides various communications of minor importance, addressed to the Calcutta Quarterly Oriental Review and to the Asiatic Journal in this country, General Vans Kennedy published two works of great interest and importance upon the subjects of Ancient Language and Mythology. The first is entitled "Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the Principal Languages of Asia and Europe," in which the structure of the chief branches of both the Semitic and Indo-Teutonic families of language is investigated; and the relations of Sanskrit with the classical and Teutonic tongues established by a convincing series of indisputable affinities. The learning and research exhibited in this work are very remarkable; and extensive familiarity is exhibited, not only with Oriental writers, but with classical and German authorities,—a familiarity the more worthy of notice as it must have been the work of assiduous and unassisted study in India, since at the early age at which Mr. Vans Kennedy must have joined the army as a Cadet, it was impossible that he could have brought with him more than the merest rudiments at least of such proficiency.

The same amount of learning and research characterizes the other work upon which also the reputation of General Vans Kennedy mainly depends; it is entitled "Researches into the Nature and Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology:" it was published in 1831, and is the

only work extant in the English language, in which the agreements and differences of the religious systems of the ancient world are fully and distinctly pointed out. In this, and in his preceding work upon the affinities of language, the author has intimated an opinion that we must look to Babylon for the origin of the Sanskrit speech and of the Hindu Mythology.

Subsequently to the publication of the last named work, General Vans Kennedy contributed to the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society a paper on the Vedanta Philosophy of the Hindus, in which he attempted to vindicate the system from the charge of materialism which some of the expressions current among its cultivators would seem to attach to it. This paper, as the Society will remember, gave rise to a rather lively controversy between Sir Graves Haughton and General Vans Kennedy, in which the former justified the views taken by Mr. Colebrooke of the Vedanta doctrines. The subject was discussed in several communications in the Asiatic Monthly Journal. He subsequently communicated to the Society a paper on Mohammedan Law, which is published in the second volume of the Journal.

Besides the literary labours of General Vans Kennedy, he was for some years Oriental translator to the Government of Bombay; and for a still longer period held the office of Judge Advocate General. He was latterly President of the Board of Examiners of the Junior Members of the Civil Service; and for some time held the post of President of the Bombay Literary Society.

The Right Honorable SIR EDWARD HYDE EAST, Bart. had long been known to the profession, of which he was a distinguished member, by his valuable Reports; he was raised to the Bench of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, and retired from the office of Chief Justice after an able service of many years. Some years after his return he was selected as one of the Indian Judges, to sit on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at the hearing of appeals from the Courts of Sudder Adawlut at the Indian Presidencies. He took a warm interest in the proceedings of this Society; and for several years rendered valuable assistance as a Member of the Council.

MR. WILLIAM OLIVER entered the service of the East India Company as a writer, on the Madras Establishment, in 1801, at a time when the Junior Civil Servants of the three Presidencies were prepared for their future duties by instruction in every branch of knowledge that could fit them for the most efficient discharge of their public functions in the College established at Calcutta by the Marquis Wellesley. Mr. Oliver was among the most distinguished scholars of his time at that noble seminary, having obtained the highest rewards for his attainments in Arabic and Persian, and prizes for classical knowledge. His career in the service was highly honourable, having risen through successive gradations to offices of the highest trust and responsibility on the Bench

of the Sudder Court of Judicature, and eventually in the Council Board of the Madras Government. While discharging the onerous duties of his judicial office and of Persian translator to the Government of Madras, Mr. Oliver never ceased to indulge his elegant taste by cultivating the study of the ancient classics, and of French and Italian literature, with which he was extensively acquainted, keeping up at the same time an familiar knowledge of the writers of his own country, both of the honoured dead, and the distinguished living authors. Mr. Oliver retire from the service in 1836.

The early death of Mr. Robert Thom, Her Majesty's Consul at Ningpo, has deprived the State of the services of a very distinguished public servant; and has disappointed the reasonable hopes of the Society that much valuable information would have been derived to the world from the intimate knowledge of the Chinese language, and the zeal for acquiring and communicating information, which that gentleman was known to possess in a more than ordinary degree.

In the course of a short but active life, Mr. Thom had resided some years in Caracas and in Mexico; and had passed a year in France before he proceeded to China. He applied himself with indefatigable zeal to the study of the language and literature of China, devoting to that object, not only the hours which could fairly be spared from the duties of a mercantile life, but many which prudent attention to health, and a less earnest zeal, would have yielded to recreation and rest. In the third year of his residence, "he was able, in the absence of Mr. Morrison and Mr. Gutzlaff, to plead a cause in the Mandarin, or Court dialect." In 1838 he published a translation into English of a Chinese tale, entitled "The Lasting Resentment of Miss Keaou Lwan Wang;" which he enriched with copious notes. This work has since been translated into German by Professor Böttger. In 1840, he put forth into Chinese a version of Æsop's Fables; and in 1843, printed at his own expense, and liberally presented to many public bodies and to individuals at the five Consular Ports, his "Chinese and English Vocabulary."

These works have received high commendation from Professor Stanislas Julien, and other competent judges of their merit.

But Mr. Thom's was not mere scholar's knowledge: the powers of usefulness which his acquirements had given were actively employed for the public good during the late stirring events in China. His gallantry in bearing a flag of truce to Amoy, at the imminent risk of his life, entitled him to the honorable commendations of our military and naval commanders. In the Canton river his conduct was noticed by Sir Hugh Gough; and at the battle of Chinhai his benevolent heart reaped the conscious reward which the saving of the lives of 500 Chinese imparted. For half a year he was charged with the civil administration of the city and district of Chinhai, where his conduct met the approbation of his Government, and drew from the Chinese functionary, Elepoo, the remarkable words, "I thank you for your civil Mandarinship at Chinhai, it has gained for you a great name in China."

A succession of feverish attacks, commencing in 1841, after exposure at the siege of Canton, and returning after repeated exhausting fatigues while serving his country regardless of his own health, so affected his constitution, that he was at length with difficulty prevailed upon to seek relief by a temporary intermission of his public duties. But however urgent his own need of relief, he would not abandon his post before the arrival of his appointed successor. His honorable zeal led to a fatal result; and he ended his days on the post of duty.

CAPTAIN T. POSTANS was attached to the Political Agency in Western India, or Cutch and Sindh; and soon exhibited a peculiar talent for exploring, and illustrating both by pen and pencil, the ancient remains found in those countries, their past history and their actual condition. He was in consequence selected to take off accurate copies of the celebrated Girnar inscription, and the Report which he submitted on that occasion was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for October 1838. It comprises, not only descriptions and sketches of the Hill of Girnar, and the vicinity of Junagar, but of the Temple of Somnath, with many interesting details regarding that structure. The communication is entitled "Notes of a Journey to Girnar, in the Province of Kattywar, for the purpose of copying the ancient Inscriptions upon the Rock near that place, undertaken by order of the Bombay Government." It does not bear the name of the author; but is well known to be the work of Captain Postans, and is of great vivacity and interest.

The Author had previously published in the same collection an Account of the Ruins of Mandavi, and of the legends current in Gujarat respecting the coins known by the name of Garddhaba, or Gadhiya. (Journ. As. Beng. Aug. 1837.)

Subsequently to his visit to Girnar we find several contributions to the same Journal; as in 1838, the Expedition of Chach, which was followed by a translation of the Chach Nama; the History of the first Invasion of Sindh by the Mohammedans, published in March and April, 1841. In the same year he published a description of the City of Shikarpur. An Account of the ancient Temple of Bhadrasir appeared in 1838. In January, 1843, an Official Report by him on Upper Sindh and the Eastern part of Cutch was published in the same Journal; and in 1845, he contributed to it a translation of the Tohfet ul Kiram, which he considered as a most authentic, although concise, history of the early conquest of Sindh.

In 1842 Lieut. Postans paid a visit to this country, and continued his endeavours to make the condition of Sindh accurately understood in England. With this view, he published a work, entitled "Personal Observations on Sindh; the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants; and its Capabilities;" and another denominated "Observations on the Increase of Commerce by means of the River Indus."—Although opposed to the political measures pursued in Sindh, Captain Postans seems to have entertained a favorable opinion of the eventual sub-

servience of the Province to the interests of British trade. Captain Postans is the Author also of a useful little work, addressed to the Junior Members of the Company's Military Service, entitled "Hints to Cadets."

The merits of Captain Postans as an artist are only to be gathered from the few specimens which appear in the communications referred to, or from the illustrations which accompany the lively and intelligent works on Western India for which we are indebted to Mrs. Postans. There are, however, in the Library of the India House a much greater number of drawings of architectural remains and costumes, which display a more than ordinary degree of artistical ability; and which have the character of accuracy, as well as of graphic delineation. Great hope had been entertained that the peculiar talents of Captain Postans in this respect would have been directed by the Government of India to the delineation of those remains of ancient architecture, for the preservation or record of which the Society addressed the Honorable Court of Directors of the East India Company. Instructions, it is but justice to the Court to observe, were in consequence sent out to India, to give effect to the Society's recommendations; and to no more capable, or more zealous hand, could the duty have been entrusted. Circumstances with which we are unacquainted delayed, however, the employment of Captain Postans in this capacity; and his decease has frustrated the hope of seeing the antiquities of Western India perpetuated by his skill.

Of Lord Metcalfe, his eminent virtues, his statesmanlike abilities, his splendid career of public service, this is not a suitable place to speak. His country knows them from better sources, and gratefully acknowledges them. The Society deeply deplores the loss of so great and good a man.

Since our last Anniversary Meeting, Parts I. and II. of the Tenth Volume of the Journal of the Society have been printed, containing two portions of the Memoir of Major Rawlinson on the great Inscription of Behistun. In editing these very curious and important papers, the Council have deemed themselves warranted in deviating from their ordinary course of publication by appropriating the two entire Parts of Volume X. of the Journal exclusively to Major Rawlinson's work, so that when the whole shall have issued from the press, it may be bound up as a separate work. The Ninth Volume has in the mean time proceeded; and has been occupied with papers on various subjects, selected for publication in the usual mode.

The parts of the Tenth Volume already published contain the three first sections of Major Rawlinson's Memoir. The fourth and fifth chapters, which are now in the Printer's hands, carry the investigation from the letters to the words of the Inscription. They will be followed by a Dictionary of the language, which will be not merely a list of words, but

will also include the geographical and historical views deducible from the Monument.

In recent letters, Major Rawlinson states that he is now engaged upon the Inscriptions on the magnificent monuments dug up at Nimrúd, by Mr. Layard, on which he has discovered the names of several monarchs of the great Assyrian dynasty, of whom the histories now extant present no notices beyond their names. With these inscriptions there have been discovered bas-reliefs exhibiting the elephant, lion, rhinoceros, camel, bull, baboon, and monkey, from which Major Rawlinson infers that they will be found to record some Indian conquest. Still later researches tend to connect the civilization of the Tigris with that of the Nile, by the discovery of sphinxes, scarabæi, cartouches, and other emblems peculiar to Egypt. Major Rawlinson promises a chapter on the languages and characters of these Assyrian Monuments.

The Council adverts with great satisfaction to the recent establishment at Hong Kong of an Asiatic Society of China, for the investigation of arts, sciences, and literature, in relation to that country. A communication has just been received from that body, from which it appears that its laws were passed, and the office-bearers appointed at a Meeting held on the 19th January, and that the Presidentship has been accepted by His Excellency, Sir John Davis, the Governor of the island.

Ever since the establishment of our more intimate relations with that great and interesting empire, it has been the desire of this Society to obtain, through the aid of the influential and scientific persons there employed by our Government, or engaged in commerce, such information as their respective positions might enable them to afford on the subjects of investigation which we are associated to pursue. In furtherance of this object, the Council had transmitted lists of questions to the Governor and Consuls, and other persons, from some of whom papers of considerable interest have been received, and read at our Meetings. But the fruits of such a course of inquiry must be far less valuable than those which may be expected to reward the labours of a body associated in the country itself, collecting information, and putting forth inquiries systematically prepared and arranged on all the topics of interest which will present themselves to their notice. The Council may safely give assurance that all assistance or co-operation which it may be in their power to afford, will readily be extended to the Asiatic Society of China, as it has been to other bodies associated in different parts of Asia for purposes of local investigation, historical, scientific, or general.

The Report of the Auditors, which will be laid before the Meeting, will show a diminution in the balance at the close of the last year in comparison with that of the preceding twelve months. This diminution was anticipated in the Report of 1846; but when it is observed that a considerable portion of the increased expenditure has been occasioned by the desire of the Society to do the most ample and speedy justice to the

interesting discoveries of Major Rawlinson which they have undertaken to bring before the world, the Council are animated with the hope tha the number of their Members will be increased by many persons who may desire to co-operate in the furtherance of inquiries and investigations which are exciting the most lively interest throughout Europe.

The following Report has been received by the Council from the Secretary of the ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND:—

The only work published by the Fund since the last yearly Meeting of the Society is the "Biographical Notices of Persian Poets; with critical and Explanatory Remarks; by the late Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart.," edited by the Rev. James Reynolds, the Secretary of the Fund, who has prefixed to the work a Memoir of Sir Gore of considerable length, the materials for which were collected from original and authentic sources, the liberal confidence of Lady Ouseley having entrusted to the editor the use of the interesting Journal of Sir Gore Ouseley's residence in Persia, and the diary of his homeward route through Russia, together with various letters and family memorials. The "Biographical Notices" of the learned author constitute but a small portion of a projected work of a considerably larger extent, to which, if his life had been spared, Sir Gore Ouseley designed to have devoted much time and attention; and to perfect which he had resolved to draw largely from the stores of information which his admirable collection of MSS. afforded. The work is, however, interesting. It is interspersed with many well-chosen quotations from Persian poets; it arranges and condenses in a pleasing manner all that was already known respecting them, and it supplies the reader with many curious incidents which were entirely novel.

To the "Biographical Notices" are subjoined various original fragments and translations; and three or four papers of remarks, criticisms, &c., which illustrate Sir Gore Ouseley's zeal and success in the prosecution of his Oriental studies at an early age, and which are reprinted from the "Oriental Collections."

The second and last volume of M. Garcin de Tassy's valuable work, entitled "Histoire de Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani," is completed, and will shortly be distributed to the subscribers of the Fund; and the printing of the several works, portions of which have already been published under the auspices of the Committee, is being continued with as little delay as the extent and costliness of those works will admit of.

The TEXT SOCIETY has completed during the past year the two works which were announced, at the last Anniversary Meeting, as nearly ready for publication,—the "Dasa Kumara Charitra," edited by Professor Wilson; and the second and concluding portion of the "Sharistani," by the Rev. William Cureton. They have also contributed to an edition of the "History of the Almohades," in the original Arabic, edited by Dr. R. P. A. Dozy, which has been completed, and will soon be circulated.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

The Auditors appointed to examine the Society's Accounts for the year 1846 have the honor to report that having carefully discharged that duty, they have found the entries in the Books to be duly authenticated by receipts and vouchers, and the Accounts throughout to be correctly kept.

The Receipts of the year amount to 1030*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.*, of which 706*l.* 13*s.* 0*d.* was the produce of Annual Subscriptions, Compositions, and Admission Fees. The other items comprise the very liberal donation of 100*l.* by the late Treasurer, Mr. James Alexander; the annual grant of 100 Guineas from the East India Company; and the payment of the diminished contribution of 30*l.* for the year 1845 by the Oriental Translation Fund, that for 1846 being still in arrear. The amount received within the year from the sale of the Society's publications is 32*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*, exhibiting an increase on the product of former years under that head.

The funded property of the Society having undergone no alteration, the usual dividends have been received.

The total amount of charges is 1292*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*, being 559*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* above the expenditure of the preceding year, and 262*l.* above the actual receipts of the year. It necessarily follows that the Balance at the close of 1846 is less than that at the end of 1845 by an equal amount, that of the last year being 329*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*, while that of the preceding year was 591*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* The difference, however, is accounted for by the fact noticed in the Report of the Auditors of 1845, that the Printer's bill for that year had not been sent in; and by the greatly increased expenditure under the heads of printing and lithography incurred in the publication of the important papers received from Major Rawlinson.

N. BLAND, *Auditor on the part of the Council.*

HOLT MACKENZIE, H. T. PRINSEP, *Auditors on the part of the Society.*

Royal Asiatic Society's House,
April 29, 1847.

Abstract of Receipts and Expenditure, from 1st of January to 31st of December, 1846.

RECEIPTS.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
122 Subscriptions of Resident Members, at 3*l.* 3*s* each	384	6	0			
51 ditto, at 2*l.* 2*s.* each	107	2	0			
7 ditto, Non-resident Members, at 2*l.* 2*s.* each	14	14	0			
Arrears of Subscriptions paid up	11	11	0			
				£517	13	0
9 Admission Fees, at 5*l.* 5*s.* each	47	5	0			
6 Compositions of Subscription	141	15	0			
				189	0	0
One Year's Dividend on Consols (less Income Tax)	56	11	10			
Publications sold	32	7	7			
Annual Donation from Hon. East India Company	105	0	0			
Donation from James Alexander Esq.	100	0	0			
Annual Payment from Oriental Translation Fund for 1845.	30	0	0			
				323	19	5
				£1030	12	5
Balance in hand at the end of 1845				591	7	8
				£1622	0	1

[£1942 17*s.* 1*d.* In 3 per Cent. Consols.]

EXPENDITURE.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
House-Rent, one year, (deducting Property Tax)	214	1	4			
Rates and Taxes	34	7	10			
Fire Insurance (7 years)	36	8	3			
House Expenses, *as follow:*				£284	17	5
Housekeeper's Wages	46	0	0			
Sundry Charges, per Housekeeper	23	13	9			
Coals, 12*l.*; Sundries, 5*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.*	17	0	5			
Plumber and Glazier, 6*l*; Carpenter, 2*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*	8	5	7			
Repairs to House	16	11	9			
Salaries, &c.				111	11	6
Salaries of Assistant-Secretary, Clerk, Porter, and Armourer	231	10	0			
Collector's Poundage	28	10	0			
Printing, &c.				260	0	0
Printer's Bill for Journal, No. XVI., Parts I. (1845), and II. (1846); No. XVII., Part I. (1846); and Vol. X., Part I. (1846).	353	6	3			
Hullmandel & Co., for Lithographing Inscriptions &c.	211	3	11			
Sewing Numbers of Journal	8	2	6			
Miscellaneous.				572	12	8
Books and Periodicals, 7*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* Stationery, 17*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*	24	15	5			
Bookbinding 3*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*; Casts of Inscriptions 4*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.*	8	2	10			
Postage and Carriage	15	7	0			
Balance of Secretary's Account	15	5	10			
				63	11	1
				£1292	12	8
Balance in hand, 31st December, 1846.				329	7	5
				£1622	0	1

Estimated Receipt and Expenditure for the Year 1847.

ESTIMATED RECEIPT.

	£.	s.	d.
Annual Subscriptions and Arrears, (due 1st January, 1847).	550	0	0
Admission Fees (say 10 at 5*l.* 5*s.*)	52	10	0
Compositions of Subscriptions	60	0	0
Annual Donation from East India Company	105	0	0
Dividends on Stock in 3 per Cent. Consols	56	11	10
Annual Payment from Oriental Translation Fund, 1846, 1847	60	0	0
Sale of Publications	30	0	0
	£914	1	10
Balance in favour of Society at the end of 1846	329	7	5
	£1243	9	3

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE.

	£.	s.	d.
House-rent and Taxes	250	0	0
House-expenses	110	0	0
Salaries and Wages	231	10	0
Collector's Poundage	27	10	0
Printing Journal, No. XVII., Part II. Vol. X., Part II.	300	0	0
Books and Periodicals Stationery and Sundry Printing Bookbinding	40	0	0
Postage and Carriage	16	0	0
Miscellanies	10	0	0
	£985	0	0
Estimated Balance at the end of 1847	258	9	3
	£1243	9	3

Dr. Royle said that a motion had been put into his hands which he could have desired had been intrusted to some person more influential than himself, and more able to do justice to the valuable summary of the Society's acts which had been just read. The facts which had been so fully detailed in the Report had been heard by all present, and he felt assured that they would be highly appreciated. He would therefore move—

"That this Meeting approve and adopt the Report of the Council which has been now read, and likewise the Report submitted by the Auditors, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due for their able discharge of the duty intrusted to them."

Carried unanimously.

Sir George Staunton in rising to move a vote of thanks to the President said, that notwithstanding the onerous duties that had devolved upon the noble President, in consequence of the high and arduous station to which Her Majesty's Government had called him, it was most gratifying that his Lordship still continued to evince his regard for the Society by honoring the Meeting with his presence: it was gratifying to see that the performance of political duties was not incompatible with an attention to literary and scientific engagements; and that whether in his retirement at Kensington, or at his official residence at the Admiralty, his Lordship was alive to the interests of this Society, whichh e justly regarded as a means of drawing the too dormant attention of the people of England to the affairs of so important and interesting a portion of the Empire.

Sir George concluded by moving "That the best thanks of the Meeting be presented to the Earl of Auckland for his kindness in taking the Chair on the present occasion, and for the interest which he continues to take in the prosperity of the Society."

Lord Auckland, in acknowledging with gratitude the vote passed in his favour, said that his feelings were mingled with the regret that he was not able to give more attention to the working of the Society, whose importance had suffered no diminution in his opinion, although his opportunities of attending its Meetings had been much curtailed. He had lost none of the interest which he felt in everything connected with the East: he was still as warmly impressed as ever with the recollections of India; and he was glad to have an opportunity of aiding in anything that might add prosperity to the people of Hindustan, or throw light upon their history and antiquities. He congratulated the Society upon its condition: with regard to its financial state, it was true he could not say it was highly prosperous; but, at all events, though in no great degree, the income of the present was greater than that of the preceding year; and though some of its valuable supporters were gone from us, the whole number was increased by new accessions, and their leading Members yet remained, by whose efforts the reputation of the

Society would be extended and raised; when he mentioned the names of Wilson, Bland, and some others now present, he was sure that they would be received as a guarantee of the Society's continued efficiency. The publications issued during the past year were more numerous than usual, and their interest was of an increasing order. But in this department, the great feature was the Memoir of Major Rawlinson. His Lordship said, that he might take some credit to himself in having stimulated Major Rawlinson to the prosecution of researches, both in Afghanistan and on the shores of the Tigris, the results of which had raised that officer's name to the highest rank among the learned of Europe, and had reflected honour upon this Society, and upon the service in which he was engaged—researches which would throw a steady light upon Ancient History and Philology, and which were especially valuable as opening a new field for the prosecution of further investigations that promised to be still more productive. This Society had done itself credit in bringing before the world, at a considerable expense, the results of Major Rawlinson's labours, in the volume of which a considerable portion was already in the hands of the Members: and he dwelt with great earnestness on the credit which was due to the Assistant Secretary of the Society, Mr. Norris, for the ability and accuracy with which he had edited this valuable Memoir in the absence of the writer, whose official employment at Baghdad prevented him from revising his work as it passed through the press.

His Lordship concluded by expressing his most anxious wish that the Society should continue to increase in prosperity and usefulness.

GENERAL DE LA MOTTE moved, "That the Meeting desire to express their high sense of the attention bestowed on the affairs of the Society during the past year by the Director, Vice-Presidents, and the Council, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due."

This motion was duly seconded, and carried unanimously.

PROFESSOR WILSON rose to thank the Meeting for their appreciation of the services which the Council had been able to render in conducting the business of the Society. His own labours had of late been lighter than usual;—not from any reluctance to contribute to the Journal, but because so many valuable papers had been communicated, that the duty of adding anything himself had been quite unnecessary; he should, however, always feel it incumbent upon him to promote by every means in his power the credit and prosperity of the Society, and would not fail to devote his leisure to that effect upon all occasions when it should be necessary.

ROBERT HUNTER, ESQ. rose to move "That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, for their zealous services during the past year."

The motion was seconded by S. Ball, Esq. and carried unanimously.

R. Clarke, Esq. returned thanks for the vote of approbation with which he had been honoured,—and assured the Meeting that such services as it was in his power to give, it afforded him very high satisfaction to render, in furtherance of the interesting objects which engaged the attention of the Society.

There was one department of the Secretary's labours, on the due performance of which much of the credit of the Society depended—he meant the duty of editing the Society's Journal: that duty had assumed a peculiar importance and was attended with far more than ordinary difficulty and delicacy, in bringing out the great results of Major Rawlinson's most curious and most valuable discoveries. The task was one which it would have been impossible for himself to perform. Happily, however, he had a colleague whose merits it had often been his high gratification to allude to—they now had come forth so prominently that no one who took an interest in these important researches could be unacquainted with the part Mr. Norris had taken in bringing them before the world. The most competent judge of the value of Mr. Norris's labours is the author himself, and he had acknowledged that for Mr. Norris's assistance he could find no words that could express his obligation. Mr. Clarke said that he had heard with peculiar satisfaction the commendation bestowed on Mr. Norris by the noble President of the Society, who duly appreciated the value of his services to the Society; and he could assure the Meeting that the zealous and laborious devotion by that gentleman of his attention, his discriminating sagacity, and his various philological knowledge to the difficult task he is so ably accomplishing, entitle him to their especial notice and approbation.

Charles Elliott, Esq., in acknowledging the vote just passed, said that this was the first time in which he had been able to congratulate the Society on a diminution of the balance in their favour; but he might say now that he rejoiced in the circumstance, because it arose from the expenses incurred in bringing before the public a most valuable Memoir, which would contribute to extend its fame, and enable it to look forward with better prospects than heretofore, to enlarged support from all who desired to extend the field of Eastern Research.

J. Shakespeare, Esq. the Librarian of the Society, returned thanks.

H. T. Prinsep, Esq. said "Although the subject has already been more than once adverted to, yet I am sure I need make no apology for again drawing attention to the wonderful discoveries achieved by our countryman in the land of classic story, and upon records left by the actors of history in the days of Cyrus and his successors. Every one connected with this Society must feel that its credit has been enhanced, and its character elevated, by its having been made the channel for com-

municating these discoveries to the world. The Journals in which they are given have penetrated into boudoirs, and have been read in places and by persons with whom the lore of the East had hitherto been held in very small respect; who had been in the habit of declaring that heaps of rubbish only had been dug out of Sanscrit ruins. I myself, have witnessed the keen interest with which these papers of Major Rawlinson have been read; for having recently visited Paris, I carried with me several extra copies, and found them to be most acceptable presents, not to literary men only, but to men of station and rank, who were busily engaged in the engrossing occupations of public life; and when I returned to London I learned without surprise that the numbers of our Journal containing these articles were included in an order for books for the special service of the Tuileries which came hither under the Royal hand. Now, to whom are we principally indebted for the credit thus gained? Could the Society have undertaken, or if it had undertaken, could it have worthily executed a work of this description with any of the ordinary inducements that its small means, or the zeal of members engaged in other occupations might have enabled it to command? No; we are eminently fortunate in possessing an Under-Secretary who unites more varied learning, and more rare and extensive research and intelligence than I have ever seen combined in the same individual; and when I declare this, I make no exception for my own lamented brother, whose example rises naturally to my mind while drawing attention to the more extended labours of another in the same field. Next to Major Rawlinson himself, from whom God forbid that I should detract one iota of the glory of this discovery, next to him the Society owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Norris that the eulogies and public testimonies that we can confer will hardly repay. I only wish that it was in the power of this Society to bestow some more solid and substantial proof of its sense of these obligations. Failing the power, though not the will of so displaying our sentiments, we owe it to Mr. Norris to make acknowledgment that to his exertions in the thorough mastery of the subject, as well as to his care in superintending the preparation of the types, and in the collation and correction of the manuscript and lithographed copies, the public is indebted for the justice that has been done to Major Rawlinson in the recent publication of his essays. This, however, is not the only instance in which we have had to express our obligations. It is only this time last year that a special vote of thanks was recorded for labours of the same kind bestowed upon the inscription of Kapur di Giri, which was brought over by Mr. Masson, as taken off by him by impressing cloths upon the rock, in a condition which appeared beyond the possibility of unravelling, and restoring to shape and sense. This inscription possesses an interest, second only to those which have been interpreted by Major Rawlinson, or are now engaging the attention of his fellow-labourers in the arrow-headed field; and I have heard with much satisfaction that we may shortly expect its translation from our learned Director, Professor Wil-

son. But these services, great as they are, are far from being the only ones rendered by our Assistant-Secretary. If any one lights upon an ancient relic or inscription, that he seeks in vain to have explained elsewhere, he goes to the room occupied by Mr. Norris upstairs; and rarely does he apply in vain. This I know is the course that I myself always pursue; and though I fear I must at times have been a troublesome intruder, I yet trust that Mr. Norris will continue to permit me to consult him on the same friendly terms; and I am happy thus to acknowledge the value I attach to that permission."—Mr. Prinsep then moved the following Resolution:

"That the unceasing and laborious attention bestowed by Mr. Norris in editing the papers received from Major Rawlinson, and the great powers of research, and the learning and intelligence which he has evinced in the performance of that important and delicate duty, entitle him to the special thanks of the Society, and of all who take an interest in the recent discoveries in regard to the cuneiform character."

Colonel Sykes begged to claim the privilege of seconding the motion and to express his regret that the Society had it not in their power to afford a more substantial proof of their approbation of the unwearied zeal with which Mr. Norris performed the labours of his office; an office requiring no ordinary philological and antiquarian knowledge, as well as patient industry. Of his efficient possession of this knowledge Mr. Norris was now giving ample proofs in carrying through the press the important memoir which had added an interesting chapter in the history of Persia; and had put the student in Philology in possession of a new field of research, which he would venture to pronounce was destined to afford a still richer produce than had already been reaped from it. Colonel Sykes must also bear testimony to the readiness and courtesy with which Mr. Norris placed the ample stores of his mind at the disposal of every inquirer, of whatever country; and the instances were numerous in which literary aid was asked and cheerfully granted.

The Motion was put from the Chair, and carried unanimously.

Sir George Staunton said that he was anxious before the Meeting adjourned to make a few observations upon three circumstances connected with the pursuits of the Society, which had occurred since our last Anniversary, and which appeared to him of remarkable interest. On the subject of the first, the brilliant and important discoveries of Major Rawlinson, ample justice had been already done by preceding speakers, and he would therefore merely add that they certainly rivalled, if they did not exceed, in interest and value, those which originated with our distinguished countryman Dr. Young, and were followed up by the French Orientalist Champollion. They reflected lustre both on the discoverer himself and upon the Society which had been happily the means of bringing them before the public. The next circumstance

of interest to which he wished to allude was the establishment of a Branch Asiatic Society in China; the well-known zeal and attainments of Sir John Davis, on all points connected with Science and Literature in China, had left us no room for doubt of our having his active co-operation in promoting the objects of our Society, as far as his means should extend; but we were hardly prepared to anticipate the gratifying fact that in so young a Colony as Hong Kong, a Colony mainly devoted to commerce, a sufficient number of gentlemen could have been found, animated with similar dispositions and prepared to unite with him in same cause. We might confidently expect that their Branch Society would avail itself of all the increased facilities which now exist for gaining information respecting China, and would throw much new and important light upon the condition of that ancient and extraordinary empire.

The last point to which he wished to draw the attention of the Meeting was the recent establishment in the Metropolis of a Chinese Professorship. He said he was the more anxious to say a few words on the subject, as he was in some degree personally responsible for the proposal, and was aware that there were persons, for whose opinions and authority he had the utmost respect and deference, who doubted its policy and utility. It occurred to him that he could not more effectually establish his point, than by reading a short extract from the preface of a work just published on China by Mr. Meadows, the present Interpreter to the British Government at Canton. This gentleman, in order to justify his pretensions to write upon China, informs the public that he had resorted to Munich, and regularly attended the lectures of the Chinese Professor Dr. Neumann there, for the express purpose of qualifying himself for the post which he afterwards obtained in the British Service in China. Sir George appealed to the Meeting whether it were not a reproach to this great country, so long and so extensively connected with China, that it was obliged to send its youth, destined for commercial or other pursuits in China, for instruction in the Language, to the Professors of Munich or Paris!

The reproach he was happy to say was now removed by the appointment of Professor Fearon at King's College, a gentleman well qualified for the task of instruction by twelve years' residence in China, and by the responsible office he held there for some years of Interpreter to the Canton Chamber of Commerce; and it was worthy of notice that although the appointment was so very recent, two pupils, one the son of a British Merchant and the other a Foreigner, had already placed themselves under his tuition.

N. BLAND, Esq. said that understanding that the next Meeting would be made special for the purpose of considering the propriety of admitting the Asiatic Society of Hong Kong to be a Branch of this Society, he would take the opportunity of proposing to this Meeting, that in the circular calling the special Meeting together, a notice should be added to the following effect:—

"That the special object of the General Meeting of the 5th June be extended to the consideration of the present position the Society holds among the Literary Institutions of this country; and whether, and by what means it may be improved; and, particularly, in furtherance of that object, whether it may not be expedient for the Society to establish itself in some other locality, better adapted to the completion and arrangement of its Library and Museum, and the accommodation of Members and Visitors."

Mr. B. observed that he had submitted the proposition to the General Meeting rather than to the Council, because he felt the subject to be one of such general interest, that he was desirous of enlisting the sympathies of the greatest number of Members of the Society, and of endeavouring to combine the energies of all to attain an object so desirable and so important.

Several gentlemen having expressed their opinion of the inconvenience of the present house, and the want of more suitable accommodation, the motion was put and carried unanimously.

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OF

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CORRECTED TO THE 30TH OF JUNE,
M.DCCC.XLVII.

1847.

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